ADDRESS TO THE

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

By

PROFESSOR CLYDE SUMMERS

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LEGISLATING UNION DEMOCRACY

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"To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences....To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement..." These are stated objectives of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Six codes of ethical practices have sprung from these seminal clauses. At the same time the Senate Committee on Improper Practices has spread before the public vivid evidence that the record of union democracy is badly blotted. The Federation is dedicated to cleaning its own house. The committee is insistent on giving a helping hand.

The hour is too late to debate whether the law should intervene in internal union affairs. The common law has long reached into unions to compel compliance with the constitution and also to enforce certain minimum standards of fairness and decency. Federal and state statutes already stand on the books reaching admission and expulsion rules, elections, financial affairs, and qualifications for union office. Whether we like it or not, further legislation is a foregone conclusion. The critical problem at the present is to establish the guide lines for that legislation in order that it may improve and strengthen democratic unionism to the benefit of the whole society. All that can be said here is mere prologue to that difficult task.

I

At the outset, certain underlying questions which reach deeply into our basic premises must be faced. How we answer them greatly affects how we legislate.

First, why do we seek to make unions democratic? In part this is because the labor movement itself demands that unions be democratic. In the words of the Ethical Practices Committee, "Freedom and democracy are essential attributes of our movement. Labor organizations lacking these attributes....are unions in name only. Authoritarian control....is contrary to the spirit, the tradition and the principles which should always guide and govern our movement." Our reasons, however, strike much deeper than this. They cut close to the center of our system of government.

(IRRA - Clyde Summers -- 2)

Unions do double duty in our democratic structure. They provide a device, through collective bargaining, of protecting and promoting the interest of workers with a minimum of governmental action. Free collective bargaining shortens the reach of central legal control in the economy by establishing a separate structure of industrial government--a kind of economic federalism. Unionism and collective bargaining reduce the need for regulating the terms and conditions of employment and thereby provide an alternative to suffocating statism. This, however, is but half the job, for unions are also instruments through which workers can gain a voice in determining their terms and conditions of employment. They extend the principle of self-government by carrying a measure of democracy into industrial government. If unions are to fulfill both of these functions they must be both independently strong and internally democratic.

The highest function of the law is to protect and foster the democratic process. When the law gives affirmative sanction to the right to organize and bargain collectively, it helps create institutions of government outside the state and thus protects against overreaching state control. When the law promotes union democracy, it injects into industry an element of self-government and thereby fosters an extension of the democratic process. Indeed, the law can not properly do otherwise, for a democracy can not create institutions and vest in them the power to govern without insisting that such power be exercised democratically.

From this premise, which is but an unprovable personal conviction, two general guides begin to evolve. One is that we defeat ourselves if unions are regulated in such detail that they become captives of the state. The other is that the standards of democracy which we seek in unions are analogous to those which we seek in other instruments of government.

The second question is, how do we measure whether unions have fallen short of these standards? The measurement is not merely in numbers or percentages. It is conceded by all that only a minority of unions discrimate against Negroes, ballot boxes are seldom stuffed, political opponents within the union are only occasionally expelled, rebellious locals are not always placed in receivership, and out of billions of union funds only a few million have been filched. The overwhelming majority of union leaders are completely honest and dedicated to improving the lot of their members, and are far more concerned with combatting apathy than curbing criticism.

However, oppressive and corrupt use of power does exist and is not confined to the Teamsters Union. In the Bakery Workers, for example, Secretary Sims charged President Cross with misuse of union funds, including maintaining an expensive "lady organizer" on the union payrolls, purchase of cadillacs, and accepting gifts and loans from employers. The General Executive Board, a majority of whose salaries Cross controls, heard these charges, cleared Cross and summarily suspended Sims for making them. Recent revelations have uncovered misconduct in the United Textile Workers, Distillery Workers, and Allied Industrial Workers. In the past disturbing examples have occurred in the Building Service Employees, Hodcarriers, Iron Workers, Longshoremen, Operating Engineers and Stagehands. Even the Auto Workers, the Garment Workers and the Steel Workers have not been immune to such charges.

The relative number of such instances is small, but it is not insignificant. Nor is the number the full measure, any more than the visible portion of an iceberg measures its full size. Expulsion of one critic may silence a hundred others; suspending one local may be sufficient lesson for all; and rigging one election may discourage opposition in a dozen. More subtle but far more pernicious is that such practices encourage the members to look upon the union not as a democratic institution but as simply a business device to increase their paychecks. Cynicism destroys all sense of responsibility and futility replaces faith in democratic processes. Thus even single instances of oppression feed the apathy and hasten the hardening of the oligarchic arteries.

We are dealing here with the civil liberties of union members--free speech, fair trial, honest elections and equal treatment within the structure of industrial government. Even a single violation is a matter of public concern. We cannot wait to act until violations become commonplace.

It is necessary to recognize that although there are no overt acts of oppressio the form of democracy may be but a thin shell covering a congealed oligarchy. Leadership, once elected, may become entrenched too deeply to be removed except by violent upheaval. The bureaucratic structure, created to make the union efficient and effective, tends to centralize power at the top, creates a one-party political organization, and monopolizes the union newspaper and other methods of communication within the union. The last election in the Steelworkers vividly illustrates the obstacles faced by an opposition in unseating the leader of a national union. In

spite of the honesty and dedication of union leaders, these forces feed, and in turn feed upon, the apathy of the members. Organized opposition withers and the democratic process wastes away.

It is self-evident that the law can deal most effectively with overt acts of oppression, and that these are the first order of business. However, we ought not discard the possibility that certain measures, legal or institutional might have significant impact on the drift toward bureaucratic centralism in unions.

The third question is whether there is any base of common understanding or attitudes from which legislation can proceed. It is a traditional tenet of union faith that unions should run their own affairs. Outsiders are at best officious inter-meddlers, mistrusted as potential spies or saboteurs. Any legal intervention is anathema. This attitude is in part a product of union nationalism,--an expression of organizational independence and sovereignty. It is reinforced by the compelling fear born of experience that intervention may be only a device to weaken the union and threaten its survival in collective bargaining. The leaders of the AFL-CIO openly admit that corrupt and undemocratic practices persist and that they lack power to eradicate the evils. However, the traditional union distrust of any regulation of internal affairs still prevails.

Conterbalancing this attitude is a growing one outside the unions, that the public has an interest in how unions conduct their affairs. Corruption and oppression in unions is no longer a private matter, for we have entrusted unions with public responsibilities. Union members must be guaranteed the elemental rights of citizenship in the union. The demand for legislation is spurred by a conviction that the AFL-CIO cannot clean its own house alone. Al Hayes, Chairman of the Ethical Practices Committee has himself said, "In a very real sense the expulsion of a wayward affiliate from the AFL-CIO does not solve the problem of unethical practices at all. It is a sort of handwashing ritual by which the great labor movement publicly absolves itself of any blame for the situation, a situation which continues to exist." Such handwashing does not satisfy. Too many feel that the dirty spots need scrubbing with strong soap.

A third attitude, less openly expressed, is that union abuses should be solved by reducing union power. The grudging acceptance of collective bargaining is but a veneer concealing deep hostility to unions. These people are less concerned with eliminating undemocratic practices than exploiting them to weaken unions as effective bargaining agents. Thus, Senator Goldwater, while denouncing

the "unbridled, uncontrolled power" of union leaders and advocating that the anti-trust laws should be applied to labor, congratulated Jimmy Hoffa for his union philosophy and wished him success in his conflicts with Walter Reuther.

Between these attitudes there is no real common ground. However, responsible union leaders now recognize that they can no longer insist on immunity from legal control. To do so would strengthen the appeal of extremists for crippling legislation. There is within reach a working compromise between conscientious union leaders and those whose genuine concern is to protect and foster union democracy. Legislation so conceived cannot be successfully resisted by those whose hidden or subconscious goal is not to strengthen the democratic process but to weaken unions.

II

Let us turn now to the more difficult question, the core of the problem--what guides should we follow in developing such legislation? The purpose here is not to present any detailed proposals, but to suggest certain broad principles which we should follow.

The first and most fundamental guide line is that legislation on internal union affairs should be completely segregated from legislation on union-management relations. We are concerned with the rights of union members in their union, not the right of the employer to be free from the union's economic force.

Proposals to prohibit organizational picketing, curtail secondary boycotts, or outlaw union security clauses must be excluded. They may at times contribute to a pattern of corruption or oppression, but they are primarily directed toward the process of collective bargaining and involve considerations far beyond the problems of union democracy.

This segregation of issues is of greatest practical importance. To intermingle the problems will stir the deepest fears in unions; cooperation in developing the law will dissolve; and antagonism will crystalize. The McClellan Committee has already jeopardized its usefulness. In February, in opening the investigation, Senator McClellan listed seven subjects for investigation--all directed toward internal union problems. President Meany offered and gave the Committee full cooperation. In July the Committee listed eleven areas of study. Three of the new areas were secondary boycotts, organizational picketing, and union political action. Whole-hearted cooperation is now made impossible, and color is given to the smoke screen defense that the Committee is engaged in union busting.

A corollary to this first principle is that the employer should never be made a policeman of the union's internal affairs. Union members will close ranks behind the most dissolute and dictatorial leaders when the employer intervenes. For the opposition, employer aid is the kiss of death. Furthermore, employers do not make reliable policemen, for their objective is profitable production, not civil liberties. Section 304 of Taft-Hartley required joint administration of welfare funds in the naive belief that employers would protect against raiding or arbitrary denial of claims. Ten years of experience has shown that most employers exert no effective control, preferring to avoid unnecessary friction. There is no evidence that employers prefer democratic unions, but there is substantial evidence that at least some employers find it profitable to deal with racketeers and union leaders who need not consult their members.

The second major principle in legislating for union democracy is that legal intervention should be kept to a minimum. This is not so much a defining rule as a guiding attitude-- the declaration of a central value. This follows from the basic premise that the power of the state should be kept confined. It is also dictated by the traditional distrust of unions of such regulation.

More concretely, this principle requires that we do the most we can through laws now in effect. More effective enforcement of laws against embezzlement, bribery, extortion, and racketeering might skim some of the worst scum from poluted unions. At this point it appears evident that it is not enough merely to prod the overworked police and prosecutors. New methods of enforcement need to be devised. Small modifications in existing laws might make large differences, without substantially increasing intervention. The filing requirements of Taft-Hartley might be given flesh and blood by requiring that financial reports be supported by a detailed audit, by imposing substantial penalties for false statements, and by providing some check on the accuracy of the statements.

This principle further requires that any additional legislation should attempt to isolate the specific points at which legal measures will best reach recurrent evils. For example establishing adequate protection of members' right to criticize their officers, and creating channels through which they can learn what the officers are doing, might reduce the necessity for regulating the officers themselves. The approach suggested is the exact opposite of that of Representative Landrum who heard the complaint of the Los Angeles Musicians that they were being compelled to contribute to the musicians trust fund from which they received no benefit. He

introduced a bill "to increase employee participation and control over collective bargaining." By the terms of his bill he would require individual authorizations from each employee for contributions to health and welfare funds! This is to burn the barn in order to roast a few pigs.

The third guiding principle in developing legislation is that the law should encourage and strengthen the union movement's efforts to clean its own house.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO are genuinely resolved to use the utmost of their power and influence to purge the labor movement of misleaders and malpractices. The Longshoremen have been expelled, the Allied Industrial Workers, Laundry Workers and Distillery Workers have been ordered to clean up or get out, and the Teamsters have been served with charges. Beck, Dorfman, Naddeo, Cilento and others have been removed from positions of responsibility. Six ethical practices codes have created an extensive body of private legislation governing internal union affairs. No stone should be left unturned to discover or develop devices through which the law can help implement such self-regulation.

One method which offers substantial promise is to design legislation so as to postpone active legal intervention until the unions have had adequate opportunity to act. The jurisdictional dispute provision in Taft-Hartley requiring that the unions be given ten days in which to act on the dispute points the way. It vastly reduced the necessity for Board action and induced the unions to establish for the first time a workable device for settling such disputes internally. Legal action is a last resort, but its immediate prospect can provide a prodding reminder to the unions against complacent inaction or idle excuses.

The Federation's codes set forth in considerable detail the standards which it believes unions should maintain. These should be given the greatest weight in fixing the standards which the law should enforce.

The fourth principle is that the law is of limited worth without proper methods of enforcement. This is obvious, but some of its implications are not so obvious. There is no need here to elaborate on the problems of enforcing criminal sanctions. Alternative methods must be examined with care for booby traps. For example, Minnesota passed a Labor Union Democracy Act which regulated union elections and required unions to give financial reports to their members. To enforce this, the statute provided that the state conciliation commissioner, if he believes a union has failed to comply, should certify that fact to the Governor who can then either appoint a referee to investigate or order the matter closed. The task of

initiating proceedings against a union is thus put upon a man whose public duty requires him to maintain a friendly and confidential relationship with unions. The ultimate sanction is apparently to deprive the union of protection under the state labor relations act -- a sanction that would scarcely frighten Mr. Brennan of the Minneapolis Teamsters.

The Taft-Hartley filing requirements are enforced only by denying the non-complying union access to the Board. This gives the members no remedy but enables the employer to play policeman by refusing to bargain with the union. It contaminates the collective bargaining process with internal union problems, with little gain either to collective bargaining or union democracy.

Legislating union democracy is at best difficult, for there are no simple formulas. However, we can greatly increase the likelihood of getting sensible legislation if we keep steadily in mind these four guiding principles. First, keep separate the problems of internal union affairs from the problems of collective bargaining. Second, keep legal intervention to a minimum. Third, encourage and implement union self-regulation. Fourth, make the method of enforcement appropriate for the good sought.

III

These broad principles give us a sense of direction, but they do not get us through the thicket. There is a confusing array of paths open, many leading to dead ends, some with treacherous pitfalls, and none without thorns. I have no map, know of none, and suspect that none has yet been even roughly sketched. All that can be done here is to suggest four paths which seem worthy of exploration.

The first possible path which might get us past the underbrush is to take profit making out of union leadership. The Senate Committee hearings have graphically revealed how union officers can exploit their position for personal gain. Treasuries can be plundered to buy homes, cadillacs, race horses, and even "lady organizers." Union funds are "borrowed" without interest or security, and with no due date except that fixed by the danger of discovery. If the treasury is bare or guarded, other sources are available. Vice President Kralstein of the Bakery Workers cooked up a testimonial dinner in his honor and solicited contributions from both members and employers. Grateful for favors past and future, they contributed over $60,000. It has been testified that Beck's son made $19,000 selling toy trucks to Teamster's locals and Hoffa's wife shared profits of $125,000 from contracts made with trucking firms with which Hoffa negotiated contracts.

The immediate vice in these transactions is that it converts the union officer from a democratic leader into the operator of a business enterprise. His personal interests are placed in conflict with his union responsibilities. The ultimate vice is that the ease of exploitation attracts ruthless pirates like Johnny Dio whose sole objective is plunder and whose methods destroy every semblance of democracy.

Does this not suggest one direction in which the law might move--to seek to make more difficult the exploitation of union office for financial gain. This may require more explicit legal statement of the fiduciary position of union officers. It may involve establishing minimum accounting standards, or requiring detailed financial reports. These and all possible methods of insuring financial honesty should be fully explored to determine their potential usefulness.

In defining the standards of financial integrity, should we not seriously consider making the law conform to the standards set forth by the Ethical Practices Committee? Code IV states, "In a sense, a trade union official holds a position comparable to that of a public servant. Like a public servant, he has a high fiduciary duty not only to serve the members of his union honestly and faithfully but also to avoid personal economic interests which may conflict or appear to conflict with the full performance of his responsibility to those whom he serves." Ought we not weigh the possibility of enacting a conflict of interest statute which will enforce the standards there prescribed?

If we have such a statute need we stop with criminal prosecution? Could we not also compel the culprits to disgorge the loot? Should not those who knowingly participated in the transactions be held equally responsible?

A second possible path which may prove promising is insuring that union members be adequately informed of what is being done in their name. A member of the Operating Engineers was expelled because he asked for information about welfare funds. Two officers of the United Textile Workers used $57,000 of union funds to buy themselves homes and hid it under the heading of organizing expense. Members have been denied copies of their collective agreements or union constitutions and misinformed about executive board actions. These are only the most gross examples of defeating the democratic process by keeping the members in ignorance. Might it not prove fruitful to devote earnest attention at this point? What values may be gained in filing requirements, in compelling furnishing reports to members, or in protecting members rights to inspect union records? Are other more effective devices available?

Even though disclosure rules such as filing requirements may seem waste motion, we may underestimate their usefulness. When rumors fly or charges are made concerning a particular union, the file may provide leads or valuable information. Brewster's misuse of Teamsters funds was discovered, at least in part, through the financial report filed under Taft-Hartley. Even more important, such reports may help the unions to police themselves by making possible criticism within the union or providing evidence for disciplinary action by the Federation.

A third possible path, which is closely connected to the first two, is protecting members in their right to criticize union officers and union policies. The fate of Secretary Sims of the Bakery Workers is symptomatic. One of the customary weapons of corrupt or dictatorial leaders is the silencing of their critics and the dismantling of all organized opposition. The methods may vary from threats of physical violence to placing local unions in receivership. If the freedom to criticize is impaired, then union democracy is impossible. On the other hand, if criticism flows freely then the members themselves have some chance to challenge abuse of power and clean out corruption.

This is undoubtedly a most difficult and sensitive point for any legislation, but ought we not study every conceivable aspect to determine whether and how the right to criticize can be protected without destroying union discipline? Should we use the leverage of legal intervention to induce the union movement to establish a system of appeal boards patterned after those in the Auto Workers and Upholsterers Union? Should we consider defining legislatively union members civil rights and minimum procedural standards which the courts could enforce? If we can adequately protect freedom of speech within the union, might we be able to avoid the necessity for much other regulation?

The fourth possible path which might be explored is aiding the unions to obtain evidence of wrongdoing within the movement. One of the reasons given by the AFL-CIO Executive Council for its failure to take earlier action was that it lacked the power to subpoena witnesses. Rumors of corruption floated about, newspaper and magazine stories charged malpractices, but tested evidence was lacking. The Senate Committee has served as broker, providing the Federation with evidence on which it can act. This, however, is an unsatisfactory episodic stop gap. Inquiries into the business activities of Big Helen and Small Helen, chasing a bouncing local union charter, and stories of wiring grand jury witnesses for sound may make excellent television screen play, but it contributes little to union

democracy or to enabling labor to clean its own house. Ought we consider the possibility of creating some continuing structure less tinged by the temptations for publicity and political capital which could serve the function of providing evidence which the unions need to police themselves? Would it be feasible to establish some public commission or agency which could act as watch-dog and make investigations where necessary?

These four potential paths, which are not mutually exclusive, are presented not as solutions but as possible starting points. They may one or all prove to be dead ends, but we need to explore and examine thoroughly. There may be other paths even more promising, and some new ones may open which we are unable to see. The purpose here is only to try to make some beginning in the hopes of stimulating serious thought and constructive suggestions.

Conclusion

"Legislating Union Democracy" -- the title bears the seeds of its own undoing. No one understands better than a lawyer the limitations of the law in solving social problems. We can not compel union members to attend union meetings or cast wise ballots. We can not decree that union leaders shall be selfless servants without the love of power and prestige. We can not with words wipe out our social cannibals. If we expect the law to bring into being a model union democracy, we are doomed to disappointment. If we attempt to reach so far we shall destroy more than we create.

Although the law has limitation, it need not be an exercise in futility. We can create structures and procedures which will reduce the temptations and opportunities for selfish men to satisfy their greed. We can establish devices to identify the social cannibals so that they may be cast out. We can create channels through which union members can gain some facts which will enable them to vote more wisely.

The most that the law can do is to aid those forces within the labor movement which seek to build and protect honest and democratic unions, to give shields and swords to those who would overthrow corruption and authoritarianism, to assure workers that the desire for democracy shall not be wholly frustrated.

We have a public interest in union democracy, for we seek through unions to give added breadth to the democratic process. The unions have recognized this special responsibility. The law should do what it can to help achieve this high purpose.

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Univ. of Min'n. IRC Conference
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ments I've seen put out of our congress—which summarized their thinking on this problem. I would like to read you just one section of that report:

> **"There were differences of opinion on how to forecast the consequences of further testing. The differences . . . appear to be those concerning the biological effects of radiation. Pending a resolution of differences, it would appear from the information presented that the consequences of further testing over the next several generations at the level of testing for the past five years, could constitute a hazard to the world's population."**

This is the unanimous statement by the Republicans and the Democrats on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—the best informed group on this subject in the United States Congress.

Anyone wishing more information on this problem can write to me:

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ETHICAL PRACTICES

Arthur J. Goldberg

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Introduction by CARL WINN,
Regional Director AFL-CIO:

I well know that it is customary to introduce a guest speaker to his audience and the audience to our guest speaker. But, inasmuch as you already know about our speaker from advance conference publicity, I'd like to change the procedure today and introduce our guest to the University of Minnesota. On the basis of my experience with state universities, which I admit is not extensive, I'd like to say that I have reached the firm conclusion that this great university is one of the few state-supported institutions that is still one of the great seats of academic freedom left in this country. So, Arthur, at the University of Minnesota, you can express your beliefs and your opinions without restraint. I will not guarantee that you won't wind up in argument but I will guarantee that you won't wind up in the columns of censorship. I think this is a great tradition of which this University can and should be proud. I am glad that it is a great seat of freedom for teaching in accord with the conscience of the individual professor. As an example, let me mention that in the school of law there is at least one professor who is an active officer in the American Civil Liberties Union. I know of other universities where professors were fired for belonging to this organization. I think further typical of the freedom that is exercised in this great school is the knowledge that at least one of the professors in the school of Political Science describes himself as a socio-philosophical anarchist—whatever that is.

Our guest will speak to you today on the topic of "Ethical Practices." I am firmly convinced that he is well versed on this subject. I have read the reports of the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO and more than occasionally reference is made to the staff reports. Inquiry has revealed to me that the staff reports were prepared by Arthur Goldberg and his associates. It gives me a

great deal of pleasure to present to you today, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, General Counsel for the United Steelworkers of America and Special Counsel for the AFL-CIO. Mr. Goldberg.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here today. I was very interested, as we all were, in Carl's "commercial" for the University. I note that there are a couple of mavericks here from other universities today. They don't exactly fit your description of a "philosophical anarchist," but my old friend and colleague from Chicago, Maynard Krueger, is a fellow who has always been a pretty independent citizen throughout the years. In fact, he is Chairman of the Independent Voters in Chicago at the present time. Another great man of American letters and economics, whom you heard this morning, is Professor Colston Warne.

After meeting with the AFL-CIO Executive Committee last week I went to Detroit to meet with Mr. Reuther. As you may know, his union is to be "investigated" by the McClellan Committee. Our big difficulty is determining what relationship a strike situation has to the announced purposes of the senate committee on improper activities. We have not yet assumed in America that engaging in a strike is an improper activity. Apparently, some members of that committee—Messrs. Goldwater, Mundt and Curtis—cannot claim that the Auto Workers Union is corrupt or crooked or racketeering or dominated. Nevertheless, for political reasons of their own, they feel they have to conduct an investigation of that union. I think that union will and can speak for itself. It has a most articulate spokesman, as you know, who will have plenty to say before the Senate Committee when it convenes to discuss the Kohler strike on the 24th.

I shall start my discussion on "Ethical Practices" by telling you of an incident that occurred in Washington several months ago. The Ethical Practices Committee had just met for lunch. As we were leaving we ran into the man with the bushy eyebrows, John L. Lewis. He looked at us and in his very polite and dignified way bowed and said to Al Hayes, the Chairman of our Committee, "Al, have you found any ethics in the labor movement yet?" Had I anticipated what Mr. Lewis subsequently said on a television program, we would have had a pretty good answer. I happened to hear Martin Agronsky interview Mr. Lewis. Mr. Lewis was asked what he thought about this whole question of ethics and morals. He made what was to me an astonishing statement in which he said that morals are the function of the church and of our religious leaders and that the labor movement has nothing to do with morals. Had I known his position when I heard his remark, I would have said to John Lewis that I had heard that comment to Mr. Hayes and that I couldn't disagree more heartily with him.

Ethical Principles Basic

If I have felt anything about the labor movement it is that the whole basis for the American labor movement is founded in ethics and in morals, and that if it does not rest upon ethical and moral principles, it has no lasting foundation. I say this because I want to tell you right at the outset that I view the problem of ethics in the labor movement in a special light. I'm not so

sure that all of the officials of the labor movement necessarily agree with me. I think most of them do. I think that the labor movement has a special responsibility by its very nature, to dedicate itself to ethical concepts and to carry on its work by ethical means. I know it is popular in labor circles to say in response to criticism about the ethics of the labor movement: Why don't the critics criticize the ethics of management groups? Frankly, while that is something we all might want to say, I don't think it is an adequate answer to the question of ethics in the labor movement. Let me put it to you very simply, making a fast buck may be a good concept for business—it can never be a concept for the American labor movement. While all of us as citizens would welcome a little more morality in the business community, nevertheless, the standards that apply to the business world—a world dedicated under our society to profit-making—are not the standards which can be applied to the labor movement at all. The labor movement has separate standards and must be governed by separate principles.

Abuses Imperil Reputation of All

Now in analyzing the position of the labor movement, as it stands today in a very difficult position as a result of disclosures on the Hill and elsewhere, we must always remember that the vast majority of labor people—and I speak now of labor people both on the national level and on the local level—are dedicated people. They are trying honestly to safeguard the rights and forward the interests of the members of their unions. Yet, we must be equally frank and acknowledge that the reputations of these thousands of labor leaders, both national and local, are being questioned because of the actions of some leaders. You know the statistics. There are over 70 thousand local unions in America, ranging all the way from locals with few members to some local unions with thousands of members. But the reputations of all those people are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt and unethical practices of the men who have betrayed their trust as labor leaders. I was in the company of a very distinguished and honest labor leader whose organization is a beacon for progress in the labor movement. I was with Mr. David Dubinsky—riding up the elevator with him in the ILGWU Building. The elevator operator, his own employee, said to him something like this: "Well, you labor leaders, you're all right—you take care of yourself." I must say that was quite a shocking statement; but to me it indicated a lack of confidence in the labor movement on the part of the general population.

Let's take a look at some of the factors related to ethical practices. First of all, the problem is generally discussed in terms of individual moral standards of labor leadership. To me that's too simple an analysis. I must state frankly that union members who fail to exercise their responsibilities as union citizens likewise bear a high degree of responsibility for abridgement of their rights. A very great clergyman, Monsignor Higgins, in addressing the Auto Workers Convention made what I thought was a significant observation in this area. He said that, by and large, labor unions and labor union memberships get better leadership than they deserve—and I agree with him. You who are leaders of your unions at the local level know how difficult it is to get participation on the part of your membership in the day-by-day activities of your unions. This lack of participation, this willingness to let somebody else do it, is in my measure more responsible for the delinquencies that have occurred in the labor movement than any other single factor.

What is involved is an attitude of understanding that the labor movement requires support and participation by its membership. Now the problem of ethics in the labor movement requires an understanding of what we are talking about in the terms of rights and responsibilities of people who gather together in unions. This is what we have attempted, for the first time, to define in the ethical practice codes to which Carl referred a few minutes ago, a fairly unprecedented undertaking, by the way. I don't know very many groups other than the churches in our society which have attempted to set up the ethical principles which should govern their own association. I had the pleasure of addressing a national meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce not long ago. I asked those in attendance whether they did not think the time was overdue for a statement of moral principles by the American business community. I was not referring to the "better business" groups that exist. I was referring to some basic postulates of American business—the postulate of profit—the postulate of prices— the postulate of business practices—which raise important questions of moral standards. The Chamber does not and has not attempted to deal with that problem.

Concepts of Ethical Practices Code

We have tried to analyze for the leadership and the membership of the American labor movement, certain important concepts and I am going to enumerate what I think the concepts are as stated in our ethical practices code. In the codes of the AFL-CIO we have attempted to define the rights of a union member and his union. The **First** right is the right to a democratic union. The **Second** right is the right to due process of law in union disciplinary proceedings. **Third** is the right to a clean honest union. **Fourth** is the right to an effective union. **Fifth** is the right for a union free from discrimination because of race, creed or color. **Sixth** is the right to a responsible union—responsible not only to its members and to its employers but to the community and the nation as a whole.

Now let's analyze what this means, and what we say in the codes about them. We all say we're for a democratic union. The American trade union movement is proud of the fact that we call our union movement a democratic and free trade union movement. Basic to the democracy of the trade union movement is both internal democracy and external democracy. Authoritarian control of the union, whether it is inside of the union or imposed from the outside by government, is contrary to the tradition and the principles of unions which call themselves free and democratic. What do we mean when we say we ought to have a democratic union? I'll give you a very simple description. You can test any union in America and determine for yourself if it is a democratic union by whether or not these principles are followed. The essence of democracy in the trade union is the right of full and equal participation by each member in the affairs and processes of union self-government. This to me includes the right to vote periodically for local and national office. It isn't important to me what the form of that vote is—the substance is important. Some unions practice referendum votes for their national elections. Some practice delegate votes after they have votes by their membership. It's not important which form they follow. What's important is the right that every member must have to free and full participation in that process. The second thing is honest elections. Elections, whatever their form, should be conducted honestly. That's self-evident. The

third thing is that every union member ought to have the right to stand and hold office subject only to fair qualifications uniformly imposed. The fourth is that every member ought to have the right to voice his views as to the way in which the union affairs should be conducted. This seems to me to be the essence of a democratic union. We said so in the code on democratic practices which the AFL-CIO had adopted. The directive is going out to every international union of the AFL-CIO saying among other things that this is the policy position of the federation and it is now binding upon all affiliates. The day when a union could hold an international convention once every 20 years must be a past chapter in American life. I'm glad to report that when we made a survey of all of the unions we discovered that this was no longer the practice in American life. As a matter of fact we have said in the codes that the maximum period for conventions should be four years and the maximum term for holding national office in a union should be four years. There should also be limited terms of office for local officials.

Trusteeship Problems in AFL-CIO

Another problem is that of trusteeships or administratorships of local unions. Now it is very popular in certain circles to say there never ought to be a trusteeship of a union. Not long ago, I had a meeting with some very distinguished senators who are good friends of labor. They raised that question of trusteeships and said that they were considering enacting legislation that would make it impossible to establish trusteeships over local unions. Whereupon I raised this question to them: One of my functions for the AFL-CIO has been to act as Special Counsel for President Meany. The AFL-CIO, while it is not a national union, nevertheless has local unions directly affiliated with it. We had a situation in Philadelphia where there was a federal local, dominated by an official of the Laundry Workers Unions, which did not have a local union meeting in over five years. The man who was running this outfit was running it out of his vest pocket. Meany served charges and then, exercising his rights under the AFL-CIO constitutions and the rules, he appointed a trustee of that local union. I asked the senators whether they did not believe that was a justifiable trusteeship. There was a unanimous agreement that such a situation warranted a trusteeship. It was necessary to appoint a trustee so as to assure the members of that local their basic elementary right to hold and conduct meetings and elect their own officers. Mr. Meany told me the other day that the trusteeship is going to be terminated very shortly because the local people have been participating effectively in local union affairs and they are now in a position to run their own business.

I happen to know of a local in the Steelworkers Union, where the local union divided on racial grounds. I'm not talking in terms of Negro and White race relations—I'm talking about racial (or actual, nationality) conflicts based on what section of Eastern Europe the membership came from—whether it was Yugoslavia or Poland. The local union had adopted seniority rules which preserved seniority only for people of a certain racial background. On top of that they had a key club and the only people who could come into the key club were the people of the same national origin. I asked the senators whether they didn't think the international union had an obligation in that area to straighten out that situation. The only way it could be straightened out was by an educational process under the leadership of the international

union. They agreed with me that that was a proper activity for an international union.

There are many other illustrations I could cite as to where imposition of a trusteeship would be necessary, in order to assure democratic rights but at the same time I want to add that the AFL-CIO code in talking about this subject goes on to say this right, which is an extreme right, ought to be exercised sparingly and that trusteeships ought to be terminated quickly. It is not necessary or desirable for trusteeships to be continued indefinitely as they have been in certain organizations.

Democratic Rights and Responsibilities in Unions

I am aware that there has been a lot of talk about legislation to insure union democracy. I want to say frankly to you that I have more faith in the actions being taken by the AFL-CIO in this area. There is a tendency in our life—we all have it—when we encounter a problem to say let's have a law to solve the problem. My experience with regulatory laws in this area is that very often they are not effective. What you need is something more and I'll talk about that when I talk about the responsibilities of union members, because just as eternal vigilance is the price of liberty so, to me at least, the constant exercise of the rights of union citizenship is the price of union democracy.

Another right that I feel is basic in this area is the right to due process of law in union disciplinary proceedings. There's been a lot of talk on this subject and a great deal of misunderstanding. First of all, many of you who participate actively in local union affairs will bear witness when I say that I have studied the record of many union disciplinary cases.

Professor Taft wrote a book on this subject at Brown University. I have practiced in the courts for about 30 years. I can tell you that the substantive **due process,** that is a fair trial, is probably accorded more effectively in our local unions than it is in some of the law courts. I do not say this in any disrespect for the judges. Common assumption that a man does not get a fair trial in a local union is not justified. Local union people hear the people, they have trial committees, there are appeals to the membership and, by-and-large, in every American trade union, there is a method of appeal to a higher body to insure that the local judgment is not the result of bias or prejudice. I remember a very interesting appeal case that we heard in the Steelworkers Union under Phil Murray's leadership. It shows you how a union operates. There's an old fellow in one of our steelworkers unions in Pennsylvania. He comes from the old country and he was probably a little bit to the left of left—probably an old regenerate radical. I don't know in what category he fit but this was my judgment in hearing the appeal. He was a good union man. He used to walk about eight miles to attend a union meeting. He came to a local union meeting and the local had rented its hall that morning prior to the local union meeting to some ladies war veterans association and they were having their meeting as he walked in. The union meeting had not yet started. The old fellow sat in the back of the room and the meeting concluded with the playing of **The Star Spangled Banner.** The old fellow did not take off his hat and rise. His colleagues who were gathered around him got justly infuriated about his lack of respect for our flag and charged him with conduct unbecoming a union member. They convicted him guilty and he

took an appeal to the International Executive Board. Mr. Murray was presiding over this appeal and he leaned over to me in the course of it and said, "We can't convict this old codger. He's dead wrong, but he's a good union man—he's supported the union for all of these years. Can you help out?" I had to do some fast thinking, so as Legal Consultant to the Board, I finally came to what I thought was a Solomon-like decision. I said, "It seems this fellow was guilty of disrespect to the flag, but it didn't take place at a union meeting—the ladies were still meeting at the time. I think what we ought to do is chastise him and tell him that he offended everybody's sensibilities and never let it happen again but reinstate him to membership in the organization," which the board did.

I think that that was a good decision for that particular case and I only cite it as illustrative that there are mechanisms in this area of the trade union movement. Having said that, I want to add that the machinery will be self-destructive if the trade union movement doesn't see that it operates fairly. If Executive Boards of unions do not exercise their responsibilities to provide corrective relief when relief is justified; if union officials log-roll with each other in the disposition of these cases, then laws will be passed, and more than that. Even now the courts have intervened to prevent injustice. As we lawyers know, there is a whole body of case laws presently in existence that says that while no particular form is required, the substance of due process must be accorded any union member when he is tried by his union. That is as it should be.

The third right I mentioned was a right to a clean, honest union. This is set forth in plain and specific terms in the AFL-CIO codes. But beyond that the AFL-CIO codes have set very high standards. For example, conflicts of interests in the investment and business interests of union officials are prohibited. The standard used (and this a new concept for the labor movement but an important one) is one applicable to public servants, which is a recognition of a quasi-public character that the trade union has now assumed in American life. In other words, we are applying virtually the same conflicts of interest rules to the trade union movement that have been applied to the Civil Service.

I was interested to note that in the paper today, Mr. Hoffa has stated in Miami at a meeting of the Teamsters Executive Board (which appropriately is taking place at a motel called "The Castaways") that his officers and he, himself, are going to comply with the "conflicts of interest" codes of the AFL-CIO. It's a little bit belated in his case, because we pointed out 8 or 9 months ago what we thought was the most damaging allegation against the Teamsters' leadership. That is, that the leadership of that union, including Mr. Hoffa, had personal financial interests in companies with which their union bargained collectively. It is the feeling of the AFL-CIO that that is intolerable.

"Conflicts of Interest"

We have another code in the AFL-CIO that goes beyond the codes that are applicable to corporate trustees. The code says this, and many business men don't like it. We say that when a man is a union official, he ought not get paid extra money for administering his union's welfare funds or acting as a trustee for the union. Corporate officials take these assignments all the time

without any hesitance. The very cases we heard before the Ethical Practices Committee (a laundry workers' case, bakers' case and other cases) involved joint trusteeships of their welfare fund—business trustees and union trustees. We said that the union trustees could not accept extra compensation because the union was paying them full-time pay for doing a union job and we didn't feel that extra compensation from the welfare fund was required or justified. We said that this was an obligation that they were performing for the union. At the same time, the employer trustees, who were all full-time officials of their respective companies, without restraint or inhibition were drawing the same fees from these welfare funds. We can't tell the business community what to do but we don't think it is a proper or good practice for the labor community.

You know, of course, that we don't believe crooks or racketeers have a place in the labor movement. We have said that a practical test ought to be applied to this. We don't think it necessary to wait for a conviction to determine whether or not a man is a crook or a racketeer. We believe that it is possible to make those determinations as a matter of common sense and at the same time with due regard to the rights of labor unions and the individuals involved. I am aware that the mere adoption of the rules or the codes standing alone will not eliminate corruption. You must remember that the AFL-CIO has done far more than merely adopt high-sounding rules. We've thrown the largest affiliate out of the AFL-CIO. There's a school of thought that says: "Well, suppose you have. How is that effective? The teamsters are still in existence and operating. You're not going to challenge them. What have you accomplished?" I think we have accomplished a great deal. By setting a moral standard, by doing what we could to police that standard, we have had a substantial impact upon the operation of unions which have been expelled from the organization. Do not minimize the value of affiliation with the labor movement in that connection. Any labor group which traditionally has played a part in the labor movement does not want to be isolated from the main stream of the American labor movement. Being isolated today from the main stream of the American labor movement means isolation from not only the industrial scene but from the community scene and the national scene as well. Our labor movement today is part of the community and part of the national community.

Basic Rights of the Union Member

Another right that is implicit in the code and spelled out, too, is the right to an **effective** union. The primary function of American unions, in spite of their broadened scope of activities in recent years, is still collective bargaining. A good contract is the fundamental object of every union. Each member has a right to efficient and effective representation at the bargaining table. He should be able to expect that when his union meets with the employer, it is armed with all of the techniques of this important process. He has the right to expect that, in addition to his officers knowing the facts, professional and technical assistance is available to his officials so that legal and research and education and public relations techniques are utilized as fully as possible. This is very important because one of the things that I discovered in preparing the cases for the Ethical Practices Committee, is that more benefits were lost and more funds were dissipated by unions out of ignorance than through corruption. After all, the recent period has been a

great period of advances by unions in areas in which they traditionally didn't do much. Pensions, S.U.B. benefits, welfare funds, insurance, are a relatively new area in American labor history. If a union is to function effectively in these areas, it must have the benefit of expert advice. Several of the cases we heard in the ethical practices field demonstrated to us that it was the failure to have effective help and assistance which resulted in lack of adequate protection for the members of the unions involved. It seems to me it is basic today that good unionism be **effective** unionism, and effective unionism requires the use of these resources to which I have made reference. Conferences like this one can play an important part in giving union leaders additional insight on their problems.

Furthermore, it seems to me, that unions must recognize that every member has a right to a union which doesn't discriminate because of race, creed or color. The day of "second class" membership in any union has got to be a thing of the past. The day of restrictive clauses in union constitutions fortunately is close to the twilight. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to say that we have reached our goal in this area. There are still pockets of discrimination in unions which have got to be eliminated.

Finally, the right which is looming larger and larger in American life, and which is expected by the public, is the right to a responsible union. Responsibility means responsible to the membership, to employers, but perhaps more important—responsible to the community and to the nation at large. Labor is rapidly losing its status as a special interest group. We can not afford to let a situation develop in which there is a difference in the mind of the public between desirable goals for the whole society and desirable goals for the labor movement. Not all labor leaders understand this. I think the leadership of the AFL-CIO does. It's for the best interest of unions and their members that they must now live in the goldfish bowl of national curiosity. That isn't a bad symbol for any institution in American democratic society. You know, we said of the labor movement (contrary to some corporate slogans) that what is good for America is good for labor. That's a good slogan. Glib as it sounds, it voices a fundamental truth that our labor movement must never forget.

Members Set the "Climate" in the Union

Now, I've dealt with the rights, but the codes also indicate that correlative to the rights are certain responsibilities. This is an area which has been ignored in the press because the press has been more interested in the doings of the leadership than in the lack of responsibility on the part of union membership. I have already stated what I think is the first important responsibility of union membership and that is the responsibility to participate. Lethargy in unions and in all aspects of American life is one of the problems that our whole democracy must cope with. When union members regard their unions as slot machines, which may pay back a quarter for each nickel invested or as an insurance policy that can be attained at a cheap cost—then that union membership is devaluating the union. It's a continuing problem which taxes the best resources of all of us in the academic area, in labor and among the membership. I think the union membership has a responsibility to help set moral and ethical standards. It isn't enough just to expect that the leadership will be ethical. The members ~~set~~ a climate in this area. If the climate they set is an ethical, moral climate then I think there will be

better leadership on the part of American labor unions. The membership has to create a public opinion of their own. This is a very troublesome problem because the membership often doesn't do this. Let me illustrate what happens. The AFL-CIO had a finding about the Laundry Workers Union. The leadership of that union, conniving with an insurance broker in New York, stole a million dollars of welfare funds which the members never got. You would have thought that the membership of that union would have taken those fellows lock, stock and barrel and booted them out of the trade union movement. They had a convention—they had an opportunity to do this. I don't think their convention was a packed one as some people assert, but I do think their convention was a very indifferent convention to a point where nobody had the courage to stand up on the floor and say, "Read us the report of the Ethical Practices Committee." It was never read to that convention. You may say, maybe they were intimidated. Part of the responsibility of union membership is to have a little courage. We haven't forfeited our heritage just because people are in the labor movement.

I think the third responsibility is that just as their union has the obligation of according civil rights to everybody, union members have a responsibility to respect civil rights. Very often they don't exercise that responsibility. Take the situation in some of our southern communities. The leadership of the American trade union movement has been far in advance of their membership in this area. Too many union members joined the white citizens' councils and did not accord to their fellow union members, with whom they work in the plants, the same rights they expect the union to accord to them.

Union membership is often called upon to make decisions, recognizing that a union is not an island unto itself but must work within the framework of the national community. Just as we expect union leadership in unions to be responsible, union members have a responsibility to recognize the union's obligation in this area. This is very tough, because union membership necessarily is engrossed in its own problems. Before you can have a nationwide steel strike it is important for every union member to know the seriousness and the consequences of that in relation to the whole nation. We have had several very difficult situations in an organization like steel in this area. Our fellows here from the steel plants know how important that responsibility is. In 1952, when the Korean War was going on, the union membership of the United Steelworkers union had to recognize its responsibility and I must say did, when it postponed that strike over 100 days because there was a great conflict and in response to a plea from the President of the United States.

The final responsibility is to be loyal to the union. You'll remember I emphasized that a union member should be able to express himself any way that he wants to. That's his right. He has a right to run for office. He has a right to campaign. He has a right to criticize union leadership. But, I think he has the responsibility to be loyal to his union. I think he must do that as we do it in American society within the framework of our society. It means that he must be willing to support the union as an institution, even though he may disagree with his current leadership. It means that if he expects his union to be an effective union, he must support the services which make the union effective. You can't have actuaries, economists, lawyers and other experts to represent your union at the collective bargaining table and not provide the union with the means to support these activities. Very often,

since we are all subject to the same vices, all of us would like to buy cheap, but sometimes you can't buy cheap in these important areas.

I have stated these observations about rights and responsibilities because this is what is spelled out in the AFL-CIO codes very often, because we must use language that is descriptive in detail. What I have talked about today is in the codes. It represents the ethical and moral standards which the labor movement has agreed upon should govern its own operations. In my opinion, while the labor movement is going through very difficult times indeed, perhaps the outcome will be for the best interests of our labor movement and for America at large. I think the movement has gone through a necessary evaluation and revaluation of its fundamental principles. I, for one, am entirely confident that this period will be one which, while it has been painful, has served to build a better and more forward looking labor movement in this country.

CURRENT IRC RESEARCH

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There have been so many inquiries as to the specific functions of the Industrial Relations Center and there is not enough time for a detailed report on current research projects, so it seems desirable to clarify the Center's main functions, to discuss its relation to other University departments, and to tell of a few research findings on our Union Membership Participation research—one of the studies in the Union Studies Laboratory recently completed.

The IRC was established as an inter-disciplinary department in 1945, governed by a Faculty Committee drawn from the following departments:

Economics and Business Administration
Psychology
Law
Engineering
Sociology
Political Science

IRC Administration

In addition to the Faculty Committee which recommends the broad general policies, the Center receives suggestions and support from its Advisory Council of about 25 community leaders from labor, management, and the general public who are interested in improving industrial relations.

The senior faculty of the Center, known as the executive staff, is assisted by the research staff and clerical staff in carrying out the work of the Center.

Center Functions

The Center's program includes (1) Training students for careers in industrial relations—with industry, unions, government and educational institutions; (2) Providing service to the citizens of the state primarily through the facilities of the IRC Reference Library; and (3) Carrying on both basic and applied research in the major areas of industrial relations.

EMERGING REPUBLICANISM IN THE SOUTH

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Prepared for delivery at the 1964 Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois
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In July of 1960 in Chicago, during the turmoil of shaping and then reshaping the "liberalized" Republican platform, I. Lee Potter, director of the Republican National Committee's "Operation Dixie," turned to a companion and remarked, "I just hate to see ten years' work go down the drain." In July of 1964 Mr. Potter reviewed his party's record in the South and observed that in the light of present circumstances his remark of four years ago must have been a bit overdrawn. Then he offered two statements that add further current dimensions to emerging Southern Republicanism of the sixties. He stated that the 1962 election of five brand new Republican Congressmen from the South brought a national gain of two for the Republican House of Representatives delegation instead of a net loss of three, "and the boys on the Hill know this." And thereafter he noted that in the 1964 presidential election the Southern states are on the spot. The Republicans "need South Carolina, Texas and North Carolina," in addition to Virginia, Florida and Tennessee, if the Southern development is to justify and merit the approval of the national party.[1]

Potter is an affable Virginian who has been in both state and national Republican politics for well over ten years. His manner and approach are direct and forceful, and his methods are more traditional, perhaps, than those of the Republican State Chairman of Texas, Peter O'Donnell, Jr. Mr. O'Donnell is a younger man of some wealth and a business education. His zealous campaign methods, like his personality, are crisp and direct. He employs electronic data processing in his organizations and campaigns, and consequently is able to produce reams of data about the upsurge of his party in Texas. Here are some of his figures:[2]

In 1956 there was only one Republican office holder in Texas. In 1958, there were two. In 1960, three. In 1961, six. In 1962, GOP officeholders had increased in numbrr to 32, and in 1963, 40 Republicans held office in Texas. In 1964 Texas will have some 300 Republican candidates for offices throughout the state, including a Republican candidate for each of the 23 Congressional seats. One candidate, not for Congress, will be a convert. He is a six-term Democratic state legislator from Dallas who is running as the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor.

In 1960, six hundred people attended the Republican State Convention in San Antonio. In June, 1964 in Dallas, 12,000 attended the state convention, including 2400 delegates and 2400 alternates.

Participating in a Republican primary in the South has long been an exercise in individuality. According to O'Donnell, only 1600 voters cast ballots in the Republican gubernatorial primary of 1934. Twenty years later 3,000 voters in 83 counties participated in the 1954 Republican gubernatorial primary. In 1958, 11,000 Republican voters in 61 counties took part, and in 1962 115,000 citizens in 216 counties voted in the Republican gubernatorial primary. This year 145,000 voters, in all 254 counties, participated in the Republican primary which selected a party candidate for governor.

These data, plus Texas' recent willingness to vote for a Republican for President, and her even more recent selection of a Republican to be a United States Senator, plus the organization which the O'Donnell group has established and motivated in Texas lead some to surmise that perhaps Texas and other parts of the old Confederacy are becoming, or will become, Republican territory. Has the Republican party, as a political and of course a social institution, obtained a status and position of prominence in these states?

Standing alone, the Republican increases in party primary participation and in county organization appear significant. But they describe only insufficiencies when contrasted with hard figures on Democratic strength. Thus in 1962, nearly 1,500,000 votes were counted in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary, about ten times the number the Republicans drew in 1964. Nor is there any sign yet of other than fragmentary GOP representation in the Texas state legislature. Here appears the sharp difference between the contest for national government office and that for leadership and control of the state. And here too appears evidence of the split image of the political parties which seems to gain acceptance in the South.[3] Increasingly, Southerners appear to be voting Republican for national office candidates and voting Democratic for state candidates, giving little thought to the implications or ultimate consequences of such ballot splitting.

The voter's assumed lack of speculation on the abstruse meanings of his action does not extend to the research and writings of students of politics, however. In the fifteen years since the time of the pioneer regional analysis by Professor V. O. Key with Alexander Heard, this part of the country has been subjected to repeated examination, conclusion and prognostication. Advanced techniques, interdisciplinary alliances, and new approaches have carried social scientists into types of electoral and organizational analyses that have revealed much about the area in general and its voting habits in particular.[4]

This short paper springs in part from, and hopefully adds something to, these previous works. It recounts a few of the changes in minority party development in the South, evaluates them primarily concerning their meaning for the national Republican party and for the two-party system in the United States, and raises issues that may provoke discussion and controversy--but not necessarily solutions. The stress in the paper, if such there be, is on the Republican Party

institution as one of the parties in a national two-party system, and on changes in activities and relationships within the party and between the Republican and the Democratic parties which may ensue from the emergence of Republicanism in the South.

How Far Has Republicanism Emerged?

An old English writ of law once enabled a man, after coming of age, to recover lands which he had aliened during infancy.[5] If the GOP had the advantage of such a writ, its recovery in the old Confederacy might be faster in the twentieth century. Up to 1950 Republican gains there were insignificant, and were usually results of resistance by minority enclaves of Appalachian holdouts in North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia or reluctant Germans in Texas, or newly arrived Northerners in Florida. In these islets being a Republican was accepted and perhaps preferred. But hardly elsewhere in the South.[6]

In 1950 Professor Key's Southern Politics included 21 out of 675 pages as "Chapter 13, A Note on the Republican Party," and his second paragraph there revealed his distaste for this infantile, powerless assortment of the forties.

> One never knows who is and who is not a Republican. The party places no imperative obligation of constancy on its communicants. It scarcely deserves the name of party. It wavers somewhat between an esoteric cult on the order of a lodge and a conspiracy for plunder in accord with the accepted customs of our politics. Its exact position on the cult-conspiracy scale varies from place to place and from time to time. Only in North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee do the Republicans approximate the reality of a political party. Party or not, they are elements of the political landscape and some account has to be taken of them.[7]

Key did see some possibilities for the southern Republicans, though, in the quadrennial significance of the "presidential Republicans" and the potential for organizing a stronger and more effective faction.

> Prevalence of the presidential Republican in considerable numbers in Texas, Florida, and Arkansas makes it relevant to point again to the significance of the Presidency as an organizing influence in state and local politics. The issues of the Presidency are dramatic enough to reach down into traditional one-party states and divide the voters. If Republican leaders of Texas and Florida had either incentive or ability, they might over the long run build a Republican party or the midwestern variety by using the pulling power of the presidential campaign.[8]

In 1952 Professor Heard's A Two Party South? gave far more extensive attention and treatment to GOP possibilities in the region; but he also conveyed some lack of confidence in Republican efforts to quickly acquire virility.

> Looking across the nine presidential elections between 1916 and 1948, one can see in the graphs no sustained tendency toward an increase, or a decrease, in southern Republicanism. . . . Among the three states most strongly Republican, Virginia gained in Republicanism and the other two lost; among the four states next in Republican strength, two gained and two lost; among the states most solidly Democratic, the Republican percentage increased in three and declined in one.[9]

Professor Heard expressed the belief that over a period of some years:

> southern conservatives will find neither in a separatist group nor in the Democratic party an adequate vehicle of political expression. If this is true, they must turn to the Republican party. . . . Such developments depend essentially on the evolving nature of the South and the evolving nature of the American party system.[10]

Professors Key and Heard wrote prior to the 1952 election, and offered hints that were then appropriate about how far the Republican party of the South needed to go, the direction it should take, and how it should pursue electoral prosperity. Whether it heeded this or similar advice or not, the GOP has since gained in each of the eleven states and now shows signs of continuing to gain. The questions that remain, of course, are: what did this party gain, where did it gain, how much did it gain, and how durable are these advances. On these points there are various answers, there are differences and there are disagreements. Moreover, many of the differences are caused by the variety of indicators used and emphasized, and by the differences in methods of assessment.

On Measuring Republican Emergence.

Broadly, we may assay what has happened in four ways:

(1) according to election statistics and related census data--the use of aggregate data;

(2) according to survey research returns from interviews with a scientifically set sample of adult citizens who reveal their doubtful or their firm party allegiance--or lack of it;

(3) according to the level, kinds and number of offices each party gains, holds or loses;

(4) according to the nature and strength of the party institution as an active organizational structure.

Since 1952 election statistics have prompted the reports of greatest change in Southern Republicanism, and usually the presidential returns are easiest to note. Even as we recognize that presidential Republican votes greatly exceed the party returns for state or local

offices, the submission of electoral advances in other races tends to support conclusions that the GOP is now a serious contender. In 1962 the Republican candidates for governor in North Carolina and Texas each obtained 45 percent of the vote. In 1963 the Republican candidate for governor in Mississippi received a 38 percent vote and provided the first serious challenge since Reconstruction. Candidate Rubel Phillips was a Jackson, Mississippi lawyer and a former Democratic officeholder who switched to the Republicans and was defeated by Paul Johnson.

"Mr. Phillips won a moral victory, however," was The New York Times evaluation, "by establishing a two-party system in the state."[11]

In 1964, on March third, a Shreveport oilman and former Democrat, Charlton H. Lyons, Sr., ran as the Republican candidate for governor of Louisiana. He obtained 293,000 votes, or over 38 percent of the ballots. This too appeared to be a moral victory for the Republicans.

Political analyses by Professor Donald S. Strong take these and all other electoral returns into account and follow some generally accepted procedures to correlate them with other aggregate economic and social data. His conclusions are carefully founded and guarded. Yet despite his reservation, he notes:

> Moreover, since 1960 there have been some surprising manifestations of Republican state and local activity. Now that the South has rejoined the Union in terms of presidential elections the national GOP can no longer afford to ignore its Southern converts. Instead, it will have a real motive for keeping its Southern organizations vigorous through grassroots activity. The results may be a much more rapid growth of a real two-party system than occurred in the Eisenhower years.[12]

As might be expected, analyses of this type are comprehensible and readily acceptable to party leaders and political workers. Such findings have great impact on groups, such as these, that are primarily concerned with election returns and immediate electoral problems.

In rather sharp contrast to the specialists in electoral returns, those who employ survey research methods find that the politics of the South are changing quite slowly. In one of their recent reports on party realignment Professors Matthews and Prothro declared,

> Only 15 percent of the white and 14 percent of the Negro respondents report ever having changed their party identification. Of those who have changed, about 14 percent of the whites changed from Democratic to Republican and 17 percent from Republican to Democratic. . . . The small net effects of these changes among southern whites is in sharp contrast to the massive shifts in party identification that some have read into recent presidential election returns. Moreover, among Negro changers the Democrats enjoy a net advantage of over two converts for every one lost to the GOP. . . .

> It should be remembered, however, that these are changes in party identification which have occurred over the entire lifetime of the respondents. This plus the very small percentage of southerners who have ever changed their party identification means that the net movement would make only small and slow changes in the overwhelmingly pro-Democratic distribution of southern party loyalties. On this level, the Republican tide is sweeping over Dixie at glacial speed.[13]

In his assessment of party affiliation and change therein, Professor Philip E. Converse states firmly that survey data accumulated by the Survey Research Center at The University of Michigan offers little evidence of an emerging Republican party in the South. There is sample interview evidence of a slight increase in Republican identification, but the trend is little more than discernible in the fifteen states (the Confederacy plus Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia) surveyed.

> From this point of view, the likelihood that the South as a region will undergo any distinctive and major party realignment is probably less in 1962 than it was in 1948, and is continuing to decline.[14]

Here is further support for the finding based on interviewing in the South in 1961 that over 60 percent of the white respondents think of themselves as Democrats compared to about 14 percent who consider themselves Republican; and the further finding that 51 percent of voting age negroes classify themselves as Democrats while 10 percent call themselves Republicans.[15] The idea of emerging Republicanism in the South needs to be strictly delimited if survey data is accepted as prime. As national electoral activity indicates, though, there must be many politically minded individuals who are either uninformed about or unpersuaded by, reports of the futility of expanding the Republican party in the eleven states of the old South.

As often happens in politics, those who look at the levels, kinds and number of offices held divide into those who seriously acclaim the gains, or view them with some alarm, and those who note how small the encroachments are on the whole region, and in turn applaud or despair. Members of both groups hold forth in each political party among its "professionals" and "amateurs" alike. For Southern Democratic contestants, however, the Republican victories are somewhat alarming because they represent a threat that is unprecedented and because they require altered electoral tactics and additional expenditures of time and effort.

Formerly the Democratic primary and its subsequent run-off, if on was needed, meant election to office. Now, because of the new Republi can organization, small as it may be, there is a third and final electoral contest against a different kind of opposition and under a different set of ground rules. The coming of two-party competition means

more than the mere adding of another slate of candidates. It calls also for drastic external and internal changes in the party that has long dominated the field.

For Republicans who have worked long and seemingly in vain toward Southern successes, the electoral victories they have had loom large indeed. A United States Senator John B. Tower from Texas and an almost senator, James D. Martin (who received 49 percent of the 1962 Alabama vote competing against incumbent Lister Hill) are more than isolated individuals. Senator Tower is living proof that Republicans can win statewide office in the South, and Martin has shown, it is felt, that a party candidate can now hope to carry a black belt state.

Yet, the GOP is still only a threat rather than a power within the eleven states, because the party holds slightly over five percent of all state legislators' seats in the old Confederacy. Indeed, recalling the Prothro estimate that fourteen percent of the Southern whites are Republican, one can deduce that the GOP has fewer legislators than its supporters deserve, and the number might possibly be expected to increase.

Withal, since 1960 there have been gains which party officials cal. significant. The offices won include those of congressmen, state senators and representatives, mayors, city councilmen, county commissioners, school board members, judges and district attorneys. They include most levels and varieties of positions, but the positions remain few. The party feels that it is still hurting.

If we grant that the Republican National Committee and the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee are legitimate spokesmen for the national party, then we should accept as official their persistent plaint that the Democratic party has a built-in advantage of 100 sure Southern congressmen. In 1964, say GOP brochures, there are 177 Republican members of the House of Representatives, there are 158 Northern Democrats, and there are 100 Southern Democrats--all despite the fact that Republican candidates received 47.7 percent of the total 1962 vote for Congress. If the GOP could gain as few as 41 of those Southern seats, while holding the 177, the party could gain control of the House. This now appears to be one of the forceful arguments issuing from Washington and accepted by some in the South. The Southern state organization to that end is much more thorough than it has been before, and there is prospect that the one-eighth or more of Southerners who identify themselves as Republicans may be organizing and campaigning so as to gain one-eighth or even more of the region's congressional seats.

Organization for Emerging Republicanism in the South.

As a social institution the Republican party has long been beset by recognized handicaps in the South, and they are not easily overcome. Perhaps they are typified by the contrast between these two excerpts from 1960 presidential campaign speeches.

At Laurel, Mississippi, Senator Lyndon Johnson contended for the Democratic ticket:[16]

> But we are the only national party. We don't rest on any one state. We have men in all states. We follow the old prophet Isaiah's advice and come and reason together. . . .
>
> . . . .I have come to ask you to support the party of your fathers and your grandfathers. I have come to ask you to support the party that you have in power in Washington; the voice of your own senators; the voice of your own congressmen.

In contrast, the Republican presidential ticket was promoted on a "bipartisan" basis. Vice President Richard Nixon rationalized:[17]

> I want to say right here at the outset that I recognize that in this State, as in virtually all of the States of the South, if we were to count simply on the Republicans, those who are registered Republicans, to vote for us we wouldn't have a chance. I realize that the reason President Eisenhower carried Louisiana in 1956 was that thousands of Louisiana Democrats put their country first and their party second and elected the best man for the job.
>
> I believe that in Louisiana along with other States in the South and even in the North, this is very healthy, that there is beginning to develop a two-party system, and I want to give every support to that that I possibly can.
>
> Today I want to direct my remarks not only to the Republicans who may be here. I want to direct them particularly to the Democrats who are here, and in directing them to the Democrats, I'm going to do it in this way: It seems to me that when we elect a President of the United States the standards that we apply are quite different from those that we usually apply to local office.

The statements are ample evidence of the difficulties besetting a GOP organization. Yet it should be remarked that even the possibility of Republican victories in Louisiana represent change that was already underway. It is doubtful that a national Republican candidate could have found it advantageous to go into the Deep South before the fifties, and before the developments that took place then in local Republican organization.

The transition that began after 1948 and became evident during the following decade can be described as a shift from "post-office Republicanism" to a contesting Republicanism. It represents a shift in objectives from that of controlling federal patronage when the party came to power in Washington, to the definite objective of winning elections and political posts as the result of local political accomplishment. It also represents a change for Republican organization from pursuit of <u>survival</u> to pursuit of <u>effectiveness</u>.[18] The change took place at both the local and the national levels.

A transition in the region is well recorded by Kenneth N. Vines in his case study of the establishment of the new GOP in Louisiana. The case study centers around Tom Stagg, Jr., now the Republican national committeeman, who changed his political allegiance in 1949. Other businessmen and men in professions associated with him to launch an "Americans for Eisenhower" campaign in Shreveport. By 1953 Caddo Parish had the beginnings of a Republican committee and a Women's Republican Club was underway. In April of 1956 organization bore fruit. The first Republican local official in 75 years was elected to the parish police jury, as a segregationist along with 13 Democrats who were all segregationists. In November of that year Louisiana voted for Eisenhower.[19] To bring the story up to the present Louisiana voted strongly Democratic in the 1960 presidential election, but in March, 1963 the local organization was again successful. Caddo Parish elected the first two Republicans "in history" to the state legislature.

As in Louisiana, so in some other states, the Republican revival began several years before the national party sent assistance. Republican Congressman Bruce Alger was elected to represent Dallas in 1954, and in the same year William Cramer was elected to Congress as the first Republican from Florida since 1875.

Operation Dixie.

With the South already taking steps toward conversion, the Republican National Committee decided in 1957 to send missionaries there. Chairman Meade Alcorn, a Connecticut lawyer who was often challenged for his "liberal" views, established the Southern Division as part of the committee staff shortly after he began his duties. He put Lee Potter in charge and gave him a secretary and Operation Dixie was underway.[20] Potter had little else to guide him except his own considerable knowledge of the region and the not inconsiderable fact which the committee research staff, mainly Dr. William Prendergast, emphasized, that "The Southern States /region/ which they lost in 1952 this time gave them /Eisenhower-Nixon/ a slim majority of the major party vote (50.6 percent)".[21] But as Professor Wilder has said:[22]

> Under Potter's direction the Southern Division provided a center for invigorating and coordinating Republican activity in the South. Each of the eight incumbent Republican congressmen from the South was reelected in 1958--strong ammunition for the forces within the party which contend that the South should be courted vigorously and continuously.

Even as the party headquarters in Washington began to bolster Republicans in the South, it also continued to emphasize Civil Rights and to encourage Negroes to vote Republican. The events at Little Rock in 1957, some strong expressions on civil rights by Alcorn, and extended efforts by the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, all combined to pull the party toward civil rights and away from most white voters in the South. It can be said that party organization was somewhat handicapped during this period of multiple, and sometimes

cross, purposes. A decision on direction began to loom for the GOP--a decision major parties in a two-party system do not like to make.

The 1958 election proved unfavorable to the Republicans, and it brought no resolution to the issue of whether the South and conservatism or civil rights and benefits from the national government should receive prime attention. National committee research staff statements could be quoted to support both positions. First there was the comment:[23]

> Holding the line in the South in 1958 was an accomplishment in view of the trend in most other parts of the country, in view of Little Rock, and in view of the fact that in 76 Southern Districts there was no Republican candidate for the House of Representatives. (In 1954, 67 Southern districts had no Republican candidate.)

And then a few pages later in the analysis, under the heading, "Voting Behavior of Negroes":[24]

> Returns from areas in which Negroes predominate, though somewhat fragmentary, tend to confirm the conclusion of the Gallup Poll that a larger percentage of Negroes voted Republican in 1958 than in 1954. It should be emphasized, however, that an overwhelming majority of Negroes still vote Democrat (70 percent in 1958 according to Gallup) and that Republican candidates did not get as large a share of the vote of Negroes in 1958 as in the presidential year of 1956.

The party continued to support both Operation Dixie and the Minorities Division, but commitment was apparently not full toward either one.

In 1959 and 1960 the White House appeared to be definitely on the civil rights side. Vice President Nixon advocated a strong position too as he became the party's apparent presidential nominee. Yet during these years, whether despite or because of these stands, the GOP continued to gain strength in the South, and its organization there continued to grow.

The Republican convention of 1960 brought together strong and organized advocates of the opposite sides of several questions. During the year 1959 the name of Senator Barry Goldwater began to rally strength in the South, and during the same year Governor Nelson Rockefeller's reputation grew in the northeastern part of the country and in many metropolitan areas. The formulation of the platform brought major clashes between the "incompatibles." Southerners and conservatives considered the final draft of the platform, including its civil rights plank, a defeat for their point of view. It also placed responsibility for winning the election on those who hoped to carry the contest into the metropolitan areas, particularly those of the north and east.

Then, the next month, Vice President Nixon campaigned in several

Southern localities and was surprised, as was some of his staff, at the magnitude of his reception. But again, despite the recent Republican advances in voting, in offices, and in organization, analysis and reanalysis indicated that 1960 was primarily a contest for states with large electoral votes. The electoral college emphasized, if nothing else did, that in reality a presidential election is fifty elections; and winning a large number of votes in a region does not guarantee winning its electoral votes, as the 1956 election had shown.

A maximum effort was made in the South, of course, and this was the great significance of the nominee's "fifty state campaign;[11] but there was no consciously intended change in the position or program of the Republican ticket. In all, however, the party organization appeare to be balancing on a knife-edge throughout the campaign--awaiting the outcome on November eighth.

After any contest there is commentary on what particular action the winner took to gain victory and on what the loser did that brought defeat. The closer the contest, the greater the number of possibilitie until a hairline decision like that of 1960 makes any action or any decision by either candidate chargeable. The analysis of results which the researchers of the Republican National Committee released did not give credit or place blame, but it did reveal sectors in which votes were lost or won.[25]

When the 1960 results were compared with those for 1956, big losses appeared in metropolitan areas. The Republican labor vote was down. The religious issue was considered a variant factor. There was a serious loss in the Negro vote. In the South, in contrast, Republican returns were considered reasonably strong.

> An especially bright spot showing a growth in GOP support was in the five gubernatorial contests in the South during 1960. The Republican candidates for governor increased their vote 105 percent above the 1956 level or by over one million votes.
>
> Organizational effort at least in selected areas in the Southern states to expand the base of the Republican Party is clearly justified by the 1960 results.[26]

While many analysts may disagree with all or some of these findings, it is important to remember here that these are the work of the national committee staff and that they are generally accepted within the party, particularly by those who make decisions.

One such decision called for a careful study of the metropolitan losses with hopes that they might be recouped. State chairman Ray C. Bliss of Ohio supervised the task and prepared a report which guided efforts to strengthen party organization in cities.

Another decision evidently called for building up Republican organization in the South. The Southern Division bent to the task.

Operation Dixie Expanded.

For Operation Dixie the 1960 election was far from a complete failure. It left stronger electoral organizations in the South and it changed the order of priority for the states. South Carolina and Texas now began to receive a great deal of attention, but so did all of the states of the South.

Lee Potter's staff was bolstered in April 1962 when newsman Hal Dunham was added. He worked exclusively in the Southern Division and his major projects were keeping abreast of Republican news in the South and of comment about the GOP. He produced the pamphlets and releases sent into the area by the Southern Division. Outstanding among these was his effort under Potter to expand The Republican Southern Challenge. In June of 1962 it was a four-page brochure which was stuffed into envelopes. It had a circulation then of 5,000. By June of 1964 the publication had trebled in size and went to some 39,000 addresses every month. In both format and editorial care Southern Challenge became a more stylish, more expensive, and probably more effective publication than any of the others which the national committee distributed widely.

Editorially, the publication emphasized "conservatism," and it pushed hard for a two-party system in the South. It quoted the "conservatism" scores which Americans for Constitutional Action released on Southern as well as on other congressmen. The publication argued that Democrats from the South betray their constituents by supporting the liberal policies of the Democratic White House and of their Northern Democratic colleagues. The paper carried much news and many names related to Republican organizations and organizational drives in the South, as would certainly be the function of such an organ.

In March 1963, Mrs. Mary Ellen Miller, president of the Alabama Federation of Republican Women, became field representative for Operation Dixie and began her rounds of the eleven states plus Kentucky. This completed Lee Potter's staff of four and emphasized his drive for organization.

Through the sixties the Southern Division strove for organization at state and local levels, and in doing so, brought some of the first line talent of the party to organizational and training meetings in the region. For example, in November, 1961 a two-day Republican Regional Conference for Southern States convened at Atlanta. Among the speakers and discussants were the national chairman, public relations experts, researchers, organizers, and one presidential possibility. Senator Goldwater spoke there as the Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

A similar regional strategy conference took place in November of 1963 at Charleston, South Carolina. Both this gathering and the previous Atlanta meeting were covered extensively by the local press, which editorialized on the advantages of a two-party South.

Individual state organizational meetings also occurred from time to time under national committee auspices. In March, 1963 veteran worker Ray Humphreys introduced the perhaps typical MORE (Mobilization of Republican Enterprise) promotion program at Birmingham, Alabama.

However, here again, this is not to say that impetus came from Washington alone during the period 1961-1964. State organizations now included full time field workers, finance chairmen with effective plans, and dedicated county and precinct workers. State chairmen such as Wirt Yerger, Jr. of Mississippi, John Grenier of Alabama, Drake Edens of South Carolina, and Peter O'Donnell of Texas gave full time as well as the enthusiasm of youth to their work, and prompted Lee Potter to remark in January, 1964 that, "all of our Republican Southern State Chairmen average just over 36 years old."

It was apparent as well, to the young Southerner who hoped to enter politics, that he could rise much faster in the new and under-manned GOP than he could in the long-established and heavily populated Democratic organization. Becoming a county chairman in the Republican party might be merely a matter of a few years, or even less. So although he could not offer assurance of electoral victories, a Republican field man could clearly offer an enticing package to young leaders in the Southern states.[27]

By 1964 some national committee records showed that all but 138 of the 1140 counties in the eleven Southern States were "organized."[28] In the following table, the states and their organized counties are ranked according to per cent of counties organized.

Southern State	Total Counties	GOP Organized Counties	Per cent of Counties Organized
North Carolina	100	98	98.0%
Tennessee	95	93	97.9
Virginia	131	128	97.7
Arkansas	75	73	97.3
Alabama	67	64	95.5
Texas	254	237	93.3
South Carolina	46	42	91.3
Florida	67	59	88.1
THE SOUTH	1140	1002	87.9
Mississippi	82	71	86.6
Georgia	159	122	76.7
Louisiana	64	15	23.4

Here is some statistical indication of the increase in party organizational strength and of the status of the party in the region as it prepared for the 1964 presidential race. By way of comparison, in the late forties Professor Heard found that twenty-eight of Florida's 67 counties lacked GOP chairmen and that a spokesman for the Republican National Committee "conceded at the close of 1950 that in 1,220 counties in twelve southern states there were 113 vacancies among county chairmen and 840 among the women vice chairmen."[29]

Fifteen years later the Republicans had footings in nearly all counties of the South, except for a large number in the states of Georgia and Louisiana. In those states too, though, there appeared more competitive enthusiasm than the organizational figures indicated and there was promise of further extension during the coming presidential campaign.

Operation Dixie Disbanded.

While it is surely too early to assess the effect which the 1964 convention and its results have had on emerging Republicanism in the South, a few major changes can at least be marked. The nomination of Senator Goldwater for the presidency appears to have given greater position and prestige to Southern leaders. The voice of the South is now strong in Republican national headquarters, and it speaks with the authority which organizational success and winning the nomination bestow. Some of those who were responsible for organizing the old Confederacy have assumed responsibility for organizing the nation on behalf of the presidential nominee.

In August, 1964 Operation Dixie was disbanded and its personnel, including Lee Potter, assumed other responsibilities in the ongoing campaign. There were those who commented that the Southern Division had worked itself out of a job--and there was also the comment that the Republican National Committee was all one big Operation Dixie now.

SPECULATIONS

In light of the obvious facts of American politics, it seems reasonable to posit that the Republican Party has immediate need for considerable growth. Growth, as Professor Simon Kuznets explains it, is an increase in ability to achieve the goals which have been previously chosen. As a party, the GOP hopes to gain or maintain control of the national and local governments by putting or keeping its men in office. Obviously, in order to do so it needs to increase its size and support.

Considering the Republican party as a social institution that is subject to the demands which theorists currently see placed upon institutions if they are to function and to survive, the party's exclusion from the South has been a serious, perhaps vital, handicap that needed to be overcome if the party was to enjoy consistent presidential and congressional success after World War II. To this end the GOP has needed to develop goal-changing ability and a learning capacity about the South, and the South has reciprocated--else there would be little success. The changes have taken place since 1952, and through the years since then a place in the South has been a long-term Republican objective; an objective which involved some measures of novelty, initiative and creativity; an objective which has been achieved in some measure.[30]

It needs hardly to be remarked that the movement has social implications for both parties, for the country as a whole, and for the region of the South as well. The weight of Southern ideas and demands now seems evident in 1964 Republican politics, and will probably remain influential in coming years. A reverse effect now takes hold too, and the South may become involved and responsible in the national two-party scheme in ways that were not known up to now, or at least not until recently.

One study of 1960 presidential voting among Negroes and whites in a Southern city of 50,000 yielded a conclusion that the whites felt there was no difference between Kennedy and Nixon on civil rights. So the white vote was split about evenly between the candidates. The Negroes saw Kennedy as the more militant on civil rights, however, cast their ballots for him, and thus helped to provide the Democrats with a majority from the city.[31] The same kind of division is quite possible now in other parts of the South in other contests such as those for Congress and for the governorship of a state.

With a 1964 presidential candidate who appears to be more solicitous of Southern expectations, the 1960 results may not be anticipated in the South, and they also may not be anticipated in the rest of the states of the union, perhaps to the immediate disadvantage of the GOP. The long run organizational gain for the Republican party may be of another cloth, however.

Perhaps the strategic thinking of Senator James O. Eastland is apropos to this speculation. In a 1960 television hour a local journalist asked the Mississippi Democrat what he expected if a two-party system were established in his state. Said the Senator:[32]

> I think that the two-party system would destroy this state because of our peculiar institutions....We've got a conservative state, and when you split the conservative vote between Democrats and Republicans, the liberals will take over. That happened in Tennessee, where they are split between Republicans and Democrats, and it's happened in Texas.

In explaining the significance to the South of its one-party senatorial delegation the Senator contended:[33]

> The Southern states must lead from a position of strength. We must have legislative position. I don't think there is any question but that if the eighteen Southern senators, which is the hard core of Southern resistance, were crushed, that the total defenses of the South would collapse like a stack of cards.

If the two-party system has appeared, the Southern congressman and the Southern senator are no longer invulnerable. On the contrary, the Democratic legislator will need and ask for support from the national party and from its leaders, as does the Republican candidate for Southern office today.[34] The result should be greater cohesion within both parties, and perhaps a closer adherence of Southern office holders to the national policies of both parties.

Not to be overlooked in our narrative is the pattern of organization and movement which Operation Dixie symbolized, or embodied for the national Republican party and its Republican National Committee. The national committee gestures toward the South were admittedly lacking in virility, as are so many activities of our major party national committees. Yet they were persistent, they were attuned, and they were received by voters and groups who already considered themselves "alienated" or nearly so.

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the Southern effort was its duration. Seven years is a considerable span for a national committee program, and it is a long time for one man, in this case I. Lee Potter, to be in charge of an operation. Its results and its conditioning effects on both the whole party and the southern extension of the party were shaped by him in considerable measure.

Footnotes

1. Discussions with I. Lee Potter, Republican National Committeeman from Virginia, July 28, 1964.

2. Interview, July 29, 1964.

3. In Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950) Professor V. O. Key limited the South to the eleven states that seceded during the Civil War: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Caroline, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In this paper there is neither reason for, nor propriety in departing from that easy definition. Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South? (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1952) studies the same eleven state area.

4. The helpful writings on politics in the South are too numerous for this writer to be thoroughly acquainted with or to cite. Among those that have been of immediate aid in preparing this paper are: Hugh Bone, Party Committees and National Politics (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1958); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1960); Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard C. Hennessy, Politics without Power, The National Party Committees (New York, Atherton Press, 1964); William C. Havard, Rudolf Heberle and Perry H. Howard, The Louisiana Elections of 1960 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1963); "The American South: 1950-1970," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February, 1964); Charles O. Lerche, The Uncertain South (Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1964); Allan P. Sindler (ed.) Change in the Contemporary South (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1963); and Paul Tillett (ed.) Cases on Party Organization (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963).

5. Dum Fuit infra aetatem as defined in Black's Law Dictionary, 4th ed. (St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1951).

6. Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South?, pp. 37-53.

7. Op. cit., p. 277.

8. Ibid., p. 280.

9. P. 62.

10. Ibid., p. 247.

11. The New York Times, November 6, 1963.

12. Donald S. Strong, "Durable Republicanism in the South," in Allan P. Sindler (ed.), op. cit., p. 194. Another example of aggregate analysis is Professor Strong's Urban Republicanism in the South (University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1960). See also Bernard Cosman, "Presidential Republicanism in the South, 1960," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 24 (May 1962) pp. 303-322.

13. Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Southern Images of Political Parties: An Analysis of White and Negro Attitudes," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February, 1964) pp. 104-105.

14. Philip E. Converse, "A Major Political Realignment in the South?" in Allan P. Sindler (ed.) op. cit., pp. 195-222.

15. James W. Prothro, "Southern Images of Political Parties and the Prospects for Party Realignment in the South," Political Issues and Business in 1964 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Foundation For Research on Human Behavior, 1964) p. 23.

16. October 14, 1960. From tape recording.

17. From Partial Transcript of Remarks, Lafayette, Louisiana, September 24, 1960.

18. These terms are found and further explained in Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York, The Free Press of Gencoe, 1961), pp. 77-80.

19. Kenneth N. Vines, "Two Parties for Shreveport," in Paul Tillett (ed.), Cases on Party Organization, pp. 182-210.

20. Philip S. Wilder, Jr., "Meade Alcorn and the 1958 Election," in Paul Tillett (ed.), op. cit., p. 104.

21. The 1956 Elections, A Summary Report with Supporting Tables, second edition, mimeo., Washington, Republican National Committee, 1959) p. 5.

22. Loc. cit. The Southern Division inlcudes the eleven states of the Confederacy plus Kentucky within its operations.

23. The 1958 Elections, a Summary Report with Supporting Tables, mimeo., (Washington, Republican National Committee, 1959), p.8.

24. Ibid., p. 22.

25. The 1960 Elections, a Summary Report with Supporting Tables, mimeo. (Washington, Republican National Committee, 1961).

26. Ibid., p. 43.

27. Dr. John Kessel and Dr. Karl Lamb of the Arts and Sciences Division, Republican National Committee have been of considerable assistance in the gathering of this and other information.

28. These figures were compiled by the party for its own information, and are assumed to be reasonably free of distortion. Counties which had at least a chairman and a vice chairman who were active were considered organized.

29. Alexander Heard, Op. cit., p. 100.

30. See Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963) pp. 250-254 for an explanation of terms so freely used here.

31. Russell Middleton, "The Civil Rights Issue and Presidential Voting among Southern Negroes and Whites," Social Forces, Vol. 40, no. 3 (March, 1962), pp. 209-215.

32. Sound tape recording of Radio-Television Interview with Senator James O. Eastland, Station WLBT, Jackson, Mississippi, October 3, 1960.

33. Ibid.

34. Compare the similar suggestions in Gerald Romper, "Future Southern Congressional Politics," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 44, no. 1 (June, 1963), pp. 14-24.

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SOUTHERN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

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For three generations observers of American politics have either been commenting on the existence of a solidly Democratic South or else drawing attention to threats to its solidarity. Yet both in discussions of the latest challenge to southern solidarity and in assessing the consequences of that solidarity within the Congress, it is well to remember that the South has not always been dominated by one political party. In the 1830's and the 1840's there was spirited competition between the two major parties in the South; and this competition was based on tangible social and economic differences within the population of the region. "The economic and political interests of the southern Whigs were the 'special interests' of the slavocracy. During the early 'forties the Whig party was frequently denounced as the aristocratic party of the slaveholders." The Democrats, by contrast, drew on "the opposite side of the social scale -- especially upon the small farmer of the back hill-country who could always be reached by the party's appeal to the agrarian spirit." [1] At the national level, southern electoral votes were cast for Whig as well as for Democratic presidential candidates; and Whig Congressmen, as well as Democratic Representatives, were sent to Washington by the voters of the South.[2]

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1. Arthur C. Cole, The Whig Party in the South (Washington American Historical Association, 1914), pp. 69-72.

2. As Charles Grier Sellers summarizes the balance of power between the two major parties during this period: "Of the 425,629 votes cast in the slave states at the election of 1836, the Whigs had a majority of only 243 popular votes. In this and the three succeeding presidential elections, a total of 2,475,171 votes were cast, but the over-all margin, again in favor of the Whigs, was only 66,295, or 2.4 per cent of the total votes. In these four elections the Whigs carried a total of twenty-seven southern states and the Democrats twenty-six. An equally close rivalry is evident in congressional representation. In the five congressional elections between 1832 and 1842, southern Democrats won an aggregate total of 234 seats, while their opponents captured 263. Whigs predominated among southern representatives in three of these five Congresses, and Democrats in two. In three of them the margin between the southern wings of the parties was five or less. We have, then, a picture of keen political competition, with a vigorous Whig party maintaining a slight ascendancy." Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Who Were the Southern Whigs?" American Historical Review, Vol. 59, No. 2, January 1954, p. 336.

Then came The War. Except in a few isolated enclaves of Republican strength in the Appalachian Mountains, where Unionist sentiment was strong, southern white electors coalesced with extraordinary unanimity behind candidates of the Democratic party in opposition to the party of Lincoln and Grant. From Richmond, Virginia, to Brownsville, Texas, and from Tallahassee, Florida, to Little Rock, Arkansas, two common factors peculiar to southern society -- the Negro, and memories of a losing Civil War and the Reconstruction which ensued -- combined to produce a superficial picture of political unanimity. In the vernacular of American politics, the "Solid South" became a commonplace.

It was the southern whites in the black belt -- areas where the Negro population was largest -- for whom this sectional solidarity was of greatest importance. And their determination to preserve a one-party system was made plain when the Populists attempted to provide an alternative to the Democratic party in the South in the 1890's. As V. O. Key wrote in 1949: "In the fight against Populism and in the subsequent agitation about the place of the Negro, the black belts strengthened their position by re-enforcing the South's attachment to the Democratic party. The raising of a fearful specter of Negro rule and the ruthless application of social pressures against those who treasonably fused with the Republicans under Populist leadership put down for decades the threat of the revival of two-party competition.

"Two-party competition would have been fatal to the status of black-belt whites. It would have meant in the 'nineties an appeal to the Negro vote and it would have meant (and did for a time) Negro rule in some black-belt counties. From another standpoint, two-party competition would have meant the destruction of southern solidarity in national politics -- in presidential elections and in the halls of Congress. Unity on the national scene was essential in order that the largest possible bloc could be mobilized to resist any national move toward interference with southern authority to deal with the race question as was desired locally." [3]

This "unity on the national scene" was a potent defense mechanism for the South during the long years when the Republicans dominated the national government. It meant even more when the Democrats became the normally majority party in the House and Senate in the aftermath of the Great Depression. The Congress, of course, is a body where in recent political history a lengthy period of service is usually a crucial prerequisite for a member's effectiveness. It is thus an institution singularly well designed to maximize the benefits accruing to regions whose elections for Senators and Representatives have consistently been dominated by one party. And the benefits to the South since 1932 have been many.

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3. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp.8-9.

SOUTHERN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, THE TENURE OF SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN, AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS

The point that safe electoral constituencies in the South have benefitted the region is a familiar one. Even so, a brief look at the facts reveals some of the differences of degree in the consequences this has had for the House and for the Senate, as well as underscoring what is at stake in the recent Republican challenge to the South's solidarity in congressional elections. As the data presented in Table 1 indicate, nearly half of the House seats that remained consistently Democratic between 1952 and 1960 were in the 11 states of the former Confederacy. The South and the Border States combined contained well over half of the consistently Democratic House districts during this period. Nevertheless, during these years another large bloc of 80 districts outside the South and the Border States -- many of them northern big-city constituencies -- also were consistently Democratic. No other single region has come close to controlling the number of committee chairmanships the South has controlled. But in 1961, as in 1951 and in 1941, Representatives from these non-southern districts shared with the South a significant number of the chairmanships of the standing committees of the House. (Table 2.)

Thus, in the House, the large bloc of consistently Democratic southern House seats has been partly counterbalanced by another sizeable, though smaller, bloc of consistently Democratic House seats from non-southern districts. But in the Senate, the South's advantage over all other regions in the number of consistently Democratic seats is enormous. In all, there are 38 Senate seats where there has been no change in party control between 1942 and 1962. Of these, eight were consistently Republican, and 30 were consistently Democratic: 21 in the South, another 5 in the Rocky Mountain States (which also have fared well in Senate committee chairmanships), and only four more from all other regions of the country: (Table 3) In January, 1963, the average number of years of consecutive service of the southern Democratic Senators was 16. For the New England Democrats it was three; for the Mid-Atlantic and the Midwestern Democratic Senators it was five.

These discrepancies are amply reflected in the chairmanships of the standing committees of the Senate. In 1951 the South shared with the Rocky Mountain States control of all but one of the standing committee chairmanships. In 1961, all but two of the standing committees had a southern or a Rocky Mountain State chairman. (Table 4) One can well understand why Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland stressed during the 1960 election campaign the advantage the South derived from its one-party senatorial delegation:

> The Southern states must lead from a position of strength. We must have a legislative position. I don't think there is any question but that if the 18 southern senators, which is the hard core of southern resistance, were crushed, that the total defenses of the South would collapse like a stack of cards. [4]

4. Tape recording of interview with Senator James O. Eastland, Station WLBT, Jackson, Mississippi, October 3, 1960.

Table 1

Number of House Seats, by Region, Where there Was a Switch in Party Control or that Were Controlled Consistently by One Party between 1952 and 1960

REGION[a]	Switched Party Control	Consistently Democratic	Consistently Republican
South	3	98	5
Border States	10	25	3
All Others	83	80	128
New England	11	8	9
Mid-Atlantic	15	31	42
Midwest	25	20	42
Plains States	14	3	14
Rocky Mountain	6	7	3
Pacific Coast	12	11	18
Total, All Regions	96	203	136

[a]The regions in this table contain the following states: South, the 11 states of the former Confederacy; Border States, Kent., Md., Mo., Okla., and W. Va.; New England, Conn., Me., Mass., N.H., R.I., and Vt.; Mid-Atlantic, Del., N.J., N.Y., and Pa.; Midwest, Ill., Ind., Mich., Ohio, and Wisc.; Plains States, Iowa, Ks., Minn., Neb., N.D., and S.D.; Rocky Mountain, Ariz., Colo., Ida., Mont., Nev., N.M., Utah, Wyo.; and Pacific Coast, Cal., Ore., and Wash.

Table 2

Democratic Chairmen of the Standing Committees of the House, by Region, in 1941, 1951, and 1961

	1941		1951		1961	
REGION[a]	No. of Chairmen	%	No. of Chairmen	%	No. of Chairmen	%
South	16	34.0	10	52.6	11	55.0
Border States	8	17.0	2	10.5	2	10.0
All Others	23	49.0	7	36.8	7	35.0
New England	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mid-Atlantic	9	19.1	3	15.8	5	25.0
Midwest	7	14.9	3	15.8	1	5.0
Plains States	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rocky Mountain	3	6.4	1	5.3	1	5.0
Pacific Coast	4	8.5	0	0	0	0
Total, All Regions	47	--	19	--	20	--

[a]The states contained in the regions in this table are identical to those in Table 1.

Table 3

Number of Senate Seats, by Region, Where there Was a Switch in Party Control or that Were Controlled Consistently by One Party between 1942 and 1962

REGION[a]	Switched Party Control	Consistently Democratic	Consistently Republican
South	1	21	0
Border States	9	1	0
All Others	48	8	8
New England	5	2	5
Mid-Atlantic	8	0	0
Midwest	10	0	0
Plains States	9	0	3
Rocky Mountain	11	5	0
Pacific Coast	5	1	0
Total, All Regions	58	30	8

[a]The states contained in the regions in this table are identical to those in Table 1.

Table 4

Democratic Chairmen of the Standing Committees of the Senate, by Region, in 1941, 1951, and 1961

REGION[a]	1941		1951		1961	
	No. of Chairmen	%	No. of Chairmen	%	No. of Chairmen	%
South	16	48.5	8	53.3	9	56.2
Border States	4	12.1	1	6.7	1	6.2
All Others	13	39.4	6	40.0	6	37.5
New England	2	6.1	0	0	0	0
Mid-Atlantic	2	6.1	0	0	0	0
Midwest	2	6.1	0	0	0	0
Plains States	1	3.0	0	0	0	0
Rocky Mountain	5	15.2	6	40.0	5	31.2
Pacific Coast	1	3.0	0	0	1	6.2
Total, All Regions	33	--	15	--	16	--

[a]The states contained in the regions in this table are identical to those in Table 1.

THE EROSION OF SOUTHERN SECTIONALISM
AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL

The question of whether this overwhelming Democratic domination of the South's elections is nearing its end has aroused interest for a number of years. In 1955, V. O. Key addressed himself to the problem, in an article prepared for the readers of the Virginia Quarterly Review. He began:

> A meteorologist of the Ice Age could predict tomorrow's weather with a high degree of confidence. "Continued cold" usually turned out to be a safe prognosis. Let us pause a moment to marvel, however, at the reputation a primitive weatherman could have made for himself by forecasting the retreat of the ice cap to the polar regions.[5]

Key then stressed the "impressive staying power" of the dominant party in a one-party region, noted that it would be even harder for the Republicans to make inroads in the South at the state and local level than at the national level,[6] and declared that "the fulfillment of tendencies now at work will probably require decades rather than years."[7] The growth of Republicanism in the area, he suggested, would at best be a "spotted sort of development." Nevertheless, he clearly expected that the Republican party's strength in the region would grow:

> A summary balancing of the interplay of the variables at work can only lead to the conclusion that internal cleavages within the South will deepen, that both the sentiment and the reality of sectionalism will decline, and that kindred interests in South and North will become more and more interwoven.[8]

In the intervening nine years, the Republicans' gains in the South have been sufficiently widespread that their pattern can be clearly traced -- both at the presidential and the congressional levels. For several decades after Reconstruction, the South's solidarity was reflected in full at the presidential level. In the 1920 Republican landslide, Harding carried Tennessee; but it was not until the Democrats nominated Al Smith -- a wet, a Roman Catholic, and a New Yorker -- that a Republican was able to poll a

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5. V. O. Key, Jr., "The Erosion of Sectionalism," Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 31, No. 2, Spring, 1955, p. 161.
6. Ibid., p. 171.
7. Ibid., p. 162.
8. Ibid., p. 162

heavy vote for President in the South. In 1928, Herbert Hoover ran ahead of Smith in five of the region's 11 states. The Republican's share of the total presidential vote in the area was 47.3 per cent. Within a year, however, the Great Depression had begun; and in 1932 the southern states were once again solidly Democratic. As late as 1944, Franklin Roosevelt received more than seven of every ten votes cast for President in the South.[9]

By 1948, however, the political climate below the Mason-Dixon Line had changed considerably. A hastily constructed States' Rights presidential ticket, headed by South Carolina's J. Strom Thurmond, gave a third choice to southerners who were dissatisfied with the national Democratic Administration of Harry Truman. The results of the balloting must be interpreted with some care, because it was in the four states where Thurmond ran as the Democratic nominee that the South Carolinian made his best showing.[10] Nevertheless, when the votes polled by the G.O.P. candidate and by Thurmond were subtracted, the national Democratic presidential nominee was left with barely half of the southern popular vote. The Republican share of this turnout, however, was still a meager 26.6 per cent of the total.[11]

In 1952 it was different. Republican national leaders decided to make a determined bid for southern votes. In a precedent-shattering move, the new G.O.P. presidential nominee, General Eisenhower, began his campaign in Atlanta, deep in the heart of the Southland. Even the most optimistic Republican strategists must have been gratified by the region's response. Between 1948 and 1952, the number of southerners who voted for President increased by two-thirds. Nearly half of this record number of votes -- 4.1 million out of 8.5 million -- went to General Eisenhower, a showing which enabled the G.O.P. to carry four states with 56 of the region's electoral votes.[12] Four years later, Eisenhower solidified his

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9. Roosevelt drew 71.5 per cent of the South's total presidential vote in 1944. The Republican presidential nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, polled 25 per cent, while other candidates received 3.5 per cent of the total. The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1957 (New York: The New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1957), pp. 52-77.
10. Thurmond appeared on the ballot as the Democratic presidential nominee in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina.
11. The 1948 presidential percentages in the South were: Truman, 50 per cent; Dewey, 26.6 per cent; Thurmond, 22.6 per cent; Wallace (Progressive) 0.6 per cent; and others 0.2 per cent. The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1957, pp. 52-77.
12. The 1952 popular vote figures in the South were: Eisenhower 4,113,525; Stevenson 4,428,163; and other candidates 12,023. The percentages of the total vote were: Eisenhower 48.1 per cent; Stevenson 51.8 per cent; and others 0.1 per cent. Richard M. Scammon, Editor, America Votes, Vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1956).

strength in the South. For the first time since Reconstruction, a Republican presidential nominee polled more votes than his Democratic opponent in the 11 states of the former Confederacy. The 1956 popular vote in the South was:

Eisenhower (Republican)	4,211,461	48.9 per cent
Stevenson (Democrat)	4,122,778	47.8 per cent
Andrews (Independent)	152,336	1.8 per cent
Byrd (Independent)	131,471	1.5 per cent
Others	2,152	--

[13]

In 1960 Nixon, undoubtedly helped by his opponent's Catholicism, ran almost as well as Eisenhower had run in the South, polling about 46 per cent of the region's vote.[14]

THE EROSION OF SOUTHERN SECTIONALISM
AT THE CONGRESSIONAL LEVEL

The potential appeal in the South of a G.O.P. presidential ticket is now taken seriously by managers of both parties. But until recently discussions of the electoral prospects of southern Republican congressional candidates were frequently greeted with chilling skepticism. Since World War II there have been only four southern senatorial contests where the Democratic candidate failed to get more than 60 per cent of the vote -- Lyndon Johnson's 1960 Senate race in Texas, the special election contest in Texas in 1961 when the Republicans elected Senator John Tower,

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13. The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1957, pp. 52-77.

14. For discussions of the Republican presidential vote in the South, see: Bernard Cosman, "Presidential Republicanism in the South, 1960," Journal of Politics, Vol. 24, No. 2, May 1962, pp. 303-322; Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South? (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952); Donald S. Strong, The 1952 Presidential Election in the South (University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, 1955); Strong, Urban Republicanism in the South (University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, 1960); O. Douglas Weeks, Texas Presidential Politics in 1952 (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1953); Weeks, Texas in the 1960 Presidential Election (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1961); and Weeks, "The South in National Politics," Journal of Politics Vol. 26, No. 1, February, 1964, pp. 221-240. **For a discussion of congressional elections in the South, see Gerald Pomper, "Future Southern Congressional Politics," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 1, June, 1963, pp. 14-24.**

and the hard-fought contests by South Carolina's Olin D. Johnston and Alabama's Lister Hill in 1962. But in a growing minority of southern House districts, whose smaller areas permit and sometimes foster the kind of spotty development V. O. Key envisaged, G.O.P. congressional aspirants are becoming a real threat to their Democratic adversaries.

1952 was the year of the first great Republican breakthrough in southern presidential voting since the New Deal. It was in 1956, however, that the first large gains were registered by G.O.P. House candidates in the South. This upsurge of the popular vote for Republican congressional nominees is underscored by the data in Figure 1. Between 1944 and 1952 the vote polled by would-be southern Republican Congressmen increased substantially. On the other hand, between 1948 and 1952 alone, the G.O.P. presidential vote in the South more than trebled. In 1956 President Eisenhower received about the same number of southern popular votes as he polled four years earlier. But between 1952 and 1956, the vote cast for Republican House candidates in the region increased by two-thirds.

This narrowing of the gap between the southern Republican vote for President and for Congressmen took place even though President Eisenhower was on the ballot in all of the region's 106 House districts while southern electors could vote for a G.O.P. congressional candidate in only 42 districts. In part, the increased House vote reflected greater organizational activity by the G.O.P. In 1956 the party contested 10 more seats than it had four years before. But the respectable showing made by Republicans in several of the newly contested districts also indicated that increasing areas of the South were becoming receptive to active two-party competition at the congressional level. Even in districts which had been contested earlier, however, G.O.P. House nominees reduced the gap separating their own vote tallies from those of President Eisenhower between 1952 and 1956.

In the mid-term Democratic landslide of 1958, the Republicans' share of the House vote dropped in the South, as it did elsewhere in the country. The party scored a defensive victory in the region, however, by retaining control of all seven of its southern House seats, including the five it had captured since 1950. In 1960, the party's share of the southern House vote again moved upward; and in 1962, the party made its best showing in the South in this century while polling nearly 32 per cent of the region's vote. At the same time, four more southern Republican House seats were added to the seven that the party had previously controlled. (Figure 2.)

There were 26 districts in the region where Republican House candidates polled 40 per cent or more of the two-party vote in 1962. By study of these, the two major sources of strength for the Republican party in southern House contests can be traced. Data which bear on these constituencies appear in Table 5. The great majority of the southern districts where the G.O.P. made a respectable showing in 1962 were located either in the Appalachian Plateau region embracing western Virginia, central and western North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee, or in rapidly growing industrial and urban enclaves scattered from Richmond, Virginia, to Miami, Florida, and Dallas, Texas. The existence of some Republican strength in the uplands of the South has a long history, although since the Second World War it has been increasing. The emergence of Republicanism with mass support among the professional and middle classes of the region's economically expanding urban centers, on the other hand, is a more recent phenomenon. And it has profound implications for the future of southern politics.

Figure 1.

SOUTHERN POPULAR VOTES FOR REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL AND HOUSE CANDIDATES, 1944-1960

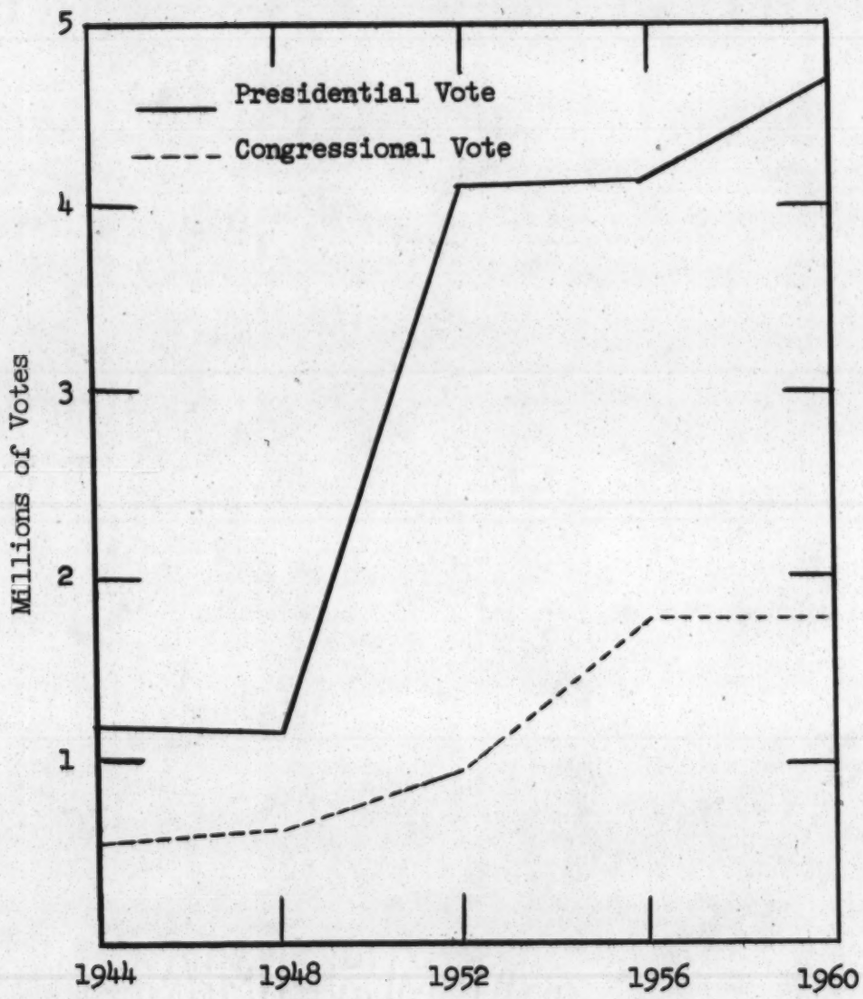

Figure 2.

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE OF THE TWO-PARTY VOTE FOR REPRESENTATIVE
IN THE SOUTH, 1948-1962

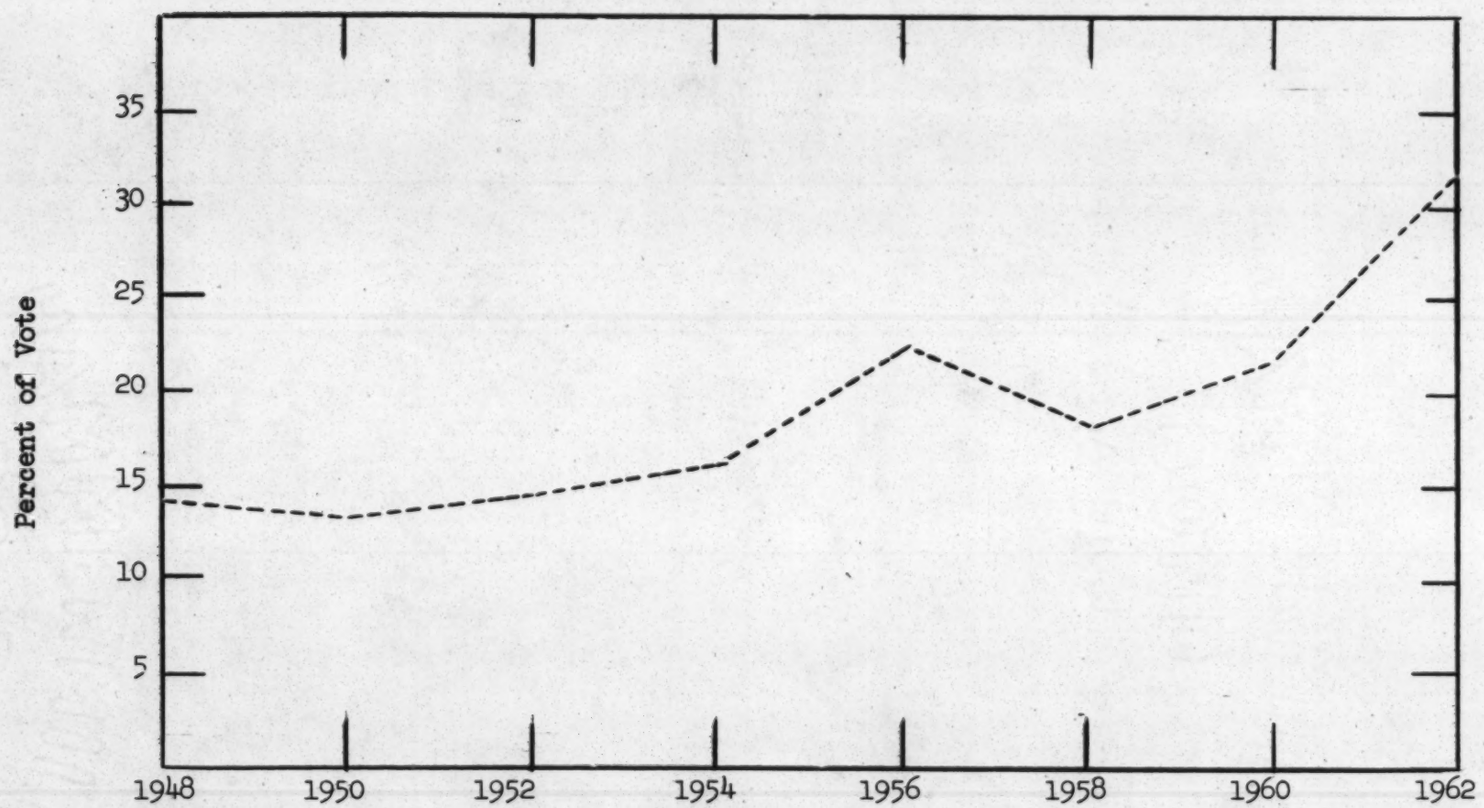

Table 5

Southern House Districts in which Republican Congressional Candidates Polled 40 Per Cent or More of the Two-party Vote in 1962

DISTRICT	Rep. % House Vote	% Population Urban	% Population Negro	District's Location in State
Tenn. 2	70.6	51.5	6.0	E. Central-Knoxville
Va. 6	65.4	60.1	13.5	W. Central-Roanoke
Fla. 12	64.5	91.1	8.8	W. Central-St. Petersburg
Tex. 5	56.3	97.5	14.5	Dallas
N.C. 8	56.0	53.5	25.2	S. Central-Charlotte
Va. 10	55.4	88.8	6.1	Wash.D.C. suburbs
Tenn. 1	55.1	32.1	2.6	Northeast
Tex. 16	53.8	84.9	3.9	West-El Paso
Fla. 11	51.9	68.9	15.8	E. Central-Orlando
Tenn. 3	51.1	56.1	13.2	Southeast-Chattanooga
N.C. 9	50.5	34.9	12.1	N.W. Central
Va. 3	49.7	82.8	25.7	Richmond and environs
Tenn. 9	49.4	87.8	36.3	Memphis
Va. 7	49.4	29.4	8.1	N. Central-Winchester
Tex. 3	48.0	48.0	24.7	East-Tyler
S.C. 2	47.2	47.7	37.2	Central-Columbia
Tex. 22	46.5	98.1	14.7	Houston--South and suburbs
N.C. 10	44.9	42.3	12.2	W. Central-Gastonia
N.C. 11	44.8	26.0	6.0	West-Asheville
Ga. 5	44.4	90.0	26.5	Atlanta
Tex. A. L.	43.9	75.0	12.4	Texas
Fla. 3	42.4	98.8	17.8	N.Dade Co.-Miami
N.C. 4	41.9	40.8	22.6	Central-Raleigh
Tex. 18	41.2	69.2	3.9	N.Panhandle-Amarillo
N.C. 5	40.8	40.9	22.4	N.Central-Winston-Salem
N.C. 6	40.1	67.5	23.0	N. Central-Durham

In many respects, the land which in popular lore is ascribed to the "hillbilly," and the respectable urban neighborhoods of an emergent middle class are worlds apart. But nearly all of these districts representing the twin strands of persistent southern Republicanism have one factor in common: a smaller Negro population than average for the South. In only two of the 26 districts did the number of Negroes in the population substantially exceed one in four. In nearly two-thirds of the districts, it varied from one in five to one in 40. As the proportion of Negroes in southern districts increased, by contrast, the number of respectable Republican vote tallies and even candidates became few and far between.

This association between the black-belt districts and continuing Republican weakness at the congressional level in 1962 is brought out by the data in Table 6. In all of the nine southern districts where the 1960 Negro population exceeded 40 per cent, the G.O.P. did not even run a House candidate.[15] In the 1960 presidential balloting, five of these districts were carried by the Democratic presidential ticket, two went Republican, and two supported an unpledged presidential electors ticket. Wherever an unpledged or states' rights ticket alternative was available, the voters in these black-belt districts gave it considerable support. The recent election returns suggest, however, that in the immediate future these dissident presidential protests will not affect the voting for Congressmen. Probably a prime reason is that black-belt electors' views on racial issues are already forcefully represented by their incumbent Democratic Congressmen.

In 1952 President Eisenhower drew upon three major sources of support in the South -- traditionally Republican areas in the Appalachian Plateau, urban voters registering a protest against the economic policies of the Fair Deal, and black-belt electors expressing their disapproval of the national Democratic party's stand on racial issues.[16] In 1956 President Eisenhower had lost the support of many in this last group, but his gains in the cities and in the uplands more than made up for their defection. The significant fact about the Republican congressional strength is that, with but few exceptions, it has never stemmed from the black belt -- although the time may come when it will.[17] Its base has lain primarily in the Appalachian Plateau and the cities.

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15. For the record, perhaps it should be noted that in most black-belt House districts relatively few Negroes voted in 1962.

16. Samuel Lubell, The Revolt of the Moderates (New York: Harper Brothers, 1956), pp. 179-180. Donald Strong has pointed out that in 1952 the black-belt counties swung to Eisenhower in South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, while supporting Stevenson in North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Stevenson did well in the black belt in the latter states, Strong suggests, because some Negroes voted in these areas, and because the white voters' attachment to the Democratic party was reinforced by the presence of a relatively strong Republican opposition within the state. See Donald S. Strong, "The Presidential Election in the South, 1952," Journal of Politics, Vol. 17, No. 3, August, 1955, pp. 343-389.

17. In the 1962 Alabama senatorial contest, the Republican nominee, who sought consistently to tie Senator Hill to the national Democratic Administration, ran well in the black-belt districts.

Table 6

1962 Republican House Vote in Southern Districts
Where the Negro Percentage of the Total Population
Exceeded 40 Per Cent in 1960

DISTRICT	% Population Negro	Rep. % House Vote	% Population Urban	District's Location in State
Miss. 2	59.1	0	28.0	Northwest
N.C. 2	48.4	0	31.9	Northeast
Va. 4	47.9	0	27.4	Southeast
S.C. 6	46.5	0	27.8	East
Miss. 3	46.4	0	53.8	Southwest
S.C. 1	43.8	0	44.5	South-Charleston
Ga. 6	41.3	0	53.8	Central-Macon
La. 5	40.4	0	44.8	Northeast
Miss. 4	40.3	0	25.8	Central

These are, in fact, the only areas of the South where support for national Republican office seekers has manifested itself with any continuity. In recent years, the white voters in black-belt districts have been highly volatile in their voting for President. In 1948 many of them supported J. Strom Thurmond's third-party presidential candidacy. In 1952, Eisenhower, a Republican, did well in a number of black-belt constituencies, particularly in the Deep South. But in 1956, some of these voters, perhaps disenchanted with the General, were supporting a third-party presidential nominee again.

PRESIDENTIAL REPUBLICANISM AND CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANISM

Given a national Republican presidential nominee whose views on racial matters the black-belt voters find congenial -- an event that may not be repeated again soon if the ticket runs badly in the nation as a whole, these districts may support the Republican presidential ticket in 1964. Moreover, the consequences at the polls if the Negroes in these constituencies should begin to vote in large numbers are even more difficult to predict. This much, however, is clear. Southern Republicanism has no history of gradual, steady growth in the black belt -- either at the presidential or the congressional level. But in the Appalachian Plateau and the cities where it does, the evolution of Republican strength for President and Congressmen deserves treatment in somewhat greater detail.

As early as 1944, there were 22 districts in the South where Thomas E. Dewey was able to poll more than four votes of every ten for the Republican presidential ticket. Most of these constituencies were scattered throughout the Appalachian Plateau. But there also were harbingers of the Republicans' growing urban strength in the South. Dewey did fairly well in the less rural districts of Florida, and in scattered constituencies which included the cities of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Dallas, Texas. In nearly all of these districts, however, the vote received by G.O.P. House nominees lagged well behind the Republican presidential poll.

In Table 7, an analysis is presented which makes it possible to follow the fortunes of subsequent G.O.P. House candidates in these southern districts where Dewey did best in 1944. By 1948, only three Republican congressional nominees polled over 45 per cent of the vote in these constituencies. And the only ones who were elected came from the two longtime Republican strongholds of eastern Tennessee. By 1956, however, the fortunes of Republican House nominees in the southern districts where Dewey had made his best showing in 1944 had improved markedly. In 13 of the districts, the G.O.P. House vote exceeded 45 per cent. In seven of the constituencies, a Republican Congressman was elected.

Every southern Republican Representative who was sent to Washington in 1956 was elected in a district where Dewey had polled over 40 per cent of the presidential vote in 1944. Moreover, the larger Dewey's vote had been earlier, the better a Republican House candidate was likely to do in the district in 1956. In the Appalachian uplands and the cities of the South, lines of cleavage that were etched by the presidential battle of 1944 were being paralleled in the contests for Representative more than a decade later. The G.O.P. House vote still lagged behind the party's presidential poll, but the Republicans' congressional gains in the South followed in the wake of G.O.P. successes at the presidential level.

Table 7

House Districts where Dewey Polled the Heaviest Presidential Vote for the Republican Party in the South in 1944 and the Republican Percentage of the Congressional Vote in those Districts in 1948 and 1956[a]

DISTRICT'S REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1944	NO. OF DISTRICTS	DISTRICTS WHERE REP. HOUSE NOMINEES POLLED OVER 45% OF THE VOTE IN 1948		DISTRICTS WHERE REP. HOUSE NOMINEES POLLED OVER 45% OF THE VOTE IN 1956		DISTRICTS CARRIED BY REP. HOUSE NOMINEES IN 1956	
		NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
55-65	2	2	100.0	2	100.0	2	100.0
50-54.9	5	0	0.0	4	80.0	3	60.0
45-49.9	6	1	16.7	4	66.7	1	16.7
40-44.9	9	0	0.0	3	33.3	1	11.2
Total	22	3		13		7	

[a] Slightly under a third of the districts analyzed in this table lost one or more counties between 1944 and 1956 as a result of redistricting. In every case, however, the changed districts retained the same major population centers.

SOUTHERN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND THE FUTURE
OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN CONGRESS

The obstacles encountered by the Republicans in their quest for southern House and Senate seats are enormous. In some southern states, the state legislatures pass laws designed to hinder the growth of the minority party. For many voters the tradition of voting Democratic dies hard. The advantages the southern Democrats derive from their special position of strength within the congressional wing of the Democratic party are still substantial. In many districts incumbent Democratic Congressmen make unusually formidable opposing candidates. Moreover, southern white voters can support the Republican presidential nominee without disturbing the local one-party domination which precludes two white parties from having to bid for Negro votes. While two-party competition at the congressional level would not strike directly at these delicate local arrangements, a strengthened Republican party at the state level clearly would.

The obstacles besetting the Republicans' drive for votes in the South call attention to the peculiar dilemma which the G.O.P. faces in its bid for control of the House of Representatives in the 1960's. Areas outside the South that were once heavily Republican (aside from the peak years of the New Deal) are now sending substantially more Democratic Congressmen to Washington than they did in the 1920's or even in the early 1950's. In 1954 the New England House delegation contained 18 Republicans compared with 10 Democrats. In 1962 the Democrats held a margin in the region of 15 House seats to 10. In 1954 Republican Congressmen from the Pacific Coast states outnumbered the West Coast Democrats by 28 to 13. In 1962 there were 10 more Democrats than Republicans in the area. And between 1954 and 1962 the Republicans' edge over the Democrats in the number of Congressmen elected from all areas outside the South and the Border States dropped from 85 to 21. (Table 8.)

This erosion of sectionalism in the North has gone far to deprive the Republican party of its overwhelming domination of its traditional regional strongholds above the Mason-Dixon Line. The result is that the Republicans have lost their top-heavy margin of House seats in their former northern sectional strongholds. But they have not yet registered the corresponding gains in the South that would be theirs if the tempo of change were the same throughout the country. Until the G.O.P. adds substantially to its strength for the House in the South -- as it already has for President, the party faces formidable obstacles in its bid for control of the House of Representatives. Yet if the portents of recent election returns are fulfilled, in time these gains will come.

Table 8

Democratic and Republican House Members, by Region, Elected in Selected Years Between 1924 and 1962

REGION[a]	1924		1930		1936		1942		1948		1954		1960		1962	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
South	102	2	101	3	100	2	102	2	103	2	99	7	99	7	95	11
Border States	28	19	36	11	41	2	28	14	37	5	30	8	32	6	28	8
All Others	52	227	80	203	193	84	85	190	123	163	103	188	132	161	136	157
New England	4	28	8	24	14	15	7	21	11	17	10	18	14	14	15	10
Mid-Atlantic	24	67	28	64	64	30	41	52	45	46	38	50	43	45	41	43
Midwest	14	71	31	55	65	18	21	64	38	49	30	57	36	51	34	54
Plains States	5	33	6	34	13	16	0	30	5	26	5	26	6	25	5	22
Rocky Mountain	3	11	4	10	14	0	11	5	12	4	7	9	11	5	10	7
Pacific Coast	2	17	3	16	23	5	15	18	12	21	13	28	22	21	31	21

[a]The states contained in the regions in this table are identical to those in Table 1.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 16, 1970

During the week of October 25 the national meetings of the Adult Education Association will be held in Atlanta. On Wednesday morning, October 28, the Labor Education Section of the A.E.A. will have its meeting on the topic of "Labor Education in the South."

I have been asked by the planning committee to invite you to attend this session which will bring together a panel of university, agency, and union labor education practitioners. The session will be informal. It is my hope that this meeting will provide an opportunity for persons in Georgia interested in labor education to become better informed, meet some of the national people in this field, and to raise questions about the prospects of labor education in the region.

The meetings will be held in the Regency Hyatt House and will run from 9:00 a.m. until noon.

I urge you to join us for these deliberations.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

March 15, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

We have completely used up the booklet you forwarded to us entitled "Wages, Insurance and Growth" by Raymond Munts.

We are wondering if you could possibly send us about 100 more of thes booklets.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

A. G. Trammell

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek
opeiu18

March 29, 1967

Mr. A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Bldg.
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Ace:

One hundred copies of Raymond Munts' article "Wages, Insurance and Growth" have been forwarded to you. I am pleased that you have found it a useful item.

Where possible we would like to be reimbursed for this reprint at the rate of ten cents a copy.

A copy of the minimum wage kit is on its way to you. Barney should have already received one.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

April 4, 1967

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

We found the article on "Wages, Insurance and Growth" a most useful item for our Legislative Conference. I am enclosing our check #9460 in the amount of $10.00 for this reprint.

4/11/67
C.F.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

AGT

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek
opeiu18

Enclosure

April 24, 1967

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council
604 Lyric Bldg.
Brimingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Bamney:

Can these maps be any help to you?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

October 23, 1968

Mr. A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Ace:

Please send me another copy of the "1967 Legislative Report and Voting Records." It looks like a good job and I want our Voter Education Project to have a copy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

A. H. Trammel

Dear Ace:

Please send me another copy of the "1967 Legislative Report and Voting Records." It looks like a good job and I want our Voter Education Project to have a copy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Gwen

10/26/1968

Ala - AFL-CIO

Labor Snubs Wallace At Alabama Meeting

Montgomery, Ala.—Top aides of Alabama's presidential candidate, George C. Wallace, hovered on the outskirts of the State AFL-CIO convention here, passed out tickets to a Wallace dinner—but left without a labor endorsement for the third party candidate in his home state.

The 500 delegates representing Alabama's growing union movement ignored the former governor's candidacy. But they called for action at the state level to repeal anti-union legislation and to set up a medicaid program to meet the health needs of Alabama's low-income families.

Delegates called for legislation to permit public employes to organize and bargain collectively.

Present Alabama law declares that any state employe or worker in a state-supported institution who joins a union loses the protection of the merit system and may be summarily fired.

And state courts have held that counties and cities do not have the right to recognize or deal with a union unless the legislature passes a law specifically authorizing it.

Forty states presently receive federal matching grants to provide medical care for the needy. The convention delegates said in a resolution that Alabama should do likewise.

Delegates unanimously re-elected Barney Weeks, who has been a symbol of labor-civil rights cooperation in the Deep South, as president of the state federation, A. G. Trammell as secretary-treasurer and William Mintz as executive vice president.

Weeks, in his report to the convention, said new organizing in the state by AFL-CIO affiliates has added 10,000 union members in addition to increases in already-organized plants.

He urged as a major legislative goal a "little Norris-LaGuardia Act" to restrict state court injunctions used repeatedly "to break strikes."

In other areas, the convention called for federal and state action on consumer protection, including an end to auto insurance abuses.

It urged passage by Congress of occupational safety and health legislation, preservation of the TVA fertilizer plant, and tax reform.

Delegates voted strong support for the California grape boycott and for the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

AFL-CIO News 10/26/68 p 6

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

E. Via

Mr. Barney Ulrich
Pres.

File

ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO

ON AND AFTER NOVEMBER 1, 1968

THE

ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

WILL BE AT A

NEW ADDRESS AND A NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER

1018 SOUTH 18TH STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35205
TELEPHONE 328-2164

(Save this card for your assistance in writing or calling the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO)

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1 [illegible] Lyric Bldg

on Rollader

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

V. E. P. NEWS

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

NOVEMBER 1968 VOL. 2, NO. 11 Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

CLARK, HATCHER, CHISHOLM TO ADDRESS CONFERENCE

Ramsey Clark

Richard Hatcher

BOND TO KEYNOTE FOUR-DAY MEETING OF BLACK OFFICIALS

U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher and New York Congresswoman-elect Shirley Chisholm will address the Voter Education Project's Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials in Atlanta the second week in December.

Attorney General Clark will speak at a banquet Friday night at the American Motor Hotel. Hatcher, the first Negro mayor of Gary and one of two black mayors of major U.S. cities, will participate in a public forum Thursday night at Clark College.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman ever sent to Congress. She will address the conference's closing luncheon Saturday, Dec. 14.

More than 380 Negro officeholders from across the South have been invited to attend the conference Dec. 11-14 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel. VEP records show that there are currently 151 Negroes elected to city offices, 78 to law enforcement positions, 72 school board members, 55 county officials and 30 state legislators in the South. Workshops will be held on Thursday and Friday afternoons for officeholders in each of these categories.

Julian Bond, the 28-year-old Georgia state representative nominated for vice president at the Democratic National Convention in August, will give the keynote address at the opening dinner Wednesday night.

Atlanta University students and the public will be invited to attend Mayor Hatcher's speech and panel discussion afterwards. Panelists will be Mississippi state Rep. Robert Clark; Richmond, Va., City Councilman Henry Marsh; Georgia state Rep. J. C. Daugherty, and John McCown, newly elected commissioner of Hancock County, Ga.

Other speakers at the four-day conference will be Dr. Kenneth Clark, director of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) in New York, and Dr. Samuel Cook of the Duke University political science department.

Three black financial experts and officeholders—Gerald Lamb, Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, director of revenue of Illinois, and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit—will be

(Continued on Page 4)

OVER 100 BLACKS ELECTED NOV. 5

BY JANET WELLS

At least 107 Negroes won public office in the South Nov. 5, a Voter Education Project survey shows.

About 80 of the officials have not held an elected office before, and the rest were re-elected to new terms or to new offices. The election brings to 385 the number of black elected officials in the 11 Southern states.

Approximately 280 Negroes ran in the general election. VEP records show that at least 310 Negroes were candidates

Winners listed on Page 3; legislative story on Page 4.

in Democratic and Republican primaries this year, and a large number of others ran as independents or on third-party tickets.

The general election brought the desegregation of three state legislative houses. Negro representatives were elected for the first time to the Tennessee Senate and the North Carolina and Florida houses of representatives. Southern state legislatures will have 30 black members when their new terms begin.

Three independent candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in Virginia and candidates for the U.S. Senate and House on the National Democratic Party of Alabama

(Continued on Page 4)

Voter Education Project
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DR. SAMUEL D. COOK
Chairman

PAUL ANTHONY
H. A. (HANK) BROWN
DR. C. G. GOMILLION
DR. VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
JESSE HILL
NORMAN HILL
FRANK SMITH
RUSSELL SUGARMON
DR. C. H. THOMAS, JR.
JOHN WHEELER

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Director

FELDER RESIGNS AS SCVEP HEAD

James L. Felder, director of the South Carolina Voter Education Project since June, 1967, has resigned to take a job with the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE).

Felder will direct a two-year program of technical and legal assistance to Negro officeholders throughout the United States. He said the position will give him an opportunity to continue on a national level the work he has done in South Carolina for the past year and a half.

The SEDFRE project will sponsor seminars to advise black officeholders on the problems of conducting their offices and their campaigns, as well as on public issues.

Felder said he will continue to make his home in South Carolina while traveling around the country to meet black officials. SEDFRE is headquartered in New York.

Felder's successor in the South Carolina VEP has not yet been selected.

A native of South Carolina, Felder attended Clark College in Atlanta. He assumed the directorship of the South Carolina VEP immediately after his graduation from Howard University Law School.

JOLLIFF REINSTATED IN MISSISSIPPI

James Jolliff Jr. of Woodville, Miss., has been reinstated as supervisor of Wilkinson County after the Mississippi Supreme Court cleared him of a criminal conviction.

Jolliff, a Negro and a civil rights leader, was removed from office in March after he was convicted of interfering with the investigation of a state alcoholic beverage control (ABC) agent.

The incident occurred in September of last year, two months before Jolliff's election as supervisor. The ABC agent charged that Jolliff blocked him when he attempted to check the beer stock in a Woodville cafe Jolliff was attending. Jolliff was arrested when he demanded a warrant before allowing the agent to search the cafe.

The state Supreme Court Oct. 28 ruled unanimously that the ABC agent was "not in discharge of his lawful duty" in searching the establishment. The court declared that state law does not give ABC agents the authority to enforce the state's beer laws.

DIRECTOR'S DIRECT LINE

Southwide Meet Designed To Aid Black Officials

Three years ago, just after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council compiled a list of elected Negro officeholders in the South. The list totaled just over 70 names.

Today, counting some 80 black candidates elected for the first time in the Nov. 5 general election, the list totals over 380 names. The roster thus is more than five times as large today as it was just three years ago.

This dramatic increase is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process.

It is true, of course, that most of these officials were elected by predominantly black voting lists and are a result of heavy increases in Negro registration. Indeed, many represent all-black districts—as do, for example, the mayors and councilmen in all-black towns. Nevertheless there are some black officeholders—notably several of the legislators—who represent districts in which large numbers of white voters live. In any event, the list of black officeholders is growing very rapidly and will continue to do so in the months ahead.

This rapid growth in the number of Negro officeholders poses a new issue for Negroes in the South—a welcome issue, but an issue nevertheless. That issue is how to make these new officeholders as effective as possible in filling their offices. Like politicians of all races, black officeholders must be able to produce in behalf of their constituents. But Negro officeholders face several additional problems.

Black voters often feel that black officeholders should produce instantly, almost magically, all those benefits and services that had been denied down through the years by callous white officials. Usually—almost always—this is impossible.

In many cases the Negro officeholder finds himself serving Negroes who live outside his district but have no spokesman. Thus a Negro legislator—to use that office as an example—might find himself speaking on some issues for all the Negroes in the state.

The Negro officeholder is being observed closely by both races. Some of the watching eyes are friendly, but many are hostile. Often the new Negro officeholder will be measured by yardsticks far more exacting than those applied to his white predecessors. The difficulty that Julian Bond had in claiming his seat in the Georgia Legislature stands as an example of the sort of roadblocks that can be thrown in the way of black elected officials.

Finally, most of the newly elected black officials carry a heavy burden of political inexperience. Historically, the white political structure of the South has deliberately and systematically denied blacks the opportunity to gain experience in the political process.

This is the sort of practical problems we will be dealing with here Dec. 11-14 at the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. We will not solve all the problems at one conference. But we hope to establish, at this conference, some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future, as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.—VERNON E. JORDAN JR.

NOV. 5 WINNERS LISTED

The following black persons were elected to public office in the Southern states Nov. 5:

ALABAMA—James Johnson, Elias Hendricks and the Rev. Herbert Wheeler, constables, and Thomas J. Norwood, justice of the peace, all in Jefferson County; the Rev. V. A. Edwards, re-elected to the board of revenue; William Childs (re-elected) and A. R. Ashley, justices of the peace, and James Henderson, school board, all in Macon County; William Thomas, constable, Lauderdale County, and Davie Frazier, justice of the peace, Pike County.

Jesse W. Favor and T. M. Gilchrist, justices of the peace, Lowndes County; Patricia McAlpin, Earl Jerone King, Aris Morris and Isaiah Hayes III, all justices of the peace in Etowah County, and R. T. Hayes, Oscar Hildreth, Arthur Woods, Hillie Belcher and James M. Harper, justices of the peace, Marengo County.

Samuel Little, school board chairman; Richard Rowe, Alice Belle and Lewis Thomas, constables, and Bettie Wimbly, John Hoard, Tessie Thomas and Annie B. Williams, justices of the peace, all in Sumter County.

ARKANSAS — Charles Bussey, city manager's board, Little Rock; the Rev. Lorenzo Jones, alderman, and Frank E. Taylor, recording secretary, Norall; D. W. Jordan Sr., alderman, West Helena; the Rev. G. R. Mazique, alderman, Helena, and the Rev. G. Edward West, board of directors, Fort Smith.

FLORIDA—Joe Lang Kershaw, state House of Representatives, Dade County; William Shellman, constable, Duval County, and Dr. John S. Jackson, city council, Lakeland.

GEORGIA—Bobby L. Hill, state House of Representatives, Chatham County; James E. Dean, state House, DeKalb County; E. J. Shepherd and Clarence G. Ezzard, state House, Fulton County; Rev. L. Scott Stell Jr., county commission, Chatham County; James H. Smith (re-elected) and John McCown, county commission, and Jackie Ingram, ordinary, all of Hancock County.

Re-elected to the state Senate were: Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward, both of Fulton County.

Re-elected to the state House were: Albert Thompson, Muscogee County; R. A. Dent, Richmond County, and Benjamin Brown, Julian Bond, Grace Hamilton, John Hood, J. C. Daugherty and William Alexander, all of Fulton County.

LOUISIANA—Joseph A. Delpit, city council, Baton Rouge; Mrs. Helena B. McClinton and James A. Thomas, school board, Tallulah; John Williams, school board, West Feliciana Parish, and Jesse Paul, re-elected town marshal, Patterson.

MISSISSIPPI—Flonzie Belle Goodloe and W. E. Garrett, Madison County; Rogers Clark, Matthew Gray, Everett Jennings and Floyd Rollins, Claiborne County; Howard T. Bailey, Elra Johnson and Burrell Tate, Holmes County; Leroy Robinson Jr., Ellis Braxton, Sol Jackson and Julia Banks, Jefferson County; Gladys Davis, Wilkinson County and Marshall Jones, Marshall County, all elected to election commissions.

John Daugherty, Benton County; Arenia C. Mallory, Holmes County; Horace Lightfoot, Claiborne County, and John Green and Marie Green, Wilkinson County, all to school boards.

NORTH CAROLINA—Henry E. Frye, state House of Representatives, Greensboro; Thurmon Anderson, re-elected school board, Robeson County; Fred McNeil, school board, and Asa T. Spaulding, county commission, Durham County, and Elreta M. Alexander, state district judge, Guilford County.

SOUTH CAROLINA—David Jones, Booker T. Washington and Leroy Brown, county council, Frieda Mitchell and Agnes Sherman, school board, Eddie Kline and Anthony H. Eddings, magistrate, all in Beaufort County, and J. Wendell Martin, county council, Fairfield County.

TENNESSEE—Robert J. Booker, re-elected state House of Representatives, Knoxville; M. G. Blakemore, re-elected state House, Nashville; J. O. Patterson, state Senate, Memphis; Avon Williams, state Senate, Nashville; Harold G. Love, state House, Nashville; Alvin M. King, James I. Taylor and Ira H. Murphy, state House, Memphis, and Dennis Bank and James Staples, constable, Knoxville.

TEXAS—Barbara Jordan, state Senate, and Curtis Graves, state House, both re-elected from Houston, and the Rev. Zan W. Holmes, re-elected to state House, Dallas.

Negroes Elected To Office in the South Nov. 5, 1968

Compiled by the Voter Education Project
of the Southern Regional Council

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	TOTAL
Senate				2					2	1		5
House			1	12			1		6	2		22
City Council		5	1		1							7
County Council				3			1	4				8
Town Marshal					1							1
Board of Revenue	1											1
School Board	2				3	5	2	2				14
Ordinary				1								1
Magistrate								2				2
Constable	7		1						2			10
Election Commission						15						15
Justice of Peace	19											19
City Recorder		1										1
Judge							1					1
TOTAL:	29	6	3	18	5	20	5	8	10	3	0	107

TWO LEGISLATURES ARE DESEGREGATED

The state houses of representatives of Florida and North Carolina have been desegregated following the election of one black member to each Nov. 5. In Tennessee, where the state House was desegregated in 1964, two Negroes were elected for the first time to the state Senate.

The election brings to 30 the number of Negroes serving in Southern state legislatures. The only states remaining without black representation in either house are Alabama, Arkansas and South Carolina.

Georgia, Texas and now Tennessee have both houses integrated.

The new Tennessee senators are J. O. Patterson, who had served one term as a state representative, and Nashville attorney Avon Williams.

Williams defeated state Rep. Dorothy Brown in the Democratic primary. With the defeat of Dr. Brown, A. W. Willis and Russell Sugarmon by Negroes in the primary and the elevation of Patterson to the Senate, the House acquired four new Negro members but did not have a net gain of Negro-held seats.

The new members of the Tennessee House are Nashville City Councilman Harold Love and Alvin M. King, James I. Taylor and Ira H. Murphy, all of Memphis. Robert J. Booker and M. G. Blakemore were re-elected.

Joe Lang Kershaw, 57, will be the first Negro to serve in the Florida House of Representatives since Reconstruction. Kershaw, a Miami junior high civics teacher, worked as a janitor in the House chamber when he was a college student. He defeated his white opponent by 60,000 votes.

Henry Frye of Greensboro, the first Negro elected to the North Carolina House since 1898, was an unsuccessful candidate for the office in the Democratic primary two years ago. He is a former assistant U.S. attorney and law instructor at North Carolina College law school.

The Georgia General Assembly will have 14 black members in January, an increase of three over the last term. The two incumbent Negro senators, both from Atlanta, and the eight incumbent representatives who sought re-election won.

Two Georgia counties will send black representatives to the 205-member state House for the first time in January. James E. Dean defeated a Negro write-in candidate in suburban Atlanta DeKalb County, and Bobby L. Hill was elected from coastal Chatham County (Savannah). In Fulton County (Atlanta) E. J. Shepherd was elected to the seat held by retiring Rep. J. D. Grier, and Clarence G. Ezzard won a formerly white seat.

The two incumbent state representatives and state senator in Texas were re-elected.

CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 1)

panelists in a discussion on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official."

Five Negroes who undertook and lost exceptionally difficult races will speak at a luncheon Friday. The five—each of whom will speak briefly of his campaign—are Charles Evers, candidate in 1968 for U.S. Congress from Mississippi; Maynard Jackson, candidate for the U. S. Senate from Georgia this fall; George A. Payton, candidate for the U.S. House from Charleston, S. C., and Reginald A. Hawkins, candidate this summer for governor of North Carolina, and A. W. Willis, who ran for mayor of Memphis.

OVER 100 WIN

(Continued from Page 1)

(NDPA) ticket were all defeated.

Alabama, with blacks running on three different tickets, had the largest number (29) of Negro winners.

Of approximately 90 candidates running the NDPA picked up 17 local offices. In Sumter County—the only county in which NDPA winners had opposition—Samuel Little was elected by 30 votes as chairman of the county school board.

It took a Supreme Court ruling in October to get the NDPA emblem on Alabama ballots. The American Civil Liberties Union plans to bring contempt charges and a suit for a new election in Greene County, where the probate judge refused to put the six local NDPA candidates on the ballot.

Alabamans also elected black candidates on the regular Democratic party ticket and on the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (Black Panther) ticket. Only two of five Lowndes County candidates—both of them unopposed—won, despite a black voting majority in the county.

In other recent elections, G. H. Gause was elected to the Bartow, Fla., city council, and Robert Dean Gray was elected alderman in Shelby, Miss. Gray's election followed four months of store boycotts in Shelby. A white alderman resigned so a black man could be elected to the vacated seat.

V.E.P. News Vol. 2 No. 11

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(Address Correction Requested)

K. M. 1-29-69 file

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Mr. A. G. Trammell, Sec. Treas.
Ala. Labor Council, AFL-CIO
~~604 Lyric Bldg.~~
Birmingham, Ala. ~~35203~~

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FIRST

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE

of the

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL-CIO

REGENCY HYATT HOUSE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DECEMBER 1 to 4, 1971

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE

To direct the attention of our membership to the problems critical to the organizational and political progress of our Union -- those of creating by full respect and consideration for the needs of all groups within our Union, that total unity and solidarity which can make us all strong. In these days of Nixon's maximum attack upon the welfare and organization of all working people, such consolidation is not only desirable, but essential to the whole future as a Union.

To help to build on the basis of justice and mutual respect, the coalition of forces which will guarantee the fighting power of our whole Union. Our success in future bargaining and our prospects for victory in the elections of 1972 deeply depend on this.

To develop a summary and conclusions, with recommendations and resolutions which will be presented to the 1972 International General Convention for consideration by the entire General Session. Equal employment opportunity, minority representation, crime and drug addiction, the plight of our cities, womens' rights and poverty are among those issues offered for down-to-earth discussion by delegates in a series of panels and workshops.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1

12:00 noon - 3:00 p.m.
DUTCH SUITE
Luncheon & Meeting.....Civil Rights Committee Members, Resource Persons & Staff.

3:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.
EXHIBIT LEVEL
Delegate Registration

7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.
PHOENIX BALLROOM
Reception.....Officers, Delegates, Guests, Civil Rights Committee Members, Resource Persons & Staff.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.
EXHIBIT LEVEL
Continued Registration

9:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.
LANCASTER ROOM "D"
General Session

Conference Convened.....Abe Feinglass, Vice President
Director, Fur & Leather Dept.
Chairman, Civil Rights Committee

Invocation.....Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.
Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta

Greetings & Acknowledgements....Roy Scheurich, Vice President
Director, District 9

Roy Williams, Secretary
Local Union No. 442, Atlanta

James Moore, President
Georgia State Federation, AFL-CIO

Report to the Conference.....Russell R. Lasley, Director
Civil Rights Department

Purpose of the Conference.....Thomas J. Lloyd
International President

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2

General Session (Continued)
Guest Speaker.....Honorable Maynard Jackson
Vice-Mayor, City of Atlanta
"Impact of the Economic, Social & Political Process on Minority Groups."

Guest Speaker.....Donald Slaiman, Executive Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
"Civil Rights: A Challenge to our Society."

Instructions to Delegates & Introduction of Workshop Chairmen, Resource Persons, Discussion Leaders and Recorders.....Harry L. Alston, Representative
Education Department

1:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.
PHOENIX BALLROOM
Luncheon
Guest Speaker.....Honorable Barbara Jordan
Senator, Texas State Legislature
"Women in our Society."

2:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.
(See Schedule for Locations)
Workshops.....Presentation and Exploration of the Problems.

7:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.
LANCASTER ROOM "D"
Film Presentation.....1. Color of Justice
2. Charles Martin, American

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3

9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.
LANCASTER ROOM "D"
General Session
Conference Reconvened.....Abe Feinglass

Invocation.....Rabbi Freiman
Shearith Israel Congregation
Atlanta

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3

General Session (Continued)

Remarks.....Joseph Belsky, Vice President
Director, District 1

Guest Speaker.....Rev. Ralph Abernathy, President
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
"Definition and Overview of
Minority Groups in our Society."

10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon
(See Schedule for Locations)

Workshops.....Conclusions, Recommendations and
Resolutions on the Problems.

12:00 noon - 1:30 p.m.
CONDOR ROOM

Luncheon

Guest Speaker.....Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Commissioner, Bexar County, Texas
"Problems of our Changing
Society."

1:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.
LANCASTER ROOM "D"
General Session

Reports from Workshops.....Workshop Recorders

Summary, Evaluation,
Recommendations &
Resolutions

Closing Remarks.....Patrick E. Gorman
International Secretary-Treasurer

7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.
LANCASTER HALL
Banquet

Invocation.....Father Curran, Assistant Pastor
Cathedral of Christ the King
Atlanta

Remarks.....Patrick E. Gorman
International Secretary-Treasurer

Guest Speaker.....Simeon Golar
Commissioner of Housing
City of New York

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

VICE PRESIDENTS

Serve as Chairman of his respective workshop, and open the session with a general statement regarding the scope of the discussion on the workshop topic.

Introduce the Resource Person(s), the Discussion Leader(s) and the Recorder.

In some cases, questions may arise that would require official clarification as regards the Union. It would be the responsibility of the Chairman to respond to such questions.

Participate in the discussions.

RESOURCE PERSONS

Make the initial presentation, which will serve as the basis for the discussions that follow. The presentation should be informative, as well as serve as a challenge to the group.

In conjunction with the Discussion Leader, assist in creating a lively discussion of the assigned topic.

Some suggestions for action should be brought out either in the initial presentation or during the discussion period.

DISCUSSION LEADERS

Serve primarily as a stimulant to keep the discussion moving and in keeping with the basic theme of the workshop.

Involve as many participants as possible in the discussions. Care must be taken to assure that a few participants do not monopolize the time. Focus attention on those not participating, and try to involve them in the discussion.

Achieve maximum and meaningful participation and, together with Resource Persons, arrive at basic recommendations for the summary report to be presented to the General Session on Friday.

RECORDERS

Record the initial presentations of the Resource Persons. (Tape recorders will be provided for this purpose.)

Record discussion highlights and subsequent recommendations. This will be important in developing the summary report.

GENERAL

Each workshop will have time on Friday morning to make a summary report with recommendations and resolutions to be presented to the General Session on Friday afternoon.

Due to the time period allotted for workshops on Thursday, the Chairmen, Resource Persons, Discussion Leaders and Recorders may elect to remain after the session to draw up a preliminary draft of their respective workshop report. Additional members of the workshop may be assigned to assist with the summation.

During the workshops on Friday, the participants may finalize their respective reports. Since some of the Resource Persons may not be available for Friday also, it is suggested that maximum utilization of their services take place on Thursday.

WORKSHOP
LEADERS AND LOCATIONS

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2

WORKSHOP 1 — **LANCASTER ROOM "A"**
"The Political Process as a Means of Improving the Status of Minority Groups."

Chairman	Donald H. Smith, Vice President Director, District 14, Richmond
Resource Persons	Norman Hill, Associate Director A. Philip Randolph Institute National Office, New York
	John Lewis, Director Voters Education Project, Atlanta
Discussion Leader	Jerry Menapace, President Local Union No. 117, Baltimore
Recorder	H. Tommy Powell, Secretary Local Union No. 515, Memphis

WORKSHOP 2 — **LANCASTER ROOM "B"**
"Minority Groups Within our International Union."

Chairman	Charles Hayes, Vice President Director, District 12, Chicago
Resource Person	Sam Pollock, President Local Union No. 427, Cleveland
Discussion Leader	Henry Foner, President Joint Board Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union, New York
Recorder	James Rodriguez, Secretary Local Union No. 563, Los Angeles

WORKSHOP 3 — **LANCASTER ROOM "C"**
"The Status of Women in our Society."

Chairman	Mark Allen, Vice President Secretary, Civil Rights Committee
Resource Persons	Ms. June Wakeford, Director Womens Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor Regional Office, Atlanta
	Ms. Judith Lonnquist, Attorney Jacobs, Gore, Burns & Sugarman Law Firm, Chicago National Organization for Women National Board Member Legal Counsel, Chicago Chapter

WORKSHOP 3 (Continued)

Discussion Leader	Mrs. Addie L. Wyatt International Representative District 12, Chicago
Recorder	Ms. Huguette Plamondon International Representative District 15, Montreal

WORKSHOP 4 LANCASTER ROOM "D"
"Economic and Social Factors Affecting Minority Groups in our Society."

Chairman	Marvin Hook, Vice President Director, Retail Department, Chicago
Resource Persons	James Wishart, Director Research Department, Chicago
	Lewis J. Carter, III Labor Affairs Representative National Urban League Southern Regional Office, Atlanta
Discussion Leaders	Robert Petronella, President Local Union No. 371, Hartford, Conn.
	Mathew Pinter, Secretary Local Union No. 248, Milwaukee
Recorder	Lamont Headley Furriers Joint Council, New York

WORKSHOP 5 DUTCH SUITE
"Minority Groups Before the Law."

Chairman	Richard Twedell, Vice President Director, District 5, Dallas
Resource Persons	Harold I. Cammer, Attorney Cammer & Shapiro Law Firm, New York
	Eugene Cotton, Attorney Cotton, Watt, Jones, King & Bowlus Law Firm, Chicago
Discussion Leader	Fred M. Waelter, Secretary Local Union No. 545, St. Louis
Recorder	Vernon Thomas International Representative District 14, Baltimore

Report

International Civil Rights Conference

December 1–4, 1971
Atlanta, Georgia

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America afl/cio

Friends:

What we believe to have been a truly historical event in the life of the 550,000-member Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen took place in Atlanta, December 1-4, 1971.

No doubt you will be interested in the conclusions drawn by the 400 delegates who attended the union's First International Civil Rights Conference.

The Conference dealt with the problems of minorities on a broad basis, recognizing that these questions affect women workers, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indians, as well as Blacks.

The political resolution will have special urgency in this election year.The resolution on minorities within the union is probably the most comprehensive in the entire Labor Movement.

The essence of these resolutions will be submitted for consideration by the union's International Convention.

In connection with your own program feel free to seek the cooperation of Amalgamated locals in your area, or contact us at the International Headquarters, 2800 Sheridan, Chicago, 60657.

Abe Feinglass, Chairman

Russell R. Lasley, Secretary
Civil Rights Committee

Harry L. Alston, Director
Civil Rights Department

Workshops

I
The Political Process as
a Means of Improving
the Status of Minority Groups

II
Minority Groups
Within Our Union

III
The Status of Women
in Our Society

IV
Economic and Social Factors
Affecting Minority Groups

V
Minority Groups
Before the Law

VI
Attitudes and Myths Affecting
the Relationship Between
Majority and Minority Groups

Principal Speakers

Hon. Maynard Jackson, Vice Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

*

Hon. Barbara Jordan, Senator
Texas State Legislature

*

Commissioner Albert Pena,Jr.
Bexar County,Texas

*

Hon. Simeon Golar
Commissioner of Housing

*

Mr. Donald Slaiman
Executive Director
Civil Rights Committee, AFL-CIO

*

Ms. Huguette Plamondon
International Representative
Amalgamated Meat Cutters
Montreal, Canada

*

Mr. Jose Sosa, N.Y.Joint Board
Fur, Leather and Machine Workers

*

Mr.Patrick E. Gorman
Secretary - Teasurer
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher
Workmen of North America / AFL-CIO

Resource Persons

Mr. Norman Hill
Associate Director
A.Philip Randolph Foundation
New York, New York

Mr. John Lewis
Director
Voters Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Frank Cimino
Secretary-Treasurer
Local Union 515, AMCBW
Cleveland, Ohio

Ms. June Wakeford
Regional Director
Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor
Atlanta, Georgia

Ms. Judith Lonnquist,Attorney
National Organization for Women
Chicago, Illinois

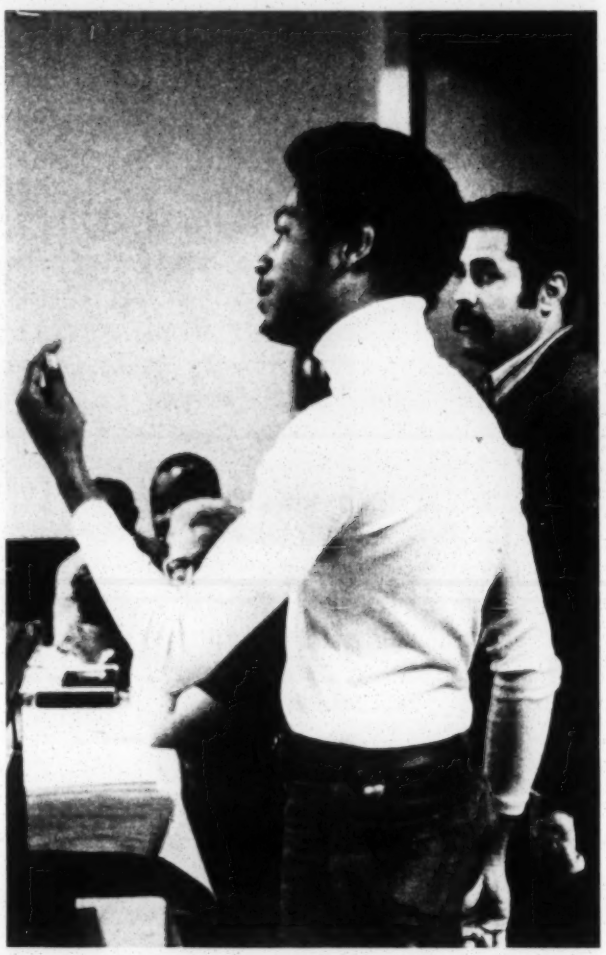
Mr. James Wishart
Research Director, AMCBW
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Lewis J. Carter, Jr.
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr.Emory Via, Director
Resource Development Center
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harold I. Cammer
Attorney
New York, New York

Mr. Eugene Cotton
Attorney
Chicago, Illinois



Mr. Leon Hall
Representative
Resource Development Center
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

The solution of our racial problems to a large degree requires solving the economic and social problems of all Americans. Well paid and steady jobs, quality education and decent housing that everyone can afford, create a foundation

political process

for the building of a healthy and integrated society. An important and significant means of achieving this is the ballot box. The mobilization of a progressive majority which could elect a President, a Congress, and state and local officials that will promote policies and enact legislation necessary for achieving these goals is crucial.

Minority trade unionists can play a key and unique role in building a progressive majority for racial equality, economic justice and democratic social change by:

1. Applying their union-learned organizing skills and experience in the community in which they live in developing effective voter registration, voter education and get-out-the-vote campaigns with the support of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and the national, state and local Committee On Political Education of the AFL-CIO.

2. Participating regularly in local union and local, state and national COPE meetings which make decisions to allocate funds and support candidates; thereby increasing the likelihood that such decisions are consistent with the broad goal of a labor-minority political alliance for racial equality, economic justice and social democracy.

3. Supporting the A. Philip Randolph Institute and other such organizations geared to political action as a means of achieving dignity, self-respect and economic and social well being for all people.

Of major importance in increasing minority participation in politics is the elimination of restrictive, outdated election laws. There is an immediate need for laws covering national, state and local elections establishing permanent, personal registration so that a citizen,

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political process
(continued)

once registered, remains registered.

We urge that national, state and local legislation be executed to:

1. Eliminate any residency requirements for presidential and vice presidential voting. This would have to account for those who change addresses within the present 30-day limitation -- by providing for some means of voting from their new address or an absentee ballot from their previous address. (S.2574 now before Congress annuls registration through post office.)

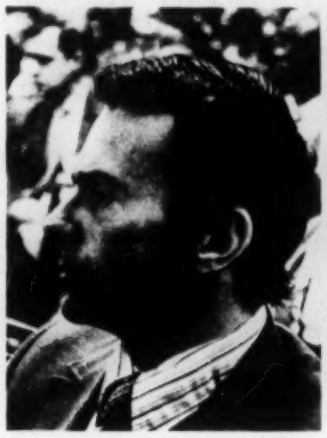
2. Provide a closing date for registration much nearer to election day than most laws now provide, the date to be determined by the minimum amount of time needed to process new registrations and transfers.

3. Provide door-to-door registration and total canvassing of residences, with the government carrying the primary responsibility for accomplishing them.

4. Eliminate literacy tests and state laws that bar from voting such groups as Indians or those living on federal lands.

5. Establish permanent registration by mail and a simplified means, possibly by mail, of transferring or recording a change of name and change of address. (Again covered by S.2574.)

6. Create a national election commission and state election commissions where there are none, to supervise enrollment and to maintain complete and accurate records of all election returns, as well as all laws pertaining to election jurisdiction.



7. Require local election commissions or agencies to keep up-to-date records of registered voters within their geographic area and a master alphabetical list as well as precinct lists; with these records available to organizations that are recognized as having a legitimate interest in them. These records should be regarded as public information.

8. Equip polling places with the facilities needed to eliminate long waiting periods and keep polling places open throughout the day until at least 9 p.m.

9. Require election and registration commissions to furnish interested parties precinct maps, locators, materials and other devices that are used in the determination of registration status. These should be furnished free, or for a fee not exceeding actual cost.

10. Other ideas added by the workshop and visitor Gene Shepherd were:

(a) Adoption of compulsory voting system in effect in New Zealand and Australia.

(continued)

political process
(continued)

(b) Support for the caucus of Black congressmen.

(c) Since labor will be called upon to help the debt-ridden Democrats, and since the kind of delegates to the coming convention in Miami will help determine the Democratic candidate for president, we insist or demand that 25 per cent of delegates in each state come from minority groups -- that is, Blacks, Chicanos, women.

(d) To present the proposal of the State Representative from Memphis, Tennessee, H. Tommy Powell, on tax withholding, which he has presented to us.

COMMENTS

It was the opinion of this panel that there is especially today an identity of interest of labor and minorities in these elections.

We all felt that emphasis had to be on "Dump Nixon in '72." If this is to be done, we must form the broadest coalition of labor and minorities. We of labor hold the greatest responsibility to win such a coalition.

If we are successful in turning out the Black and the Brown vote, we must be sure they are given candidates around whom we can rally a vote.

We must make sure there is a party platform and program that the Blacks, the Browns and the working-class whites can support.

We must impress on COPE and, through COPE, the Democratic Party that they cannot take the labor vote nor the minority vote for granted.

Neither labor nor the minorities will enthusiastically turn out unless its voice is heard and heeded.

This is our task!

This we must do nationally and locally!

This is a MUST task before us!

This workshop panel has carefully considered the progress made by our International Union and the problems we still face in order to fulfill our responsibilities to our members and to the labor movement.

Ours is a diversified union covering many industries; yet,

minority groups

we have found that the problems we all face with respect to the struggle for equality have much in common.

We therefore call upon this historic Civil Rights Conference to project a new and bold program designed to meet the needs of our times in order that our International Union may continue to play its leading role in the labor movement and in the community in this crucial area of human relations.

Such a program would guarantee that:

1. Every local union should conduct a thorough survey of the composition of its membership in order to make certain that every minority group within its jurisdiction is represented and participates on every level of the local's activities. There should be an ongoing system of reports on the status of this situation in the local unions, with copies to the District Directors so that a record of progress can be kept -- and we expect and insist that there will be progress.

2. Each department should conduct an examination of the composition of its local unions to determine whether there are any that have either no minority group workers or token numbers and, where they exist, take the necessary steps to eliminate discriminatory practices.

3. Every contract negotiated by every local union should carry a non-discrimination clause to be strictly enforced, including provision for the posting of jobs and job bidding as a basis of advancement.

within our union

4. Each local union should re-examine its apprenticeship programs to see that they are meeting the needs for which they were intended at the time they were instituted.

5. Each local union should open up the question of the upgrading of workers within the shops in order to insure the expansion of opportunity for minority workers on every level.

6. Every local union should seek ways to influence and affect the hiring patterns followed by the company, especially where such hiring patterns are used to deny employment to workers from minority groups.

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WORKSHOP
II
Minority Groups
Within Our Union

within our union

(continued)

7. Every local union should insure adequate representation of minority groups at every level of the operation of the local union, whether in elected or appointed positions, including shop committees, negotiating committees, representation at educational conferences and delegations to the International Conventions.

8. Every local union should utilize all of the facilities of the local union to provide for leadership training of minority group workers in order to remove this obstacle in the path of the development of such workers for leadership.

9. Every local union should explore the use of imaginative ideas and techniques in order to bring about maximum participation of all minorities and all young workers in union activities.

10. Every local union, every district organization and our International Union should examine the composition of its leadership, and take whatever steps are necessary to promote the representation of minority groups in the leadership of the organization.

11. We strongly recommend that future civil rights conferences should include a panel conducted in Spanish so that our local unions will be encouraged to send Hispano-American delegates who will be able to meet together and make their contribution to the realization of our civil rights program.

12. Every local union should examine its practices to see if it is providing materials, publications and contracts in languages other than English if this is necessary to reach the members of the union. Our International publication, the Butcher Workman, should similarly provide material to meet the needs of our multilingual membership.

13. We recognize that the real answer to the problem of employment and advancement for minority workers lies in an expanding economy where jobs and opportunities will be available for all workers, regardless of race, color, nationality or sex -- so that black, brown and white workers will not have to compete with each other for a shrinking number of jobs.

This will require an intensified struggle for full employment and

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within our union

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for expanded job opportunities, with the government playing whatever role is required in order to provide these jobs. It will also require that our union take the leadership in a vigorous campaign to end the senseless and immoral war in Vietnam, and to reorder our national priorities so that the necessary funds will be found to provide jobs for American workers and meet the genuine social and economic needs of our people.

14. We recognize, too, that the problems of minority groups within our union cannot be separated from all the patterns of racism that exist in our society. Thus, the fight against discriminatory hiring patterns is inextricably bound up with segregated and slum housing, with separate and unequal education, and with all the other mechanisms of discrimination that plague our nation.

We call upon our International Union to play its rightful role as a leader of the labor movement in the struggle to remove this blight from our land.

status of women

WHEREAS, women constitute more than 37 per cent of the labor force; and

WHEREAS, there are more than 100,000 women members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, there are currently 300 charges of sex discrimination lodged against our union; and

WHEREAS, women are loyal, dedicated and militant union members united with men in the struggle for justice and freedom for all working people; and

WHEREAS, this struggle has not yet resulted in freeing women from all economic, political and social oppression; and

WHEREAS, women continue to be denied equal pay and equal employment opportunities and rights; and

WHEREAS, it would greatly strengthen our union if all members, women and men, were encouraged to achieve their full potential on their jobs and in their union; and

WHEREAS, three-fifths of working women are the sole support of their families and over one-third of these women live in abject poverty; and

WHEREAS, more than 12 million working women have children under 18 years of age; and

WHEREAS, the continuation of wars deprives women of their sons and daughters, brothers and husbands, and depletes national resources which should be invested domestically to improve the living standards of all people;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the International Union take immediate steps to insure that women have the opportunity, fully, to participate in the government of our union by serving as officers, executive board members, delegates to AFL-CIO conventions, International representatives and organizers, members of International negotiating committees, and in all other positions.

2. That more women be appointed to the International Civil Rights Committee.

3. That the International Civil Rights Committee regularly meet with representatives of womens' rights organizations to discuss matters of mutual concern for women and to cooperate with such

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status of women
(continued)

organizations in the efforts to achieve equality for women in true partnership with men.

4. That the International Union convene a biennial International Conference on the role of women in the labor force.

5. That the International Union assign a representative of the Civil Rights Department to work with our International Representatives, our District Directors and local leadership to compile annual statistics on each local union with respect to the sex, race, national origin and age of the membership, which report shall be published in The Butcher Workman.

6. That one page in each monthly issue of The Butcher Workman be dedicated to the progress and promotion of women's rights.

7. That the International Pension Survivor Benefits, Hospitalization, Medical and Dental Programs be reviewed and revised to provide equal treatment of men and women.

8. That the International Constitution and Bylaws and model local bylaws be reviewed and revised to delete reference exclusively to men and replace them with terms referring to men and women alike.

9. That the International Union endorse and support federal legislation to prohibit sex discrimination in housing, public accommodation, education, administration of justice, federally assisted programs, taxation, and the social security system.

10. That the International Union endorse and support the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution without crippling amendments, and further to promote understanding that the International Union sponsor district conferences to discuss and analyze the impact of the ERA upon the labor force.

11. That the International Union endorse and support state legislation which will extend so-called "protective" laws to men as well as to women and also guarantee voluntary overtime for all workers.

12. That the International Union endorse and support comprehensive federal and state child care legislation which will provide twenty-four hour universal developmental child care, adequately staffed with competent men and women and allowing for parental involvement; that local unions be encouraged to support state and local child care legislation; and that both work to insure inclusion of provisions in collective bargaining agreements requiring employers to establish and maintain quality job site child care centers where suitable.

13. That the International Union endorse and support legislation which will vest cease-and-desist powers in the EEOC; but that we do not endorse provisions transferring jurisdiction of the

(continued)

status of women
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Office of Federal Contract Compliance to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and prohibiting maintenance of class action lawsuits under Title VII.

14. That the International Union and its locals continue to work for higher minimum wage and broader coverage of minimum wage laws.

15. Because women, employed or unemployed, have been deprived of adequate and equal job training and development of job skills, women are frequently unable to find, retain or achieve good paying employment positions, a fact which frequently has forced women out of the job market and on to welfare. Therefore, the International Union should take immediate steps to promote and sponsor job training and retraining programs for women.

16. That the International Union give special consideration and support to women in poverty, and encourage local unions to participate in and cooperate with organizations seeking to alleviate the burdens of women in poverty, such as Welfare Rights Organization, Operation Breadbasket, and Mothers in Poverty.

17. That the International Union and its locals give special consideration and support for qualified women seeking political office.

18. That the International Union appoint a full-time International Representative who is aware of and sensitive to the special needs, concerns and problems of women, to work full time with the Civil Rights Department to promote the interest of women.

19. That the International Union direct the local unions to police the hiring policies of employers and to recruit women to apply for job vacancies, with particular emphasis on companies which employ only men.

20. That the International Union direct its local unions to give special and immediate attention to sex discrimination grievances in order to attempt to resolve these grievances locally without necessitating governmental action or intervention.

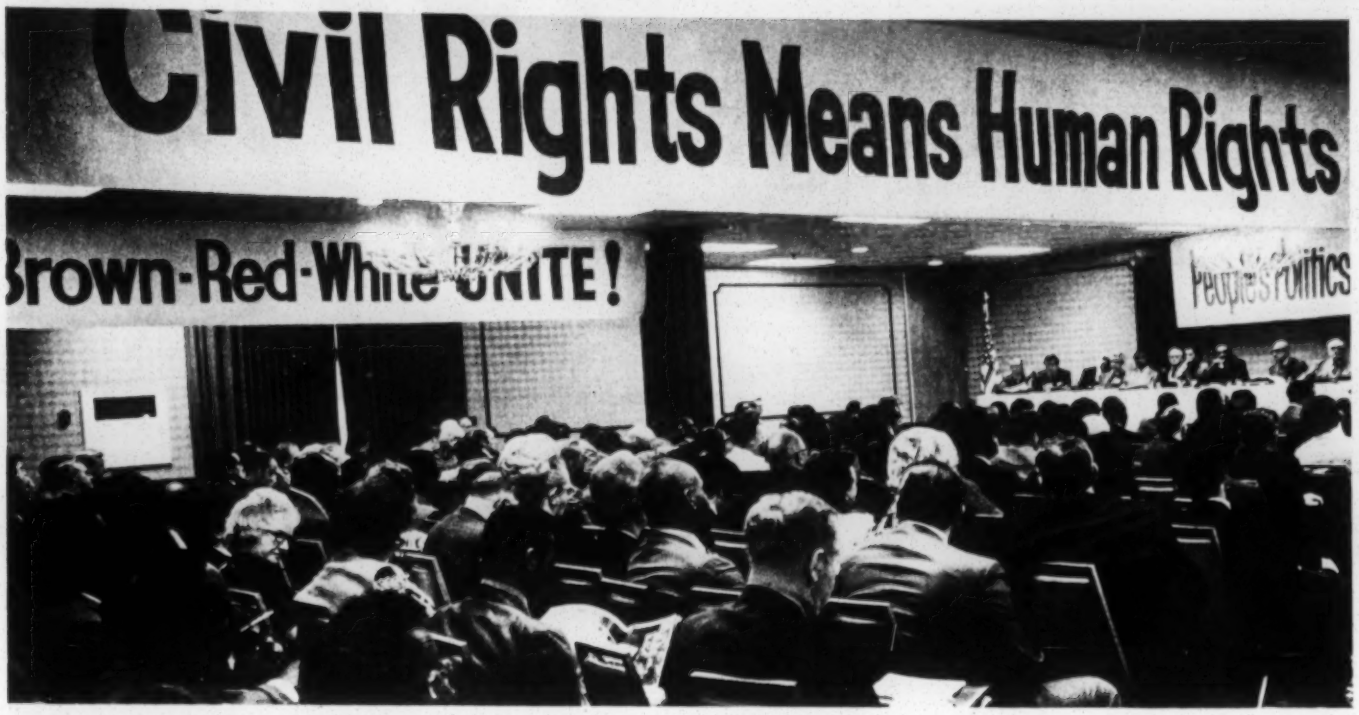
21. That the International Union encourage its members and employees to participate in and cooperate with womens' rights organizations, such as National Organization for Women (NOW), United Union Women, and Network for Economic Rights.

22. That the International Union review, modify and up-date its collective bargaining agreements to eliminate any vestige of inequality and to make them more reflective of the modern needs of women.

23. That the International Union continue to work to bring an end to war, particularly war in Indochina.

24. That this resolution be presented to the International Executive Board for its consideration and action, and also to the International Convention of 1972 for its consideration and action.

25. Mr. Chairman, finally, we commend the International Civil Rights Department for calling this very urgent conference which provided to each of us the opportunity to share information and opinions and to express our feelings about the matters so crucial to our women in our society and in our nation.



This workshop panel covered a wide range of problems in its discussions. There was agreement that the current economic and political situation poses grave threats to all minorities. Repressive legislation, the impact of imports and illegal immigration on established wage

economic and social factors

structures and job security, as well as the total Robin Hood-in-reverse economic policies of the Nixon Administration, were all recognized as special dangers to minority groups.

Recognizing the vast range of discrimination and deprival suffered by black, brown and other minorities, this workshop proposes for the consideration of the International Union and all affiliated local unions specific action along the following lines:

1. Intensified political action including voter registration drives, full support of COPE and campaigns of political education aimed for victory in the elections of 1972 and the defeat of Nixon and those in government associated with his policies.

2. Development as a major political issue, of demands for full employment, with the government responsible to provide job opportunities and assume the role of employer-of-last-resort wherever private initiative fails to meet this responsibility.

3. Increased legislative activity by all local unions, including letter-writing campaigns to Congress on such issues as the $2.00 minimum wage, and opposition to the Rehnquist appointment to the Supreme Court.

4. Cooperation with all community groups seeking to expand and protect equal employment opportunity for minority groups.

5. Full assistance to all valid projects seeking to provide

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economic and social factors

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improved housing, medical care, public services and cultural opportunity for minority groups.

6. Special cooperation for community action against drug addiction, with local union action to seek out and to find help for members or their families who face such problems.

7. Full endorsement to the leadership offered by our Union on behalf of all labor in fighting the vicious and inequitable wage-price policies of the Nixon Administration.

8. Local union action in defense of the poor and the unemployed, including opposition to such cuts in relief benefits as attempted by the States of Nevada, California and Illinois.

9. Realistic action to meet the problems of crime by attacking its causes and seeking just, honest and impartial enforcement of the law in line with community needs and rights.

10. Special attention shall be applied to the rising flood of imports, which is seriously affecting jobs in many sections of the union.

11. Particular efforts to be made by all local unions to integrate returning servicemen into the national work force.

WHEREAS, members of minority groups in our nation live in conditions which typically cause crime, poverty, unemployment, high concentration in inner city areas, overcrowded and dilapidated housing, defective and inadequate educational, recreational and other community services; and

WHEREAS, our penal system has uniformly failed in its mission of rehabilitation, failed to treat prisoners as human beings who are to be prepared for return to useful life in society; but instead has subjected them to senseless harshness, has isolated them from society and family, assigned them to inactivity or to meaningless tasks, brutalized them by primitive and punitive techniques, including physical abuse and solitary confinement, eventually to release them without support, assistance or guidance, thus creating a vicious cycle which promotes recidivism, pushes minor offenders toward more serious crimes, increases rather than reduces the volume of crime in our society; and

before the law

minority groups

WHEREAS, it is the minorities and the poor who are the major victims upon whom crimes are perpetrated; and

WHEREAS, the agencies responsible for administration of our system of law enforcement -- the police, the courts and the penal system -- are afflicted by the same racism which the Kerner Commission has stated to be characteristic of our society, so that minorities and the poor are more likely than any other segment of our society to be subjected to police harassment and brutality, more likely to be arrested, more likely to be denied bail or be unable to raise bail, more likely to be convicted, likely to receive a heavier sentence, and constitute a disproportionately larger segment of the prison population; and

WHEREAS, the large body of civil rights legislation which we have fought so hard to achieve for the protection of minorities and for the elimination of some of the causes of excessive poverty among minorities by attacking discrimination in employment, housing, education and voting rights have been ineffectively enforced and, in the Nixon Administration, have been subjected to obstruction and heel-dragging; and

WHEREAS, the 1971 Report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has stated that "the great promise of the civil rights laws, Executive Orders, and judicial decisions of the 1950's and 1960's have not been realized"; and

(continued)

(continued)

WHEREAS, in other areas of law, in their status as tenants, as debtors, as consumers, as persons entitled to benefits under social security and welfare legislation, people of the minorities and the poor are subjected to denials of their legal and constitutional rights and are unable, because of ignorance or inadequate guidance and representation, to enforce their rights; and

WHEREAS, in all aspects of their contact with the law, minorities and the poor are disadvantaged and victimized by their inability to secure effective, competent legal assistance and representation; present systems of public defenders, court-assigned lawyers in criminal cases, volunteer services by some lawyers, and even the best efforts of various legal defense organizations now trying to serve minority groups, do not scratch the surface of the need for legal advice and guidance in the minority communities, and for representation in courts and before administrative agencies, if the language of equality before the law is to have any meaning:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That while our civil rights program must continue to include demands for strengthening and enforcement of civil rights laws against discrimination in employment, housing, education, voting rights, and other areas to which the civil rights movement has directed national attention, it is now necessary to broaden our program so as to cover the full area of equality and justice before the law.

2. We condemn the failure and refusal of the Nixon Administration to enforce existing civil rights legislation, its failure and refusal to exercise its power to withhold federal funds; its powers under federal contracting procedures; its powers with respect to location of federal facilities in order to defeat discriminatory practices in education and employment. We condemn the Administration's efforts to obstruct court enforcement of school desegregation, the Administration's efforts to prevent enactment of more effective enforcement procedures for equal employment, and we support legislation to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to issue orders enforceable in court.

3. We urge that our locals, our International Union and the labor movement in their political action, in their legislative activity and in their community relationships, should throw full support behind a program for equal justice, which should include:

(a) Demand for the requirement of police education and training in human relations and constitutional rights; for minority representation on police forces; for civilian review procedures and other programs to improve relations between police and community; and for effective enforcement of stated police policies against brutality and harassment.

(continued)

(continued)

(b) Demand for review of arrest and bail procedures to protect against long periods of detention without bail; to permit release on personal recognizance or on reasonable bail as quickly as possible; and demand for improvement of court procedures and attitudes to assure proper representation on juries, fair trials, and equal sentencing.

(c) Demand for reform of the penal system, to include: employment of prisoners in useful work which includes training for jobs upon release; establishment of decent minimum pay standards for prisoners' work; establishment of decent and humane conditions of life in prison, including decent food, medical and dental care, access to reading material, opportunity to receive visits from family, and an end to the unconscionable practice of locating prisoners in remote towns far from the prisoner's family and friends; protection of the legal rights of prisoners, including due process of law within the prison operation; guidance, aid, job location, advice and other assistance in qualifying for parole; continuing aid and guidance after release, including help in finding a job, financial support through unemployment insurance or other means until a job can be found, and protection against discrimination and exploitation by employers; representation of minority groups in the prison guard staff, and education and training of guards in human relations, constitutional rights, and in the rehabilitation objective of imprisonment.

We urge the elimination of laws which discriminate against persons who have served time in prison and which disqualify them for various jobs, and we urge legislation to forbid discrimination against persons who have paid their debt to society and are seeking to live a decent life.

(d) Support of organizations of tenants, consumers, and welfare recipients in their efforts to protect the legal rights of minorities and the poor.

(e) Demand for publicly funded legal defense organizations to provide adequate legal advice and guidance and legal representations to minorities and the poor in civil and criminal cases and before courts and other governmental agencies.

4. We urge that our organizations do much more than pass resolutions and make declarations of principle on these matters. In addition to implementation by political and legislative action, we urge that our local bodies organize visits to penal institutions, observe police and courtroom operations, contact welfare agencies and legal assistance offices in direct discussion of their procedures, and otherwise act directly to make the community aware of the problems of minorities before the law, and to organize the community in support of necessary reform.

WHEREAS, we realize that in American life today there are many misunderstandings and misconceptions about various groups making up our society; and

WHEREAS, said misunderstandings

attitudes & myths

and misconceptions can lead to strife, group hatred, and the denial of rights; and

WHEREAS, such misunderstandings and misconceptions appear between minority and majority groups and between various minority groups; and

WHEREAS, such misunderstandings and misconceptions are found even in our own union and among our members; and

WHEREAS, we cannot build a united and strong union as long as these factors exist, nor can we build a just and peaceful society without better understanding and greatly reduced group prejudice:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the members of the National Civil Rights Conference of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, urge all delegates, the national union and all local unions to work for the eradication of prejudice, and for the ending of misunderstandings and misconceptions between all groups that make up our membership and American society; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we seek more information about minority groups in our midst, and that we encourage the development of information and programs which will reduce intergroup misunderstanding; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that our International Union and its local unions dedicate resources to achieve the purposes of this resolution toward the end that our organization become a model union which works toward a society that accepts individuals as persons to be respected, which can honor and enjoy cultural differences, but which will accord equality of treatment and respect to all people regardless of racial, religious or ethnic backgrounds.

WORKSHOP
VI
Attitudes And Myths
Affecting Relationships
Between The
Majority And Minority Groups.

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND
BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA
AFL CIO
2800 North Sheridan Road
Chicago Illinois 60657

Joseph Belsky
President

Patrick E. Gorman
Secretary-Treasurer

THE INTERNATIONAL
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

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Russell Lasley, Secretary
Harry L. Alston, Director

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Jimmie Porter	Waterloo, Iowa
H. Tommy Powell	Memphis, Tennessee
James Rodriguez	Los Angeles, California
Donald Smith	Richmond, Virginia
Irving Stern	New York, New York
Vernon Thomas	Glen Burnie, Maryland
Richard Twedell	Dallas, Texas
Fred M. Waelter	St. Louis, Missouri
Addie L. Wyatt	Chicago, Illinois

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Time Is Now

If Not Now....When?

Civil Rights -- A Hand Book for Local Unions

Civil Rights and The Law -- A Guide Book for Unions and Local Union Members

opeiu28

File

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International President

PATRICK E. GORMAN
International
Secretary-Treasurer

HARRY L. ALSTON, Director
Civil Rights Department

Amalgamated

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America | AFL-CIO

2800 NO. SHERIDAN ROAD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60657
AREA CODE 312 | 248-8700

National Civil Rights Committee

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International Vice President
International Office, Chicago

RUSSELL R. LASLEY, Secretary
International Office, Chicago

HENRY FONER
joint board fim, New York

CHARLES HAYES, V. P.
district 12, Chicago

LAMONT HEADLEY
furriers joint council, New York

MITCHELL HOLLOWAY
local P-653, Newark, N.J.

MARVIN HOOK, V. P.
International Office, Chicago

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local 117, Baltimore, Maryland

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local 371, W. Hartford, Conn.

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local 563, Los Angeles, Calif.

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local 342, New York

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Glen Burnie, Maryland

RICHARD TWEDELL, V. P.
district 5, Dallas, Texas

FRED M. WAELTER
local 545, St. Louis, Mo.

MRS. ADDIE L. WYATT
Chicago, Illinois

June 7, 1972 JUN 9 1972

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Resource Development Center
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairle Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am sending you a copy of our revised report on our First International Civil Rights Conference in which you participated. In view of the contribution that you made to the conference, we felt that you would be interested in receiving a copy of this report.

Should you have any comments or suggestions to make regarding the conference or the report, we would appreciate hearing from you. Also, we would appreciate your sharing with us the names of other organizations or individuals that may be interested in receiving a copy of this report.

sincerely yours

Alston

Harry L. Alston
Director Civil Rights Department

HLA*s
encl.

AFSCME

Dead

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

John G. Blair
Director of Publications

September 9, 1966

Joan C. Browning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Browning:

Thank you for your letter of Sept. 6, 1966, regarding an exchange of our publication, The Public Employee, and New South.

We are adding your name to our complimentary mailing list and you should receive the newspaper beginning with the September issue.

Sincerely,

J Blair

John G. Blair
Director of Publications

JGB/bso
opeiu 2, afl-cio

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MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

October 7, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This letter is to acknowledge not only the copy of the pamphlet, "Know Your Rights," which you sent to me recently, but also to thank you for having entered --- last July --- a complimentary subscription to "New South." I appreciate both of these items.

We are about to start some training of brand new staff people --- or, to be more precise, people who we hope will materialize into staff people. We perhaps shall be able to use either one or both of the items in our work. Since we shall be doing quite a bit of work in the area of civil rights, if you have other material which might be useful, we certainly would appreciate samples of it. I do not know now what the character of our participants will be: highly sophisticated or otherwise. Any documents which occur to you will be, therefore, worthy of our perusal.

I have yet to make it to Atlanta, but I have not forgotten the commitment made to you (and myself) to spend some time with you when I do.

Best regards.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Elwood Taub

Elwood Taub, Director
Department of Education and Research

opeiu-2 afl-cio

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~~AFD~~ AFSCME

February 7, 1967

Mr. Robert D. Bollard
Director of Community Affairs
American Federation of State,
County, and Municipal Employees
AFL-CIO
Madison Building
1155 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Robert:

It was good to have your letter. I had heard that you were with AFSCME. My congratulations to both you and the Union.

We work in eleven Southern states and would be happy to cooperate with you in any programs of mutual interest.

We will make sure that you get to see some of our stuff from time to time.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

February 2, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the extra copy of the November edition of the Federationist.

I wasn't sure that you knew of my recent change from Ohio to Washington, D. C., so will take this opportunity to express the hope that we will be able to work even closer together in the future.

With all best personal good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Robert D. Bollard
Director of Community Affairs

Carol
bst

opeiu-2 afl-cio
gs

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AFSCME

February 27, 1967

Mrs. Betty Miller
Administrator
Staff Intern Program
AFSCME - AFL-CIO
1155 Fifteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Recently I sent to you 25 copies of our pamphlet, "Know Your Rights". Enclosed is a copy of the November, 1966 issue of the American Federationist which I am sure you have already seen. It occured to me that this issue might be of some use to you as well. I gave the magazine a wide distribution in the South and have extra copies to which you would be welcomed if they are not available to you in Washington.

Also enclosed is a copy of Ray Munts' article on "Wages, Insurance and Growth," which deals thoughtfully with problems of unemployment compensation and especially as they relate to the South. Again, I could let you have copies of this reprint.

In a few weeks I hope to have kits prepared which can be used for local organizations interested in a minimum wage enforcement campaign. At least here in the South we are finding that a number of institutions within AFSCME's jurisdiction need attention regarding minimum wage compliance.

Two final things. One is a list of publications for your consideration. The other is to simply suggest that if I can be of further assistance regarding materials, resource persons in the South, or if my own experience working broadly with unions, civil rights groups, and community organizations in the South would be of use, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Elwood Taub knows who I am. Also, Don Slaiman in the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and Walter Davis in the Education Department both know me and the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

March 24, 1969

Mr. James Pierce
Regional Director
American Federation of State, County
and Municipal Employees
2525 Commonwealth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28205

2121 Commonwealth ave

Dear Jim:

The enclosed letter explains itself as far as I am able. For all I know you are currently on top of this situation. But Greenside may make a good contact for you. He is an instructor in political science and was my graduate assistant at Wisconsin.

He feels that there would be strong student support for an organizing move at this time. He may be reached at: 322 S. Edgeworth, Greensboro, North Carolina 27401.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

April 10, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am sorry that it is so late for me to acknowledge your letter of February 27. It was received when we were already in the throes of the class sessions of our training program. These lasted through the end of March. Now that the trainees are getting their field experience, there is time to catch up.

The pamphlet, "Know Your Rights", we used in class in connection with Don Slaiman's session on Civil Rights. Incidentally, Don had never seen the pamphlet and was much interested. I didn't have an extra copy so you might send him one.

The November, 1966 Federationist was used as assigned reading. Since I have a close relationship with the Editor, being married to him, I was aware of the material and agree with you that it was worthwhile.

The Ray Munts' article didn't really connect with the subjects we were teaching. But I am very interested in seeing a copy of the kit you are preparing on minimum wage compliance. We are quite concerned with the problem in the South.

Thank you very much for your interest and your assistance. If our training program is to be repeated, we shall surely be contacting you earlier.

Sincerely,

Betty Miller

(Mrs.) Betty Miller
ASIP Administrator

BM:rbf

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MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

April 13, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for sending along to us a copy of your Minimum Wage Campaign Kit.

As you probably have discerned from the amendment, some of our jurisdiction (schools, hospitals, etc.) is covered for the first time, and we have more than the usual problems.

You might be interested in seeing the sheets we have prepared for our staff and our local unions on the section of the Act in which we are interesed, and I am enclosing them herewith.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Elwood Taub, Director
Department of Education and Research

Enclosures:
Education and Research Guide
pages 264.00 through 264.58, inclusive.

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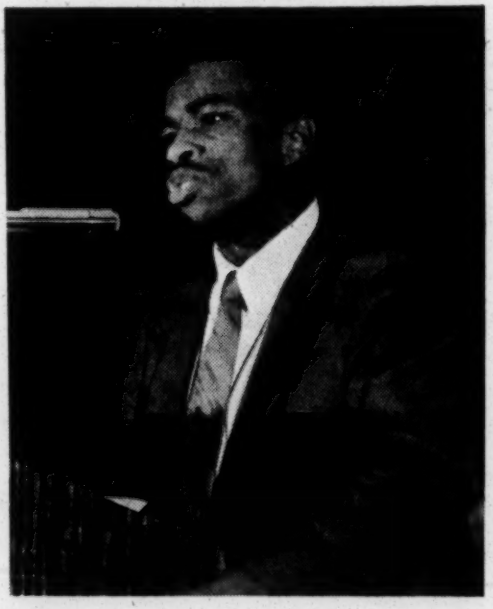
AFSCME

Jesse Epps, key Memphis figure, named assistant to Jerry Wurf

Jesse Epps, a key figure in the successful strike of sanitationmen in Memphis in 1968 and coordinator of the Good Friday memorial march for Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year, has been named assistant to SCME President Jerry Wurf.

Epps was serving as International representative during the sanitation strike for equity and dignity that brought Dr. King to Memphis where he was murdered.



The son of a sharecropper at Clarksdale, in the bayou country of Mississippi, Epps is one of 15 children.

Epps worked at the General Electric Co. plant at Syracuse, N.Y., while going to Syracuse University. He was graduated with a degree in sociology. Meanwhile, he became, successively, a union steward, chief steward, local officer and a staff member of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO.

While with the union he became concerned with the movement of untrained black people into the cities.

"I realized that all the rural areas were doing was transplanting their problems to the urban areas," he said. "For instance, the Chicago ghetto is just North Mississippi. If the problem was to be resolved it had to be stopped at the starting point."

Fight for literacy. In 1959 he instituted a fund drive to establish 18 literacy centers in Mississippi.

Epps joined SCME in 1967 and has been organizing in the southern states since.

Epps and his wife, Clotee, live at Clarksdale with their three children. He is an elder in the Seventh Day Adventist Church there.

August 1969
"The Public Employee"

Aug. 1969
"The Public Employee"

AFSCME

Florida local will sue to gain bargaining

Miami

Unless good-faith collective bargaining occurs, Miami Municipal Employees Local 1563 will go to court to get an order forcing the city commission and city manager to negotiate on wages, hours, working conditions and fringe benefits, according to Lee Tafel, SCME International vice president and Council 22 director.

General employees of the city have been getting a run-around on realistic negotiations despite a Florida Supreme Court decision that public employees have that right, Tafel said.

Workers have struck twice to bring the city to the bargaining table. They returned each time with the assurance from City Manager Melvin Reese that the city would bargain with the union.

In sympathy. The current struggle began in mid-May when the city's sanitation workers—who are not members of the union—struck for higher wages. The Parks and Streets Department employees, members of Local 1563, walked out in sympathy.

The sanitation men ended their two-day strike after being promised a 30-cent-hourly wage increase. The general employees went back when the commissioners promised they would bargain and would pay employees for the two missed days.

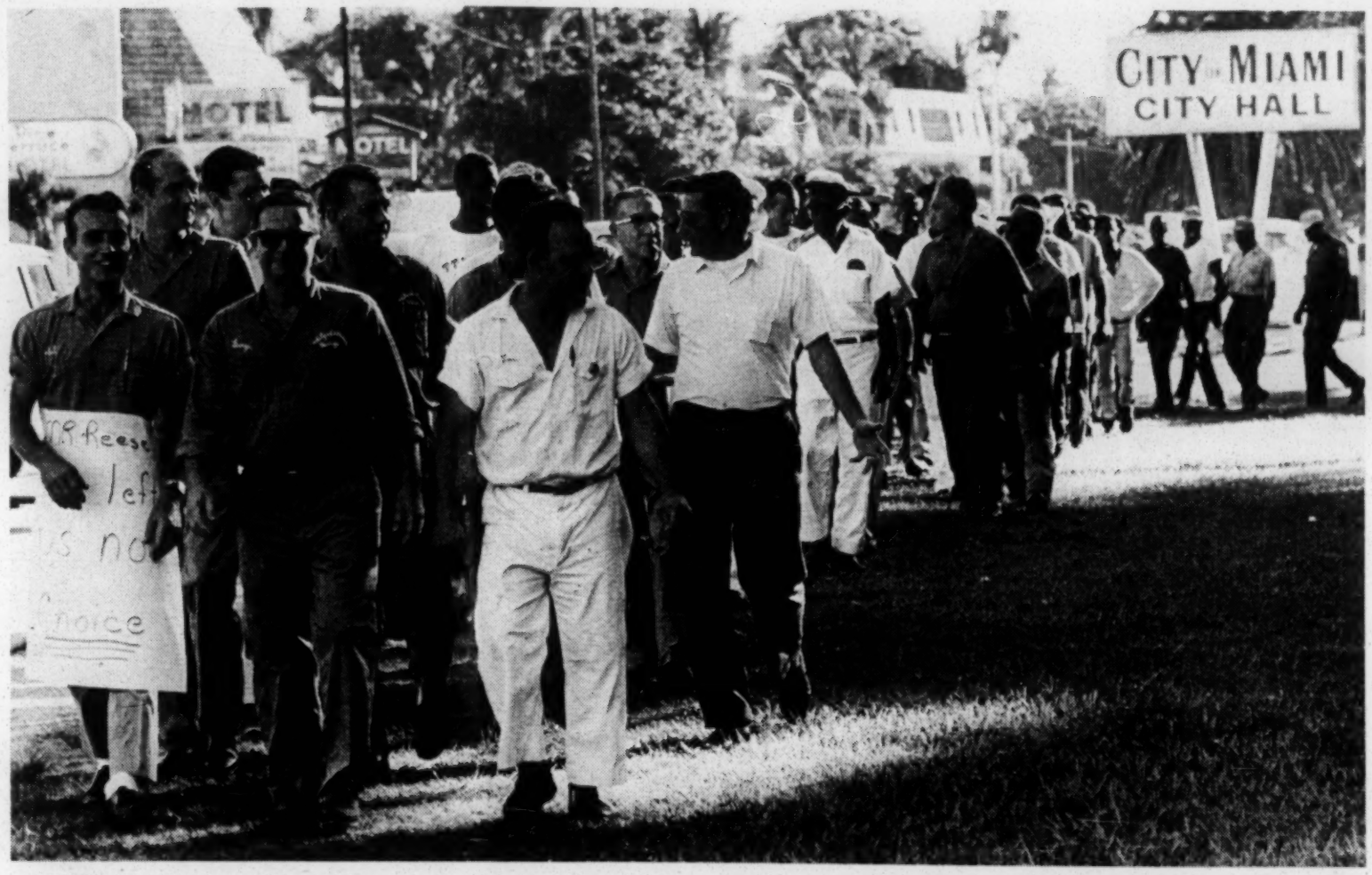
The city manager met with Southern Florida District Council 22 Representative Ed Prata and a Local 1563 bargaining committee, but took the position that the law forbade bargaining on wages and hours.

New strike vote. The committee reported developments back to the local members, who voted to walk out again to emphasize their demands.

This time the strike lasted three days. The members returned to work when they were assured that a case before the Florida Supreme Court would soon decide the legality of public employee bargaining—and that the city would abide by the decision.

Strike exception. The Florida Supreme Court held that "with the exception of [illegible]ight to strike, public employees [illegible]ame rights of collective bargaining as are granted private employees."

Armed with that argument, the Local 1563 bargaining committee confronted the city manager again. But he obtained an opinion from the city attorney that the supreme court ruling meant bargaining on everything except wages and hours.



STRIKING Miami city employees parade in front of the Miami City Hall in a demonstration that added emphasis to their demands for true collective bargaining by the city. They returned to work after the city promised to enter into good-faith negotiations. So far the promise has not been fulfilled.

JAN 25 1971

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

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MIAMI, FLA.

JOSEPH R. ZURLO
NEW YORK, N.Y.

January 19, 1971

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

The copies of "Know Your Rights" arrived right on time. Many thanks as I know they will be useful for the staff interns we are now training. Larry Rogin was right when he said that you could and would help us with this problem.

Best regards,

John K. Sloan
Deputy Coordinator of Staff Training

JKS:ddp

American Federation of Teachers
Affiliated With The AFL-CIO
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION • EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY
CHARLES COGEN
President
716 N. RUSH STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611 • WH-ITEHALL 3-4226

1848 Calloway Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
March 15, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

We appreciate your acceptance of our invitation to share the Southern Regional Conference of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, in session on Saturday, March 26,1966, at the Atlanta Cabana Motel, 870 Peachtree Street, N.E.

The attached announcements list our theme, participants, and schedule for the day. Your complimentary ticket for lunch will be available as you register.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Alice H. Washington
Mrs. Alice H. Washington
President, Local #188
Capitol County Teachers Association

Enclosures

1848 Calloway Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

ATLANTA GA
P.M.
15 MAR
1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL- CIO

ATLANTA CABANA MOTEL, ATLANTA, GA.

March 26,1966

8:30 A.M. REGISTRATION (Crystal Ballroom Lobby)

9:00 A.M. PRESS CONFERENCE Mr. David Selden, Assistant to the President of The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.
(V.I.P. ROOM)

9:00 A.M. - MORNING SESSION CRYSTAL BALLROOM

Presiding - Miss Rosa McGhee, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers

Invocation- Mr. Donald McEvoy, Director for Georgia, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Greetings for the City of Atlanta - Mr. Q.V. Williamson, Alderman

Greetings for Capitol County Teachers Association, Local # 188, Mrs. Alice H. Washington, President

Keynote Address - Attorney Harry M. Caudill, Louisville, Kentucky

Coffee Break

Music - Teachers of Fulton County

Panel : " The Role of the Teacher in the Civil Rights Movement "

Moderator - Mr. Donald McEvoy, National Conference of Christians and Jews

American Civil Liberties Union - Mrs. Florence Robbins, Executive Director for Ga.

Georgia Council on Human Relations--Dr. David Day, Emory University, Department of Teacher Education

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People-- Dr. Samuel Williams, President; pastor, Friendship Baptist Church

Southern Christian Leadership Conference-- Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer; pastor, West Hunter Baptist Church

Southern Regional Council-- Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director, Voter Education Project

12:00 LUNCH

Invocation -- Dr. Samuel Williams

Introduction of Speaker -- (To be supplied) Vice President, AFT

Speaker -- Mr. David Selden, Assistant to the President, AFT

Recognition of Guests

1:45 P.M. AFTERNOON SESSION

Challenge to Teachers -- Dr. T.E. Gehraty, Professor of Economics, Cha University of Chattanooga

Panel: "The Relationships Between Teachers and Other Labor Groups "

Moderator - Mr. Harold N. Arnold, Executive Director, Atlanta Urban League

Alabama State AFL-CIO -- , Executive Director

American Federation of Teachers - Mr. Dick Miller, Louisville, Kentucky

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees -- Mr. Michael Botelho, Director, District # 14

Southern Regional Council -- Mr. Emory Via, Director- Labor Program

Panel: "The Relationships Between Teachers and Other Professional Groups "

Moderator -- Dr. Horace E. Tate, Member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers and Education Association

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO -- Mr. David Selden

American Teachers Association - Mr. Joseph T. Brooks, Executive Secretaryh

Capitol County Teachers Association, Local #188 - Mr. Virgil Scott, Chairman Grievance Committee

National Education Association - Mr. Charles Butler, NEA Director for Georgia; Principal, Ursula Collins Elementary School, Augusta, Ga.

Summary of Conference Proceedings :

Dr. Tilman Cothran , Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University; Administrator for Program, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

Dr. Herbert Shapiro - Professor of History, Morehouse College; Resource Person, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

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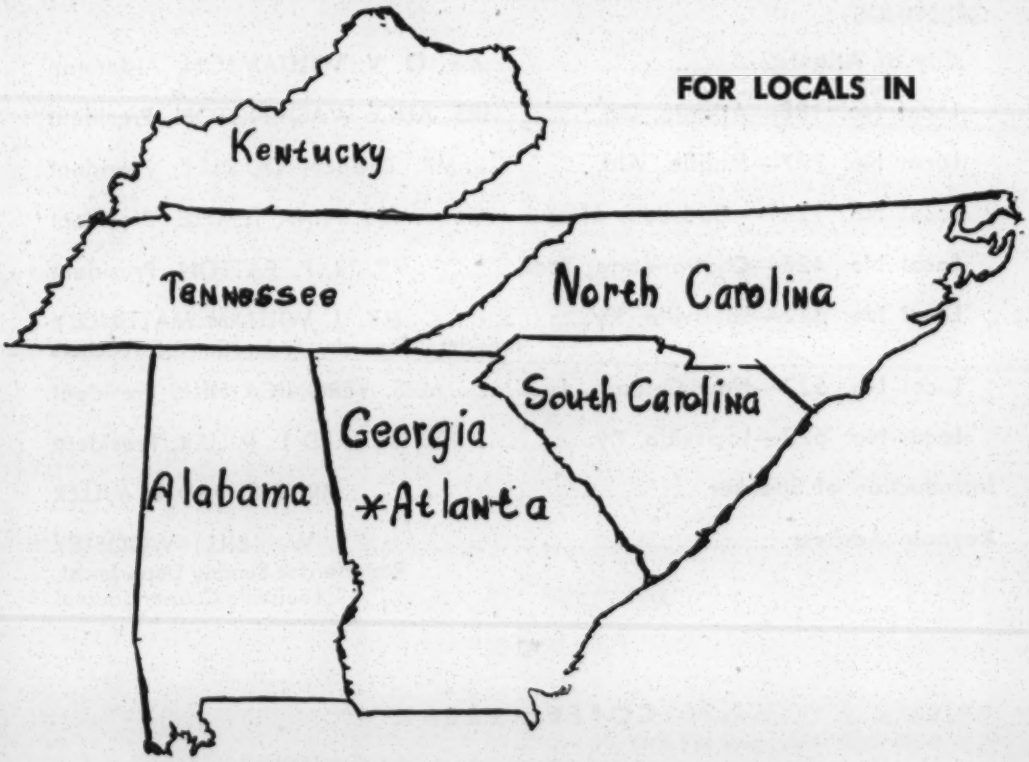
REGIONAL CONFERENCE

The Role of the Teacher in the Labor Movement

Atlanta, Georgia • March 26, 1966

FOR LOCALS IN



ATLANTA CABANA MOTEL

•

CHARLES COGEN, President

ROSA M. McGHEE, Vice President

PROGRAM

8:30 A.M. — REGISTRATION

●

MORNING SESSION

Presiding.....MISS ROSA M. McGHEE
Chairman of Conference
Vice President American Federation of Teachers

Invocation.....MR. DON McEVOY
National Conference of Christians and Jews

GREETINGS:

City of Atlanta.....MR. Q. V. WILLIAMSON, Alderman

Local No. 188—Atlanta, Ga.....MRS. ALICE WASHINGTON, President

Local No. 777—Mobile, Ala. .....MR. REUBEN QUIDLEY, President

Local No. 1241—Gadsden, Ala.....MISS INDIA TEMPLE, President

Local No. 428—Chattanooga, Tenn.....MR. N. P. PATTON, President

Local No. 672—Louisville, Ky.....MR. J. WILLIAM MATTINGLY
President Kentucky Federation of Teachers

Local No. 527—New Orleans, La.....MRS. VERONICA HILL, President

Local No. 672—Louisville, Ky.....MR. RICHARD L. MILLER, President

Introduction of Speaker.....MR. RICHARD L. MILLER

Keynote Address.....F. W. (BILL) WOOSLEY
Reporter for Sunday Department,
Louisville Courier-Journal

□

COFFEE BREAK

□

Introduction of Speaker.....MR. MATTHEW LYNCH
President of Tennessee Council AFL-CIO

Introduction of Panels.....DR. T. E. GERAGHTY
Assistant Professor Business Education,
University of Chattanooga

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

PANEL No. 1

"The Role of the Teacher in the Civil Rights Movement"

□

Moderator: MR. DON McEVOY
Regional Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews

PANELISTS

MRS. FLORENCE ROBBINS
American Civil Liberties Union

MISS BARBARA PATTERSON
Director of Research, Southern Regional Council

DR. DAVID DAY
Georgia Council on Human Relations
Department of Teacher Education, Emory University

DR. RALPH ABERNATHY
Pastor, West Hunter Baptist Church
Treasurer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

DR. SAMUEL WILLIAMS
Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church
President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Noeps Collinson

●

LUNCHEON MEETING

12:15

Presiding.....MISS MARY R. WHEELER
Vice President AFT, Oak Park, Ill.

Invocation.....DR. SAMUEL WILLIAMS

Introduction of Speaker.....MR. DAVID JACOBS
Local No. 777, Mobile, Ala.

Address.....MR. DAVID SELDEN
Assistant to President of American Federation of Teachers

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:45

Presiding.....MR. WILLIAM GILBERT
Vice President, Local No. 188

PANEL No. 2

"The Relationships Between Teacher Unions and Other Labor Groups"

Moderator: MR. HAROLD N. ARNOLD
Ex-Director, Atlanta Urban League

PANELISTS

~~MR. BARNEY A. WEEKS~~ Hersey
~~President,~~
~~Alabama State AFL-CIO~~

MR. RICHARD L. MILLER
Local No. 672,
Louisville, Ky.

MR. MICHAEL BOTELHO
Director, District 14, Council AFDS-ME,
Georgia State AFL-CIO

DR. EMORY VIA
Director, Labor Program,
Southern Regional Council
Local No. 189

PANEL No. 3

"The Relationships Between Teacher Unions and Other Professional Groups"

Moderator: DR. HORACE E. TATE
Executive Secretary, GT&EA; Member, Atlanta Board of Education

PANELISTS

MR. DAVID SELDEN
Assistant to President
AFT

MR. VIRGIL SCOTT
Chairman, Grievance Committee
Capitol County Teachers Association

MR. JOSEPH T. BROOKS
Executive Secretary,
American Teachers Association

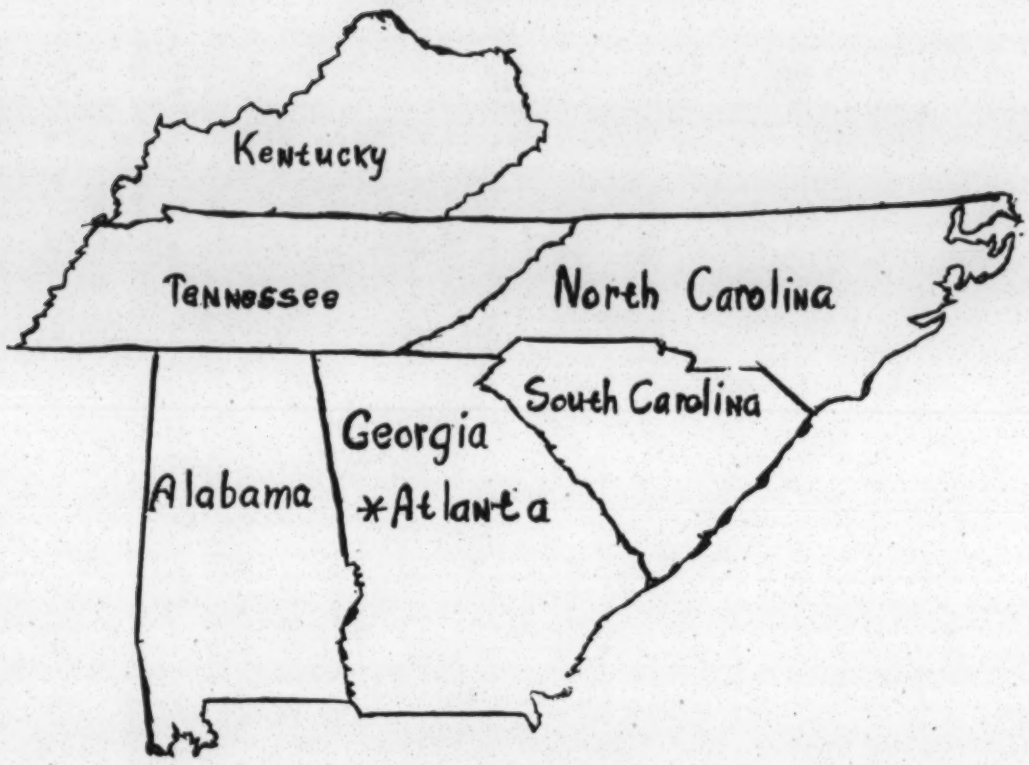
SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

DR. TILMAN COTHRAN
Professor of Sociology,
Atlanta Universtiy
Administrator for Program Economic
Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

DR. HERBERT SHAPIRO
Professor of History,
Morehouse College
Resource Personnel, AFT

Regional Conference, Atlanta, Ga.
March 26, 1966

FOR LOCALS IN



THEME:

"THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT"

TOPICS:

The Teacher and Other Professional Groups
The Teacher and Other Labor Groups
The Teacher and the Civil Rights Movement

9:00 A.M. **MARCH 26, 1966** **4:30 P.M.**

Atlanta Cabana Motel

I plan to attend the AFT Regional Conference in Atlanta, Ga., March 26, 1966, at the Atlanta Cabana Motel.

Name_____ **Local**_____

Address_____

City_____ **State**_____ **Zip Code**_____

NOTE: Please enclose $5.00 for Registration and Luncheon.

Forward to . . . AFT Vice President Rosa M. McGhee, 1018 East 8th Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee, or AFT, 716 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.

AFL-CIO

American Federation of Teachers

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION • EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

716 N. RUSH STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611 • WH-ITEHALL 3-4226

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President

ROBERT PORTER
Secretary-Treasurer

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JOHN E. DESMOND
201 N. Wells Street
Chicago, Ill. 60606

BETTY FINNERAN
6244 Loran Street
St. Louis, Mo. 63109

A. JAMES HELLER
5545 Washburn Avenue, S.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55410

PHYLLIS HUTCHINSON
2528 N. E. 13th Avenue
Portland, Ore. 97212

EDWARD A. IRWIN
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Hollywood, Calif. 90046

ROSA M. McGHEE
1018 East 8th Street
Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403

ROY B. G. MORT
145 57th Street
Niagara Falls, N.Y. 14304

JAMES E. O'MEARA
616 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

RICHARD PARRISH
10 W. 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10037

HERRICK S. ROTH
Room 300, 360 Acoma Street
Denver, Colo. 80223

WILLIAM H. SIMONS
1917 Randolph Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

FRANK SULLIVAN
2858 N. 23rd Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19132

ALFRED J. TAPSON
110 Walnut Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

MARY R. WHEELER
634 S. Lombard
Oak Park, Ill. 60304

CARL J. MEGEL
Washington Representative

JAMES E. MUNDY
Director of Organization

DAVID SELDEN
Assistant to the President

PETE SCHNAUFER
Research Director

DONALD BURTON
Assistant Research Director

DAVID ELSILA
Editor, American Teacher

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

483

Dead

10 West 135 Street
New York, N.Y. 10037
April 7, 1966

Dr. Emory Via, Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

I was certainly heartening to observe the wide participation of labor, education and civic organizations in the Regional Conference of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta on March 26th. The contribution of your organization was appreciated by me because even as a northerner I've been aware of the influence of your work.

This summer the American Federation of Teachers in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will strive to establish Freedom Schools in the south. The success of this venture will to a great extent depend upon the cooperation we will receive from local groups. It is because of your liberal record in the past that I am asking you to seriously note the materials I am enclosing about the general nature of our summer project. I shall be in touch with you to share your reactions and suggestions on this endeavor.

Until then I am,

Yours truly,

Richard Parrish

Richard Parrish, Vice-President
American Federation of Teachers

Encl:

An Introduction to the

Freedom School Project

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The dramatic growth and accomplishments of the Freedom Schools in the South during the last two years have made them a major motivating force in the civil rights movement.

The Freedom School project is now directed by the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.) and is financed by a nation-wide A.F.T. sponsored campaign for contributions.

One of the unique features of the A.F.T. Freedom School Project, and also one of the greatest factors in its success, is the living arrangements of Freedom School teachers. Obviously, the ten dollars per week provided to help defray living cost is completely inadequate for independent subsistence. Like the Peace Corps, the major aim of the project is to bring people together in "in depth" living situations which commit them mutually to the task of educating people. Unlike the Peace Corps, Freedom School teachers live in the homes of the local people who share what they have with them in every way possible. Both the teachers-guests and the parents-hosts declare that the experiences of mutual dependence and mutual respect resulting from these relationships are some of the most enlightening and gratifying aspects of the project.

The conditions under which teachers live provide the best way to understand the conditions, traditions, race relations and education problems of the South. However, preparatory orientation sessions are conducted before the teachers are sent to their teaching locations. These orientation sessions must be attended by all teachers sponsored by the A.F.T. to provide the vital insights absolutely necessary for success and safety in the South.

The preparatory orientation provides the teachers with insights into all civil rights activities going on and planned in the areas. The teachers meet key people working in all civil rights activities and gain first-hand information from the leaders via lectures and group discussions. The teachers also get their introduction to the problems of the local areas by the local Negro people themselves. Thus both teachers and students begin their experiences in sharing at the very outset of the program and continue throughout the duration of the summer. The teachers also evaluate one another's attitudes and conceptions of what their roles are and should be in the unique setting of the freedom schools and the purposes for which they are intended by the people who attend them, the people who organize them and those who conduct them.

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See next page

GENERAL

FREEDOM SCHOOL

INFORMATION

The American Federation of Teachers Freedom School Project is a voluntary service arrangement. The funds raised will provide a minimum amount of assistance to the volunteers in terms of (1) reimbursement of transportation cost to and from the southern area of participation, (2) school supplies, (3) small reimbursement for those who use their own transportation in the freedom school area and (4) a small stipend for subsistence to each volunteer. Thus the volunteer must be prepared to live under circumstances much different than that to which they are accustomed.

The only money that will be available for use in the Freedom School project will be that which is raised in the spring and summer A.F.T. Freedom School Fund Drive. This money will be used to provide round-trip bus fare for the A.F.T. sponsored teachers who volunteer to serve in the project. The teachers may use whatever mode of transportation they wish; however, reimbursement for transportation cost will be the equivalent of round-trip bus fare in every case.

School supplies will be purchased with some of the money raised in the fund drive. The kinds and amount of materials will be determined by the availability of the requested materials and the teacher making the request. Teachers must be prepared to exercise their "creative genius and ingenuity" in providing themselves and their students with teaching aids at a minimum cost.

Those teachers who drive their own cars into the South and use them for transportation while serving the Freedom Schools will be provided a small stipend for gasoline purchases. Transportation is a crucial problem for volunteers in the South. However car pools provide a major solution in all areas where Freedom Schools are held. The local citizens involved in civil rights work and who own some kind of vehicle always help as much as possible.

In past summers occasionally a Freedom School teacher has been arrested. We must face the fact that this harrassment tactic may well be stepped up as the diehard segregationists realize the effectiveness of the Freedom School Program in building voter registration and participation in other civil rights activities.

Our teachers therefore are asked to arrange for some one "back home" to be responsible for producing bond money immediately upon request, in the sum of at least two hundred dollars ($200.00), in case of emergency. All such "harrassment" cases are invariably reversed by higher courts and the money returned.

For further information: Arthur Beer, Nat'l Director
AFT Freedom School Project
Detroit Federation of Teachers
8845 Puritan Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48238

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Questions & Answers about

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

AFL-CIO

Why Teachers Need the AFL-CIO

Reprinted from the April, 1965, issue of the American Teacher magazine, publication of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 716 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611. For additional copies, write the publisher.

The NEA Dodges a Challenge

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS FRT NL CHARGE TO American Federation of Teachers

(Copy)

2/1/65

Mrs. Thelma F. Davis, President
Dept. of Classroom Teachers
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

We in the American Federation of Teachers are proud of our affiliation with the AFL-CIO. All teachers should applaud the record of organized labor in support of teachers in their efforts to achieve improved status and better schools.

Publications and materials of the NEA and its affiliated organizations on the other hand, have shown a strong anti-labor bias. Derogatory statements have been made about organized labor, and teachers have been strongly criticized for joining and supporting the AFT.

In order to place before teachers a fair statement of the opposing views of the AFT and the NEA on affiliation with the AFL-CIO we hereby are making available to you two pages of the April issue of the American Teacher Magazine in which you can state your views. We will use equal space in the same issue in order to state our views.

Deadline for copy is February 20. May we please hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Charles Cogen, President
American Federation of Teachers

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

(Copy)

2/16/65

Mr. Charles Cogen, President
American Federation of Teachers
716 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois

Your telegram was considered by the Executive Committee of the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association in a meeting on Saturday, February 13. The Executive Committee is in full accord with the official position of the National Education Association as stated in a resolution passed by its Representative Assembly of over 6000 delegates representing the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, which reads as follows:

The (National Education) Association...declares its intention to continue its friendly and cooperative relations with the American labor movement, as it shall with all other segments of American society, in an atmosphere of mutual respect while also retaining its identity as an independent professional organization.

Thelma F. Davis, President
Department of Classroom Teachers
National Education Association

Why Teachers Need the AFL-CIO

By DAVID SELDEN*

THE AMERICAN *Federation of Teachers* is one of 130 nationwide unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Affiliation is maintained for the following reasons:

1. The interests of teachers are closely allied with those of other organized employees.

2. Only organized labor has consistently fought for increased financial support for schools at every level of government.

3. Teachers need a source of strength from outside the educational establishment.

4. The assistance of the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO (IUD) in organizing and in winning collective bargaining rights enables the AFT to make gains for teachers.

5. The AFL-CIO maintains valuable research and legislative services in Washington, D.C. and in every state capital.

6. Affiliation offers teachers an opportunity to provide leadership outside the educational system.

7. The broad social program of the AFL-CIO merits teacher support.

8. Affiliation gives teachers the right and opportunity to help determine AFL-CIO policy and action.

Voluntary Cooperation, Basis of the AFL-CIO

Outsiders tend to think of the AFL-CIO as a mysterious, monolithic army. Actually, the AFL-CIO is a confederation of unions cooperating voluntarily to provide support and services which they could not provide as well by acting separately. The unions in the AFL-CIO are held together by mutual need and common interest—not compulsion.

Each union governs itself. Each helps support the extensive activities of the AFL-CIO by contributing 7 cents a month on behalf of each of its members. Individuals are members of their own unions only and the AFL-CIO does not have a master membership list. It can exercise no control whatever over any member of the affiliated unions.

Mr. Selden

The AFL-CIO is governed by its biennial conventions, to which each union, including the AFT, sends delegates. The convention sets broad policy guidelines and elects the officers and the Executive Board. On the state level and in most communities there are AFL-CIO bodies in which local unions from the various occupations cooperate, and here again the AFT is represented.

Affiliation with state and local AFL-CIO bodies is entirely voluntary. As is the case with the national AFL-CIO, per capita payments are only a few pennies a month.

American Federation of Teachers Democracy

The government of the AFT is simple and direct and well understood by its members—unlike the complex bureaucracy of the NEA and the state associations. One becomes an AFT member by joining the local union in his school district. New locals are required to have a minimum of 10 members. The local is designed to act as a negotiating agent with local school authorities and to provide benefits and services for its members.

AFT state federations are based on the local units. They are lobbying, legislative, and organizing mechanisms. They set their own dues and pursue their own statewide programs.

The national AFT is governed by its annual convention. Its Executive Council, composed of a president and 16 vice-presidents, is elected every two years by the convention. The convention lays down broad policy guidelines and the Executive Council meets several times a year to carry on the continuing functions of the union within these policies. Day-to-day business is handled by the AFT President and the staff.

The NEA Fosters Anti-Union Prejudices

In spite of the democratic practices of the AFT and most unions, in one collective bargaining campaign after another the NEA has been harping on anti-labor themes. The NEA writers, public relations men, and other staff members, distort the truth to play on what they assume to be an underlying anti-labor attitude among teachers.

Although they know better, they deliberately picture the labor movement as anti-teacher, anti-education, anti-democratic, and anti-intellectual.

A favorite NEA propaganda device is presenting a sweeping generalization based on an atypical example. The fact that *one* AFT local has a modified union shop agreement is used to imply that all AFT locals favor such an arrangement, despite the fact that the AFT strongly supports freedom for teachers to join the organizations of their choice.

The long and vigorous support of tax measures for education by organized labor is ignored, and the action of a few local and state AFL-CIO bodies who opposed specific regressive and unfair taxes is stressed. The spectre of "union control" is dangled before teachers by reference to "labor bosses." A clause in the preamble of the constitution of the New York City AFT Local, which lists cooperation with organized labor as a purpose of the organization, is quoted in large newspaper ads to "prove" that the AFT is subservient to organized labor.

This propaganda is scarcely worth noting. It reveals more about the fears,

*Assistant to the President, *American Federation of Teachers.*

prejudices, and isolation of the attacker than it does about the practices of the attacked.

How About an "Independent Union"?

Several arguments against AFL-CIO affiliation do need discussion, however. Most of these revolve around the idea of reforming the NEA and its satellite associations into a sort of "independent union."

Suppose it were possible to place control of the associations in the hands of the teachers, this line runs. Suppose that the NEA Department of Classroom Teachers were to be given real autonomy and democratic structure, with membership in teacher-controlled local associations as the foundation.

Suppose these local units were the basis of each state association, giving the state classroom teachers association freedom from control by supervisors and administrators. Would AFL-CIO affiliation still be desirable?

If such a supposition has any possibility of realization, it is because of the mounting pressure of the AFT. If, as some observers hold, "the NEA is becoming more like a union," this uncertain drift toward collective bargaining (professional negotiations) and a no-contract—no-work policy (sanctions) has come as a result of the AFT threat to the NEA corporate empire.

It is no secret that the AFT would not have been able to offer this challenge without the assistance of the AFL-CIO, and particularly the IUD. Teachers owe their present opportunity for liberation to the labor movement.

Unionism Strengthens Professionalism; AFL-CIO Strengthens Unionism

Those who talk about transforming the NEA into an "independent union" usually take the American Medical Association as their model, even though the NEA as presently constituted would not qualify. The AMA is an organization of equals, the NEA is built on acceptance of the inequality of its members. However, *if* it were possible to develop an all-inclusive classroom teacher organization, AFL-CIO affiliation would still be feasible and desirable.

The organized doctors have become isolated from the rest of society; teachers should avoid this error.

More fundamental, however, doctors in private practice are self-employed, and they do not feel the need for one of the prime functions of a union, collective bargaining. In contrast, teachers are employed in groups.

The most effective way for teachers to establish professional salaries, working conditions, status, and other conditions of employment is through direct negotiation with the boards of education which employ them.

When it comes to collective bargaining, who knows more about it and who stands more committed to its principles than the AFL-CIO? Organized teachers need all the assistance they can get when they bargain with their employers, just like other organized groups of employees.

Employees who work for the public also gain a support dividend from AFL-CIO affiliation which does not pertain to union members working in private industry. When the local central labor body endorses teacher demands, the superintendent and the board know that the proposals have public support.

It might be argued that the unions should support teachers' demands anyway, without affiliation. Perhaps. But affiliaton gives teachers a direct access to the leadership in other unions. Occasionally, even union teachers are unable to gain labor support, but unaffiliated organizations are far less successful. Affiliation makes it possible to work with other unions on a day by day basis to build cooperation. Thus teachers, through the AFT, share in the formulation of AFL-CIO policy at all levels.

Interests of Employees Served by the AFL-CIO

A common argument against affiliation with the AFL-CIO is that teachers "should not align themselves with a single segment of society." This view is apparently based on the assumption that the AFL-CIO is engaged in some sort of class war in which teachers should maintain strict neutrality.

If those who espouse the "segment of society" concept are suggesting that teachers would inject bias into their teaching, this insinuation is as demeaning to the professional competence of teachers as it is without foundation in fact. This same accusation was made against newspaper reporters when they organized, and against printers before them, yet no one would accuse American newspapers of pro-labor bias.

In actuality, many professional groups — newspaper reporters, radio and television broadcasters, engineers, social workers, musicians, actors — have found AFL-CIO affiliation beneficial. They occupy varying degrees of status in our society, but as *employees* they have recognized that they can do more by cooperating with each other than they can through isolated associations.

Improvements in social security, medicare, Federal Aid to Education, improvements in laws affecting collective bargaining, tax reforms — the whole broad spectrum of the AFL-CIO program — are designed to help those who work for wages and salaries.

AFL-CIO Affiliation Helps Avoid Strikes

One other misconception needs to be cleared up. No AFL-CIO official can call a strike of teachers, nor exercise any control over AFT policy in any way. Yet, those who set the association "line" continue to insist that AFL-CIO affiliation somehow leads to strikes.

They even state, contrary to fact, that when one AFL-CIO union strikes, all AFL-CIO unions go out. But, as they should know, when a union calls a strike, it takes full responsibility. Other unions decide as a matter of conscience whether they will cross the picket line.

No teacher has ever been penalized in any way for either honoring or crossing a non-teacher picket line, just as no non-teacher has ever been penalized for honoring or crossing a teacher picket line.

While AFL-CIO leaders can never call teacher strikes, they often help settle them. They use their position of trust in the community and among the teachers to bring both parties back to the bargaining table and then to insist upon "good faith negotiations." Even more often, local AFL-CIO leaders use their good offices to win improved teaching conditions that remove the *need* to strike. Perhaps this is why there have been fewer strikes by union-affiliated teachers than by those without affiliation.

The AFT Spirit

The AFT spirit is spreading. Organized teachers have everything to gain from AFL-CIO affiliation. Anything an unaffiliated organization can do, that same organization could do better with the added advantage of affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

Of all people, teachers should seek the widest possible contact with the rest of organized society.

AFL-CIO

American Federation of Teachers

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION • EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY
716 N. RUSH STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611 (312) WH-ITEHALL 3-4226

CHARLES COGEN
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Minneapolis, Minn. 55410

PHYLLIS HUTCHINSON
2528 N. E. 13th Avenue
Portland, Ore. 97212

EDWARD A. IRWIN
8917 Wonderland Park Avenue
Hollywood, Calif. 90046

ROSA M. McGHEE
1018 East 8th Street
Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403

ROY B. G. MORT
145 57th Street
Niagara Falls, N.Y. 14304

JAMES E. O'MEARA
616 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

RICHARD PARRISH
10 W. 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10037

HERRICK S. ROTH
Room 300, 360 Acoma Street
Denver, Colo. 80223

WILLIAM H. SIMONS
1917 Randolph Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

FRANK SULLIVAN
2858 N. 23rd Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19132

ALFRED J. TAPSON
110 Walnut Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

MARY R. WHEELER
634 S. Lombard
Oak Park, Ill. 60304

CARL J. MEGEL
Washington Representative

JAMES E. MUNDY
Director of Organization

DAVID SELDEN
Assistant to the President

PETE SCHNAUFER
Research Director

DONALD BURTON
Assistant Research Director

DAVID ELSILA
Editor, American Teacher

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

483

10 West 135 Street
New York, N.Y. 10037
April 7, 1966

Dr. Emory Via, Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

I was certainly heartening to observe the wide participation of labor, education and civic organizations in the Regional Conference of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta on March 26th. The contribution of your organization was appreciated by me because even as a northerner I've been aware of the influence of your work.

This summer the American Federation of Teachers in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will strive to establish Freedom Schools in the south. The success of this venture will to a great extent depend upon the cooperation we will receive from local groups. It is because of your liberal record in the past that I am asking you to seriously note the materials I am enclosing about the general nature of our summer project. I shall be in touch with you to share your reactions and suggestions on this endeavor.

Until then I am,

Yours truly,

Richard Parrish

Richard Parrish, Vice-President
American Federation of Teachers

Encl:

August 3, 1966

Mr. Owen Tapper
Mr. Keith Dix
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Friends:

I have placed several long distance calls and had lengthy conversations but cannot turn up any firm information regarding the labor education end of the AFT Freedom Schools Project in Jackson. Smolen was surveying the possibilities but I have had no call back from him. My guess is that there will not be anything special to do in this project this summer.

My own schedule is such that it seems unlikely that I will have any program activity of interest to you in the latter part of August. As I indicated over the phone this is greatly complicated by my own absence from the office during that time.

I am hopeful that sometime in the future that I will have programs in which you would like to be involved and that you will be available. Please let me know if your fall schedules reveal any likely slack times when you could be made available to us.

Thanks again for taking the initiative in getting in touch with me. Best personal wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

August 3, 1966

Mr. Arthur Reese
AFT Freedom Schools Project
507½ Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Reese:

Under separate cover I am sending you a number of our publications as promised. On a few of them you will want to note the date of publicationsas one indication why a given subject is being covered.

The small descriptive leaflet on the Council itself is also a bit out of date. Our director is Mr. Paul Anthony.

You might want to look over the enclosed publications list and let me know if you feel that anything would be of special use to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: SRC publications list

The University of Connecticut

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Form BO-13 (Rev. 11/63)

TO EU

Date 8/3/66

FROM JS

SUBJECT

Dear Emory,

What do you think of this?

Best wishes,

Joe Smith

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM
AFT FREEDOM SCHOOLS PROJECT

May 31, 1966

Dear Labor Educator:

This letter is an appeal to labor educators to join in a summer project, a labor education program in an American Federation of Teachers' Freedom School in Jackson, Mississippi. The Freedom Schools are a nationwide AFT project which seeks volunteers to teach in the South during the summer. Originally conceived as a plan to teach deprived children basic citizen rights, the Freedom School is being broadened this year for the first time to include a Labor Education Program. The purpose of this Labor Education Program is to give groups of southern workers and unemployed persons, mostly Negroes, some understanding of and background in the problems and history of the American labor movement.

You are asked to teach this summer in the AFT Freedom School's Labor Education Program. You are asked to contribute your time and your efforts, to supply your own materials and such equipment as you may need to teach more effectively. It is my understanding that the Freedom School cannot supply you with a salary or expenses because there is simply no money available. The School will provide students who are eager to learn what you have to teach them.

Those labor educators who are able and willing to do so are urged to come to Jackson, Mississippi, for a minimum of one week during the period July 1 through August 31, 1966. As far as courses or curricula are concerned, the broadest possible lattitude will be afforded you as a teacher. The School is interested in husband-and-wife teams both in the Labor Education Program and in the Freedom School itself. My wife and I plan to spend two weeks in Jackson in July -- I expect to teach a labor education course while Phyllis will teach a course in more effective reading.

Who are students

The AFT will hold orientation sessions in five cities for Freedom School teachers; however, it is not absolutely necessary for a labor educator to attend an orientation session. These sessions are currently scheduled as follows: Chicago - June 4; Detroit - June 10,11; Minneapolis - June 17, 18; San Francisco - June 21, 22; New York City - June 24, 25. For further information about these orientation sessions contact the AFT office in the city referred to or Arthur Reese, the AFT Freedom Schools coordinator, whose address is given below.

Send New South

For further information regarding the Labor Education Program at the Jackson Freedom School, contact me or Mr. Arthur Reese, Executive Director, AFT Freedom Schools Project, 8845 Puritan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, 48238; telephone TO 8 - 7138, area code 313. Mr. Reese and I will be glad to answer any questions you may have about the Freedom School or its Labor Education Program and to work with you regarding the part you wish to play in it. Mr. Reese tells me that after June 28, his address will be 507½ N. Farish, Jackson, Mississippi.

(601) 352-9128 off.
362-2162 (home)

Sincerely yours,

Joseph S. Smolen

Joseph S. Smolen

Joseph S. Smolen, Ass't. Dir.
Labor Education Center
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

Smolen - U-13

FORM BO-5

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONN. 06268

40-381

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

~~POSTAGE DUE 5 CENTS~~

An Introduction to the

Freedom School Project

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The dramatic growth and accomplishments of the Freedom Schools in the South during the last two years have made them a major motivating force in the civil rights movement.

The Freedom School project is now directed by the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.) and is financed by a nation-wide A.F.T. sponsored campaign for contributions.

One of the unique features of the A.F.T. Freedom School Project, and also one of the greatest factors in its success, is the living arrangements of Freedom School teachers. Obviously, the ten dollars per week provided to help defray living cost is completely inadequate for independent subsistence. Like the Peace Corps, the major aim of the project is to bring people together in "in depth" living situations which commit them mutually to the task of educating people. Unlike the Peace Corps, Freedom School teachers live in the homes of the local people who share what they have with them in every way possible. Both the teachers-guests and the parents-hosts declare that the experiences of mutual dependence and mutual respect resulting from these relationships are some of the most enlightening and gratifying aspects of the project.

The conditions under which teachers live provide the best way to understand the conditions, traditions, race relations and education problems of the South. However, preparatory orientation sessions are conducted before the teachers are sent to their teaching locations. These orientation sessions must be attended by all teachers sponsored by the A.F.T. to provide the vital insights absolutely necessary for success and safety in the South.

The preparatory orientation provides the teachers with insights into all civil rights activities going on and planned in the areas. The teachers meet key people working in all civil rights activities and gain first-hand information from the leaders via lectures and group discussions. The teachers also get their introduction to the problems of the local areas by the local Negro people themselves. Thus both teachers and students begin their experiences in sharing at the very outset of the program and continue throughout the duration of the summer. The teachers also evaluate one another's attitudes and conceptions of what their roles are and should be in the unique setting of the freedom schools and the purposes for which they are intended by the people who attend them, the people who organize them and those who conduct them.

opeiul0aflcio

See next page

GENERAL

FREEDOM SCHOOL

INFORMATION

The American Federation of Teachers Freedom School Project is a voluntary service arrangement. The funds raised will provide a minimum amount of assistance to the volunteers in terms of (1) reimbursement of transportation cost to and from the southern area of participation, (2) school supplies, (3) small reimbursement for those who use their own transportation in the freedom school area and (4) a small stipend for subsistence to each volunteer. Thus the volunteer must be prepared to live under circumstances much different than that to which they are accustomed.

The only money that will be available for use in the Freedom School project will be that which is raised in the spring and summer A.F.T. Freedom School Fund Drive. This money will be used to provide round-trip bus fare for the A.F.T. sponsored teachers who volunteer to serve in the project. The teachers may use whatever mode of transportation they wish; however, reimbursement for transportation cost will be the equivalent of round-trip bus fare in every case.

School supplies will be purchased with some of the money raised in the fund drive. The kinds and amount of materials will be determined by the availability of the requested materials and the teacher making the request. Teachers must be prepared to exercise their "creative genius and ingenuity" in providing themselves and their students with teaching aids at a minimum cost.

Those teachers who drive their own cars into the South and use them for transportation while serving the Freedom Schools will be provided a small stipend for gasoline purchases. Transportation is a crucial problem for volunteers in the South. However car pools provide a major solution in all areas where Freedom Schools are held. The local citizens involved in civil rights work and who own some kind of vehicle always help as much as possible.

In past summers occasionally a Freedom School teacher has been arrested. We must face the fact that this harrassment tactic may well be stepped up as the diehard segregationists realize the effectiveness of the Freedom School Program in building voter registration and participation in other civil rights activities.

Our teachers therefore are asked to arrange for some one "back home" to be responsible for producing bond money immediately upon request, in the sum of at least two hundred dollars ($200.00), in case of emergency. All such "harrassment" cases are invariably reversed by higher courts and the money returned.

For further information: Arthur Reese, Nat'l Director
AFT Freedom School Project
Detroit Federation of Teachers
8845 Puritan Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48238

AR:ws
opeiul0aflcio

January 5, 1966

American Federation of Teachers
716 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Sirs:

Would you send some general information of the AFT to:

Mrs. James Zorn
185 South Finley Street
Athens, Georgia.

Mrs. Zorn feels that a union is needed in her city. I have talked with her only briefly, but her interest in a teacher organization appears sincere and she seemingly accepts the need for fairness in racial matters.

It is my understanding that she is at present teaching only part-time.

You may indicate to Mrs. Zorn that I requested that the materials be sent to her.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

the times they are a changin' . the great society confronts reality . labor' education needs today . dylan . the crises of society is a crises of leadership . half the population is under twenty five . society . democracy in education and education for democracy . civil rights stalemate . sen. fulbrig santo domingo . the unorganized are unskilled . white collar . technician . Negro . female . service if you're so smart why ain't you rich? where will new education staff come from? . systematic . bob dylan . what a girl can't do . the free speech movement . the civil rights movement . peace liberal arts is the thing . we need tool courses . portable pensions . half under 25 years old no educational needs of public school teacher union activists . where is information about labor educ kooks . academic freedom . training in labor education

The Occupation of Union Education

LOCAL 189, AFT WINTER EXECUTIVE BOARD AND PROJECT PLANNING MEETING

January 7-9, 1965 DODGE HOUSE Washington, D. C.

. . . . . .

Program

FRIDAY EVENING, Jan. 7

7:30 OPENING SESSION

8:00 MEETING OF EACH PROJECT COMMITTEE
Complete reports

9:30 RECEPTION - cash bar

SATURDAY, Jan. 8

9:00 GENERAL SESSION
Financial Report and Chapter Reports.
Reports of Project Committees
Pensions
Labor Education & the New Generation
Occupation Forecast
Support AFT

12:00 LUNCH -"School Integration: Little Conflict and Less Integration" Jean Fairfax, National Director of Southern Programs for Friends Ser. Comm.

2:00 GENERAL SESSION
Reports on Project Committees
Labor Education History
Materials for International Labor Education
Internship and Job Clearinghouse
Labor Education Viewpoints and Handbook

5:00 RECEPTION - cash bar

SUNDAY, Jan. 8

9:00 BREAKFAST - "Education's Role in Organizing Today"
Bill Kircher, AFL-CIO Director of Org.

11:00 GENERAL SESSION
New Business
Arrangements for Annual Meeting
Reports of Project Committees
Salary Survey
Newsletter
Dues & Constitution
Organizing

3:00 ADJOURN

changing needs ... white collar blue collar professional unskilled

he crises of society is a crises of leadership . half the population is under twenty five today and i liberal arts is the nuts . what we need is tool courses . if you're so smart why ain't you righ? so w bob dylan . civil rights stalemate . sen. fulbright . democracy in education and education for democr for a democratic society . for the times they are a changin' . ds training labor educators is the nex

File under: AFT 189

1966 Project Committees

PENSIONS - E.D. Kuhns, chairman

LABOR EDUCATION VIEWPOINTS AND HANDBOOK - Mil Lieberthal, chairman

INTERNSHIP AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES - Mrs. Jack Rachlin, chairman

OCCUPATION FORECAST - Joan G. Kilpatrick, chairman

LABOR EDUCATION AND THE NEW GENERATION - Jim Williams, chairman

DUES AND CONSTITUTION - Marvin Rogoff, chairman

SALARY SURVEY - Owen A. Tapper, chairman

SUPPORT AFT - Don Vial, chairman

MATERIALS FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR EDUCATION - Joe Glazer, chairman

LABOR EDUCATION HISTORY - Ernestine Friedman, chairman

NEWSLETTER - Stan Rosen, chairman

ORGANIZING - Oscar Paskal, chairman

WINTER EXECUTIVE BOARD AND PROJECT MEETING ARRANGEMENTS - Stuart P. Brock, chairman

EXECUTIVE BOARD: Jim Wolfe, president Stuart Brock and Al Humza, vice presidents Stan Rosen, recording secretary Hoagy Young, financial secretary Mark L. Brown, Tom Cosgrove Agnes Douty, Dick Humphries, Jackie Kienzle, Joan Kilpatrick, Connie Kopelov, Mil Lieberthal, Joe Mire, Ben Segal, Lee Stanley, and Norris L. Tibbetts, Jr. members-at-large John MacKenzie, Otto Pragan, Ted Ruhig, and Allan Silberman, chapter chairman.

Ordered 3 copies of directory 10/2/66

Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

6313 W. Halbert Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

January 20, 1966

TO ALL 189 MEMBERS

Fraternal greetings:

Enclosed is the new edition of our "Directory of Labor Education".

This year's issue includes these features:

- alphabetical and geographic list of 189 members
- addresses and phone numbers of unions with education programs
- addresses and phone numbers for university programs and NILE and a telephone area code map
- copy of 189 Constitution
- an experimental statement describing labor education and labor educators
- several forms in the back for requesting membership information.

You may have need for an additional copy of the directory for your office or other use. One of the purposes of this publication is to inform others about our field. You are welcome to additional copies if you can make good use of them. Use the form on the right below for ordering additional copies.

The 189 Organizing Committee would like to have names of labor educators who are not 189 members. Would you check the Directory geographical listing on page 17 and see if there is anyone in your area who is not listed. Use the coupon on the left below and send in their names.

Fraternally yours,

Holgate Young
Financial Secretary

Nonmembers

Organizing Committee
Local 189, AFT
6313 W. Halbert Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Here is the name of a labor educator who should be contacted about membership:

Name: Employed by:

_____ _____

_____ _____

Your name _____

Additional copies

March 10, 1966

Mrs. Alice H. Washington
1848 Calloway Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Washington:

In response to your telephone call today I am enclosing herewith a vita sheet on Mr. Emory Via.

Mr. Via's title at S.R.C. is "Director, Labor Program."

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

Committee on History of Labor Education
Local 189
6313 West Halbert Road
Bethesda, Maryland

March 16, 1966

Dear Committee Member,

We were sorry so few of our committee could attend the Local 189 Conference, January 7th and 8th. Enclosed is a short report which will bring you up to date on the History of Labor Education discussion. The Committee has been asked to proceed as far as possible until our yearly conference when we will report our progress.

Our committee is scattered far and wide, and therefore our contacts can be as wide as labor education itself. Be a leader wherever you are - "talk history" and help us get the total labor education story. Who started it and when in your local - your state - your international? What labor leaders do you know who attended Brookwood, a W.P.A. Labor Education Teacher training center? Where are the records? Don't be afraid of duplicating information. Probe and then send us all you can using as far as possible the enclosed questionnaire. I'll send more questionnaires if you need them. Information in any form will help those of us here in Washington who will try to put the story together based on your contributions. Our next meeting of Washington members will be in three weeks. Could we hear from you before then?

Fraternally yours,

Ernestine Friedmann

Ernestine Friedmann
Chairman
Local 189 Committee on
History of Labor Education

opeiu #2 afl-cio

CONFERENCE ON 1966 PROJECTS

A F T - L O C A L 1 8 9

January 7 & 8, 1966

Short report form the Committee on Labor Education History

The committee met the evening of January 7th to consider for report to the full conference the next day, suggestions received by mail from nine members in response to a questionnaire sent out previously. Its purpose was to ascertain the interest among Local 189 members, today's leaders in Labor Education, in material about the pioneer period, the records of which are being deposited as archives, thus becoming available for historic study. These materials are labeled for identification and placed with State Historical Societies, University Archives, libraries or other institutions providing this perpetual service.

The return questionnaires yielded three good suggestions for 1966 projects on the history of Labor Education. These were presented to the full conference as follows:

Suggestion No. I from Alice Cook, Cornell.
That tape recorded interviews be arranged with our pioneer leaders to have them tell their own stories.

Suggestion No. II from Hilda Smith & Eleanor Coit.

That as a first step a list be gathered of the materials now available in these historical records telling the story of many of the pioneer efforts of resident and summer schools, institutes, city labor colleges, etc. Some analytic writing will be done by Eleanor Coit, Hilda Smith and others to add to the value of these archives but more evaluation and analysis needs to be added in the future.

The need for such a list was expressed by Larry Rogin who believes it is important for unions and universities who are doing labor education programs to determine what materials should be saved and where they should be sent. He said the matter would be discussed at the gathering of the AFL-CIO conference of Labor Education Directors, March 30-31, 1966.

Suggestion No. III from Dorothy Oko, Librarian.

That she would prepare a bibliography on Labor Education related to the story of its historic development and the available written material.

Two other suggestions received but not presented to the 189 Conference:

1 - Chester Graham who knows rural programs asked that we include joint educational activities of farmers and workers.

2 - Orlie Pell emphasized the need for further analysis of areas in which labor

education has made its greatest contributions: its subject matter content, its methods, teacher training, etc. For this writers acquainted with this program should be found.

Discussion by the conference group showed real interests in "our history to date." Several volunteered to become committee members. It was voted that the committee be asked to continue along all three lines, concentrating first on the historical materials -- what they cover, where they are; and showing the development of labor education at least up to the Workers Education Bill introduced into Congress in 1948.

Submitted by

Ernestine R. Friedmann

A longer report including conference discussions and descriptions of materials prepared for archives by Hilda Smith and Eleanor Coit is on file for future committee use.

QUESTIONNAIRE

On Historical Material

RECORDING LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS
Now made available in Archives

(Note: Use separate questionnaire for each program.)

1. Give name of a historical record you know of, identifying the material with the specific Labor Education program it covers.

2. Where is this material deposited? Give name and address of the archive.

3. Do you know who deposited this archive material? Identify if possible by name and address.

4. Were you personally familiar with this Labor Education program? If so, in what capacity?

5. Do you, or does your organization have other material that was used in this program?

6. Do you know who could describe the contents of this archive material?

7. Please suggest ways in which Local 189 can help to make such records available for leaders of Labor Education today.

8. Attach any other information or suggestions you may have for Local 189's Committee on the History of Labor Education.

Sign your name and address: _____

_____

_____

Return this questionnaire to:
Committee on History of Labor Education
Local 189, 6313 West Halbert Road
Bethesda, Maryland

AFT — 189

Local 189, AFT

6313 W. Halbert Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

March 20, 1966

TO ALL PROJECT COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Here is a copy of the summary of our discussions at the Dodge House in January.

They indicate the scope of the committee projects, however, much additional work has been done by each committee since these meetings.

Each member who helped in these projects is to be commended for his contribution. We will be talking more about these activities at our meeting in Detroit on March 31 st.

Looking forward to seeing you there.

Fraternally yours

Jim Wolfe President	Stan Rosen Recording Secy.	Hoagy Young Financial Secy.

MINUTES

1966 Local 189 AFT Winter Executive Board and Project Planning Meeting

January 7-9, 1966 Dodge House Washington, D. C.

PARTICIPANTS: Executive Board - Jim Wolfe, Stuart Brock, Stan Rosen, Hoagy Young, Mark Brown, Jackie Kienzle, Joan Kilpatrick, Connie Kopelov, Mil Lieberthal, Ben Segal, Lee Stanley, John MacKenzie, Allan Silberman.

Project Committee Members - Eleanor Coit, Emestine Friedmann, Bill Kemsley, E.D.Kuhns, Marcelle Malamas, Glenn M. Parker, Oliver A. Peterson, Chris Piluris, Marge Rachlin, Jerald F. Robinson, Marvin Rogoff, Marilyn G. Rose, Irving Rosenstein, Rose G. Rosofsky, Hilda W. Smith, Ruth Stack, Ruth Wiencek, Jim Williams, Mildred Kiefer Wurf, William Lang, Joe Suarez, Earl Kipp, Jacob Schilt, Steve Max, Art Kane, Wynn Newman, Marie Olean, Zilla Daniels, Olga Corey.

Friday evening

President Wolfe welcomed everyone to the meeting and opened the session at 8:00 p.m. He introduced several visitors.

PURPOSE: The pre-conference preparations and purpose of the meeting were explained by Hoagy Young. Growing out of the experience of last winter's meeting, these sessions were planned to:

1. Serve as a climax to the work of project committee planning and a beginning to this year's activity.

2. To provide for at least one meaningful face-to-face meeting of the Executive Board and the committees recognizing that we have a widely dispersed membership.

3. To handle as much of the Board's business for the year as possible.

In planning the meeting, the Board established 13 project committees to work on a wide variety of matters of concern to people in our field. These committees were of different types --

speculative -- committees exploring new ideas such as pensions, the new generation, occupation forecast and support of AFT, the history of labor education, materials for international labor education.

evaluative -- reviewing existing programs of the local internship, Viewpoints, salary survey and newsletter.

housekeeping -- dues and constitution and organizing.

This meeting is planned as a meeting and not a conference. We are meeting to discuss what to do about our mutual problems. There are several organizations in our field. Local 189, however, is the organization of individuals -- as opposed to the others which represent

LOCAL 189, AFT WINTER EXECUTIVE BOARD AND PROJECT PLANNING MEETING

January 7 - 9, 1965 DODGE HOUSE Washington, D. C.

. . . . . .

FRIDAY EVENING, Jan. 7 Program

7:30 OPENING SESSION

8:00 MEETING OF EACH PROJECT COMMITTEE
Complete reports

9:30 RECEPTION - cash bar

SATURDAY, Jan. 8

9:00 GENERAL SESSION
Financial Report and Chapter Reports.
Reports of Project Committees
Pensions
Labor Education & the New Generation
Occupation Forecast
Support AFT

12:00 LUNCH - "School Integration: Little Conflict and Less Integration" Jean Fairfax, National Director of Southern Programs for Friends Ser. Comm.

2:00 GENERAL SESSION
Reports on Project Committees
Labor Education History
Materials for International Labor Education
Internship and Job Clearinghouse
Labor Education Viewpoints and Handbook

5:00 RECEPTION - cash bar

SUNDAY, Jan. 8

9:00 BREAKFAST - "Education's Role in Organizing Today"
Bill Kircher, AFL-CIO Director of Org.

11:00 GENERAL SESSION
New Business
Arrangements for Annual Meeting
Reports of Project Committees
Salary Survey
Newsletter
Dues & Constitution
Organizing

3:00 ADJOURN

programs. Some of the problems we will discuss will deal with our situation as employees. Others deal with the development of our field. As in any skilled trade or profession, those who work in the field have a special contribution to make to the development of the field. And as the field grow in employment if not programs, there will be an increasing role for Local 189 in serving as an arena for exchange of ideas under the director level.

The agenda (reproduced on the opposite page) was adopted.

Mil Lieberthal explained the St. Johns University strike of the AFT and members were requested to sign the petition in support of the strike. A motion was made to donate $100 to the strike.

There being no further preliminaries, each project committee went to work for the balance of the evening and met on their proposals for the next day.

Saturday morning

President Wolfe opened the meeting at 10 a.m.

PROCEDURE -- It was decided that all members present would vote on all motions. This would be considered the sense of the meeting, and a recommendation to the Board. Although a quorum of the Board was present, all members of the Board would be sent a summary of the discussion and be polled.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The report for 1965 was presented by Hoagy Young:

Balance was down to $892.67 from $2,352.47 at the beginning of '65.

Income was up -- $4,731.00 for the year -- $1,400 more than '64.

But expenditures were up even more -- $6,190.80 -- $2,400 more than '64.

This was the result of the programs developed since the present dues were established in 1963:
- Internship ($1,500 in '65)
- Newsletter
- Directory
- Chapter per capita
- Salary Survey

Added to these activities, the AFT per capita increase of 25¢ (costing Local 189 about $1,000) will boost our expenditures to $7,500 by 1967.

The local needs to consider the ways of strengthening its dues structure.

Alternatives are being considered by the Dues & Constitution Committee.

The financail report was accepted.

CHAPTER REPORTS

West Virginia: John MacKenzie reported that the new chapter established in 1965 has six members and is --
affiliated with the West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.
assisting fledgling AFT locals in the state.
assisting the AAUP on the West Virginia campus.

IUE: Allan Silberman, newly-elected chairman of the unit and new member of the 189 Board, reported for the chapter:
completed negotiations for its second contract with the IUE.
established the concept of educational leave for study and leave of absence.
currently in a dispute with the OEIU over two people who want to transfer into the AFT unit.
Marilyn Rose is vice chairman and Carl Sampsell, Treasurer.

Chicago: Stan Rosen reported that the chapter has held two meetings and is planning future activity.

Washington: The chapter is going to hold election of officers at a meeting later in January and hear from Norm Hill on the current developments in the civil rights movement.

Hoagy Young introduced the problem of regularly putting aside money for the defense of members engaged in collective bargaining. It came up last summer when there was discussion of arbitration in the IUE unit. Collective bargaining dues are set at $48 with this problem in mind. His original proposal was that $2 of each collective bargaining dues be regularly added to the defense fund for the defense of collective bargaining by members. The defense fund now is $1,100. However, it was felt that the dues of all members should participate.

MOTION #1 - THAT 15¢ OF EACH MONTHLY DUES BE REGULARLY ADDED TO THE LOCAL 189 DEFENSE FUND. -- adopted.

PENSION COMMITTEE: E.K. Kuhns (Chairman); Robert Rodden (Correspondent); Otto Pragan (Executive Board Member); Art Carstens, W.J. Elkuss, Bill Kemsley, Earl Kipp, Sam Mitchell, Robert Ozanne, Gerel Rubien, Brendan Sextion, Haines Turner, Donald Wasserman, Members.

Doug Kuhns and Earl Kipp reported for the committee on pension needs and possibilities. He said that many people in our field as a result of working on several jobs with vested plans end up with no pension at all. The committee had given some preliminary consideration to the types of pension plans that might be possible.

The committee felt that any plan we develop should be a good one -- that is it should provide for an adequate pension -- something like 2% of annual earnings per month. It should also be flexible due to frequent job changes of members

between unions, universities, and government.

They pointed out that the new IUD National Small Group Pension has a lot to recomment it for Local 189. The group only needs to be one in order to join into the plan. Any plan of ours should also provide for either employer contribution or employee, depending on the employment situation.

MOTION # 2 -- THAT THE PENSION COMMITTEE PREPARE A PROPOSAL FOR 189 MEMBERS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD. --adopted.

Brother Kipp pointed out that the AFT is thinking about a sheltered anuity which he felt was not the right sort for AFT. It was also moved that the committee notify the AFT of their views on this error so that AFT may have this information in framing their plan.

At 12:00 the group adjourned for lunch. Following lunch we heard a talk by Jean Fairfax, National Director for Southern Programs for the Friends Service Committee. In a talk entitled "School Integration: Little Conflict and Less Integration," she described the continuing need for the civil rights movement to press newly formed government agencies on a wide variety of civil rights fronts. She pointed out that while a great is being done to inform the public about the new Medicare Bill, very little has been done to inform negro citizens about their rights under the new legislation. Possibly citizen pressure will always be necessary regardless of whatever legislation is passed.

Saturday afternoon

LABOR EDUCATION HISTORY COMMITTEE: Ernestine Friedman (Chairman); Hilda W. Smith (Correspondent); Joe Mire (Executive Board Member); Marie Algor, Jack Barbash, Harriet Berger, George W. Brooks, Jacqueline Brophy, Eleanor Coit, Alice H. Cook, Chester Graham, Brownie Lee Jones, Joyce L. Kornbluh, Dorothy Kuhn Oko, Orlie Pell, Philip Taft, Fannie Turkel, Charles C. Webber, Members.

Ernestine Friedman, Hilda Smith and Eleanor Coit reported for the Committee. The committee felt that it is important now to take steps to preserve the records of the past not only for our use today but for the study of people in the future. There are many worthwhile educational developments in this historical material. Three ideas were advanced by members of the committee:

1. Alice Cook suggested that tape recorded interviews be arranged with persons familiar with the early history of the movement.
2. Hilda Smith suggested that collections of the existing historical material be listed with a brief description of their contents, dates covered, where they are deposited. Many materials are now stored although widely scattered.
3. Dorothy Oko said she would be willing to work with Local 189 on a bibliography of material in education. While there are many listings of material, a comphrensive bibliography does not exist.

MOTION #3 - THAT THE LABOR HISTORY COMMITTEE WORK TO EFFECT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. -- adopted.

President Wolfe also added at the request of the committee Ruth Wiencek, Jack MacKenzie and Joan Kilpatrick to the group.

LABOR EDUCATION & THE NEW GENERATION COMMITTEE: Jim Williams (Chairman); Robert Lieberman (Correspondent); Norris L. Tibbetts, Jr. (Executive Board Member); William L. Abbot, Thomas Hayden, Peter Irons, Hy Kornbluh, Stephen Max, Paula Paley, Glenn M. Parker, Robert Sass, David Selden, Members.

Jim Williams and Steve Max reported for the committee. The generation that has been born since 1944 will soon represent about half of the U.S. population. Most of this group has little experience with the labor movement. Some of it is active in other movements, and has firsthand experience in mass movements. However, most of this activity has brought it into little contact with labor leadership. One area of important activity is on campus. The committee felt that Student AFT Chapters and discussions with other student groups about econmic conditions affecting their careers would be important. One of the things about college students is that they are thinking carefully in terms of their whole lifetime. Another area of activity is the involvement of students in organizing and other union activities. The IUE has had some success with this. Another phase of the problem is to systematically include in labor education activities and consider for work in the field younger people with experiences similar to labor if not with the labor movement. It was felt that Local 189 should make some provision for student memberships.

It was decided that this committee should prepare a report for the Board on the ways Local 189 can usefully work with interested members of the new generation.

INTERNSHIP & JOB CLEARINGHOUSE OPPORTUNITIES COMMITTEE: Marjorie Rachlin (Chairman); Jacqueline Kienzle (Correspondent & Executive Board Member); Albert J. Humza and Mark Starr (Executive Board Members); Helmut J. Golatz, Mary P. Heinemann, D.W. Murphy, Oliver A. Peterson, Lawrence Rogin, Irving Rosenstein, Anthony Sinicropi, Mil Lieberthal, Members.

Marjorie Rachlin & Irv Rosenstein reported on suggestions by the committee in connection with the 1966 internship. The committee felt that the internship should be repeated in 1966. In addition to the activities last year, the programming of the internship should include some experience with local union education activity and a greater opportunity for teaching during the summer. There needs to be a special effort made to work with the intern at schools he attends. Brother Rosenstein also suggested there needs to be a clear definition of the goals of the internship both for the local and for the benefit of the intern. Last year the internship was announced to all AFT locals, all city central and state federations, to 189 members and to the labor press. The scholarship itself cost $800, about $200 was spent for travel expenses and about $600 was spent for printing, publicity and postage. Sister Rachlin felt this counldn't be cut. Some members have suggested the use of foundation funds. However, the committee

feels the value of the program is in doing it ourselves. It is a program in which all of us participate financially and many members of the local last year were involved in working with the intern. With a foundation involvement, the experience accumulated would be shifted out of the local and extraneous goals might be introduced.

MOTION #4 - THAT LOCAL 189 SPONSOR AN INTERNSHIP DURING 1966. --adopted.

Jackie Kienzle reported on another concern of the committee for a job clearninghouse. One of the by-products of the internship has been a list of people interested in union education work. There are a wide variety of jobs available today and one of the problems and probably the most difficult problem of job placement in the field is that with bringing in new people. While nothing elaborate is possible, it was felt that Local 189 could do something by accummulating names of people interested in the field and the opportunities available. Members of the local could supply information both of job openings and persons looking.

MOTION #5 - THAT THE INTERNSHIP COMMITTEE BEGIN TO DEVELOP A JOB CLEARNINGHOUSE. --adopted.

MATERIALS FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR EDUCATION COMMITTEE: Joe Glazer (Chairman); Miles E. Galvin (Correspondent); Agnes Douty (Executive Board Member); Valerio Agostinone, Daniel Benedict, Carleton H. Faler, Michael J. Gross, Emil G. Lindahl, Jack London, Anthony Luchek, Thomas V. Jkller, Thomas L. O'Connor, John W. Piercey, Members.

Joe Glazer, Ben Segal, and Mildred Wurf reported for the committee. One of the needs the committee listed was for EDUCATIONAL materials in international affairs especially on timely situations such as Viet Nam, Santo Domingo, etc. The committee drew the distinction between educational materials and what might be called agitational. That is, the need for materials which briefly describe the background of the situation, the views of different groups in the U.S. on the situation, maps showing the location of the place, resources of the country, etc. Workers tend to be bombarded by propaganda but have little opportunity to have propaganda systematically sorted out.

The committee also pointed to the need for wider knowledge of materials that are available. There should be a brief selective bibliography of pamphlets for example. Or taking one issue, there should be a labor educator's guide to pamphlets, films, maps, and other sources of information which could be used.

Another need which has traditionally been with us is for a good fact sheet on international labor organizations.

It was decided that Brother Glazer should prepare these suggestions in writing for the Executive Board and Viewpoints.

CIRCULATION OF EDUCATION MATERIAL: As a result of the previous report there was a general disucssion of continuing need for circulating education materials to 189 members. Hoagy Young mentioned that any 189 member who has materials that would be of interest to all members can obtain a set of stickers from him for mailing purposes. We usually have an extra set available most of the time. Another way is if there is a group who would like to send materials to 189 members, they could use the Directory.

Sunday morning

The Sunday session was opened with a breakfast talk by Bill Kircher, AFL-CIO Director of Organization on "Education's Role in Organizing Today." He described some of the experiments they have been trying in the organizing field such as the use of volunteers in Iowa, the leaflet of the month program, use of students and younger people, and the city area campaigns. He listed some of the needs in the field including the need for studies of the reasons for success and unsuccess in organizing. Actually very little is known about this.

ANNUAL MEETING ARRANGEMENTS:

President Wolfe opened the business part of the meeting at 11:30 a.m. He reported on the plans for the meeting of the union education directors and the ULEA meeting to be held in Detroit, March 30-31, April 1st, at the Whitier Hotel. He recommended that we hold our annual meeting there on Thursday evening, March 31st.

MOTION #6 - THAT THE NEXT 189 ANNUAL MEETING BE HELD THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 31, IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN. --adopted.

It was explained that the pattern with these spring meetings has been to hold one in Washington and the next one in some other town, and to alternate between being in Washington and out of Washington.

President Wolfe presented the following assignments for the annual meeting:

Nominations Committee: Ruth Wiencek, Marvin Rogoff and Jack MacKenzie.

Election Committee (to receive and count the ballots): Fred Schmidt, Chairman, Art Carstens, Mary Heinemann, Paul Bullock and other L.A. members.

Annual Meeting Arrangements: Oscar Paskal and other Detroit members.

Resolutions Committee (for AFT Convention to be acted on at the annual meeting): Russ Allen, Chairman and Brendan Sexton

These committee nominations were accepted.

EXHIBIT OF LABOR EDUCATION: The idea was introduced for holding a labor education exhibit at the time of the spring meeting. Such an exhibit would accept materials in various categories such as posters, lesson plans, films, flip charts, fact sheets, recruiting materials, stories about labor education in the labor press, and articles about labor education.

MOTION #7 - THAT LOCAL 189 SPONSOR AN EXHIBIT OF LABOR EDUCATION AT THE SPRING MEETING. --adopted.

President Wolfe designated Stuart Brock as Chairman, Lee Stanley, Mil Lieberthal, Terry Connors, and Hoagy Young for this committee. This recommendation was accepted.

WINTER MEETING: Joan Kilpatrick raised the discussion of the general pattern of our meetings. It was her feeling that this meeting is very helpful and it should be made a regular event. It should also be made a membership meeting. In other words, we should have in December a two-day membership conference. Then the spring meeting would be an evening meeting.

MOTION #8 - THAT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD RECOMMEND TO THE ANNUAL MEETING THAT A TWO-DAY MEMBERSHIP CONFERENCE BE HELD IN WASHINGTON SOMETIME IN DECEMBER. --adopted.

DUES & CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE: Marvin Rogoff (Chairman); Carl Sampsell (Correspondent); Thomas Cosgrove, Mrs. Lee Stanley, John R. MacKenzie, Theodore Ruhig (Executive Board Members); Russell W. Allen, George T. Guernsey, Eric Polisar, C.J. Slanicka, Byrl A. Whitney, Alfred Wickman, Members.

Marvin Rogoff reported for the committee on several recommendations:

1. The committee felt that a student membership would be a good idea, to interest people in the field. The AFT Constitution provides for a student membership with a 25¢ per capita.

MOTION #9 - THAT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD RECOMMEND TO THE ANNUAL MEETING A STUDENT MEMBERSHIP WITH A DUES OF 40¢ A MONTH AND THAT THE COMMITTEE PREPARE A SEPARATE ARTICLE FOR THE CONSTITUTION ON THIS MEMBERSHIP WHICH DEFINES THE MEANING OF STUDENT AND OUTLINES THEIR RIGHTS IN THE ORGANIZATION UNDER THIS PROVISION. --adopted.

2. Brother Rogoff reported on the dues problem situation. The present dues structure brings in about $4500.00 a year. With the new per capita tax and programs which we have added the last few years, we will need an annual income of $7500.00.

   The committee considered three ways of revising the dues providing enough money:

   percentage dues
   a flat rate dues
   an arrangement similar to the present dues with some modifications

   The committee presented the following table which showed the amount of funds provided by each of the three proposals:

	1963 Dues Structure			1966 Dues: Three Approaches								
	PRESENT			MODIFICATION of 1963			FLAT RATE			½ PER CENT OF INCOME		
	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Average Rate	No. Members	TOTAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
All Groups		210	$4,683		210	$7,500		210	$9,224		210	$9,940
AA Collective Bargaining Rate	4.00	14	672	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840
Standard Dues (Annual Income												
A $14,000 and over	—	—	—	4.50	10	540				5.80	13	910
B $12,000 - $13,999	—	—	—	4.00	23	1,104				5.40	24	1,560
C $10,000 - $11,999	2.50	78	2,220	3.50	48	2,016	4.00	163	7,724	4.60	59	3,245
D $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	2.00	25	504	3.00	38	900				3.70	38	1,710
E Less than $8,000	1.50	21	378	2.50	21	630				2.90	29	1,015
Representation												
A1 $14,000 and over				3.75	3	135						
B1 $12,000 - $13999				3.25	4	156						
C1 $10,000 - $11,999	1.75	18	357	2.75	11	363						
D1 $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	1.25	7	90	2.25	5	135						
E1 Less than $8,000	.75	1	9	1.75	1	21						
Special Rates												
F AFT	.75	22	198	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528
G Retired	.75	11	99	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132
H Part Time	1.00	13	156	—	—	—	—	—	-	—	—	—

It was the committee's recommendation that a modification of the present structure be followed with categories going up to $14,000 and rates adequate to provide for the necessary finances.

MOTION #10 - THAT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION: (see language below) -- adopted.

The new language is indicated here by all caps;
Language deleted is indicated by crossing out.

Article XI - Dues

Section 1. Collective Bargaining Membership

All members for whom Local 189 is recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining representative, shall pay a dues of ~~$48 per year ($4 per month)~~ $5 PER MONTH.

Section 2. Professional Membership

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for members working at a full time job, other than those who pay under Section 1, above, shall be as follows:

$14,000 OR MORE ANNUAL SALARY	$4.50	
$12,000 to $13,999 ANNUAL SALARY	$4.00	
$10,000 to $11,999 annual salary	~~$30~~	$3.50
$8,000 to $9,999 annual salary	~~$24~~	$3.00
Below $8,000 annual salary	~~$18~~	$2.50

The schedule is subject to the following adjustments:

a) Membership in other unions.

A member of Local 189 holding membership in another union which is recognized by the employer to represent him shall pay ~~$9.00 per year~~ 75¢ PER MONTH less than the annual dues schedule given in this section. This sub-section does not apply to a member of Local 189 holding membership in another union that is not recognized to represent him.

b) Membership in other AFT locals.

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a member of Local 189 paying full dues to another AFT local shall be ~~$9 per year~~ $2 per month.

~~c) Part-Time employees~~

~~The annual dues for a member of Local 189 employed part-time and holding no full-time job shall be $12 per year.~~

d) Retired members.

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a retired member of Local 189 shall be ~~$9 per year~~ $1 PER MONTH

3. The committee reviewed briefly several other changes for the Constitution which they will prepare in writing and present to the Executive Board.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING: Because of the Constitution and other matters it was felt the executive board should plan to meet on the morning of March 30th at Detroit to go over these preparations.

SALARY SURVEY COMMITTEE: Owen A. Tapper (Chairman); Chris Piluras (Correspondent); James E. Wolfe (Executive Board Member); Chic St. Crox, Charles H. Davis, John J. Flagler, Lois Gray, Wm. O. Kuhl, Wm. A. Lang, Wm. H. McCabe, Robert E. McMillen, Joyce D. Miller, Mrs. Gloria Riordan, Allen D. Silberman, Sally Parker Swerbilov, A. J. Wann, Members.

Chris Piluras reported for the committee. There was some discussion of the value of the survey. There was a feeling that it probably could be drawn up differently in order to present important information. The survey should include job descriptions, salary figures, fringe benefits, per diem, automobile arrangements, travel and bonus, leave of absence and other provisions. Jack MacKenzie reported that the salary survey was quite valuable to them at West Virginia.

MOTION #11 - THAT THE SALARY SURVEY BE CONDUCTED AGAIN DURING 1966.

SUPPORT AFT COMMITTEE: Don Vial (Chairman); Robert A. Steffen (Correspondent); Connie Kopelov (Executive Board Member); Henry T. Becker, Robert B. Campbell, Francis J. Duggan, J. David Edelstein, John Jefferson, Bud Hutchinson, Wells Keddie, Irving A. Landa, Clifford B. Miller, Leo F. Nahstoll, Chas. A. Orr, Fred Schmidt, John Sessions, Albert Shanker, Stanton Smith, Richard Springer, Nancy P. Vanderbeek, Members.

Connie Kopelov reported for the committee on ways in which an association between 189 members and other AFT members can be productive:

1. Bringing AFT people in contact with the labor movement as a whole, helping in testimony, in familiarizing the rest of the labor movement with teachers organization, and providing materials and assistance for local AFT leaders.

2. Teachers as a labor education source -- teachers can be a useful resource for teaching, speakers in enriching labor education.

3. Teaching unionism in the schools -- the need that teachers have for resources on current issues and labor in terms of films, pamphlets and encouragement should flow to some extent from 189 members.

There were a great many suggestions from the members of this committee and Connie is going to pull these together and prepare a detailed report.

MOTION #12 -- THAT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD ORGANIZE MEMBERS OF 189 TO VISIT AFT LOCAL OFFICERS IN THEIR AREA AND INQUIRE FROM THEM WHAT THEIR NEEDS ARE IN LABOR EDUCATION MATERIALS OR INFORMATION ABOUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AND THAT 189 MEMBERS REPORT BACK TO THE COMMITTEE ON THEIR FINDINGS. -- adopted.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE: Oscar Paskal (Chairman); George Daitsman (Correspondent); Mark Brown, Ben Segal (Executive Board Members); Glen Armstrong, Gilbert A. Cornfield, Ronald Donovan, Martin Duffy, Beatrice M. Kersten, John E. Olsen, Ronald J. Peters, Ralph Reuther, Emory Via, Ruther Zubrensky, Members.

Mark Brown reported that based on a tentative survey we have 110 of 146-7 union educators who do not belong to our local. Also 46 of the 108 university labor educators do not belong. He felt that another round of contacts to nonmembers similar to what was done last year would be very helpful. Last year's program was very successful and brought in 70 new members. The organization of who is to contact whom should be done in advance of the annual meeting in April so that everybody can be given an assignment.

MOTION #13 -- THAT GEORGE DAITSMAN AND OSCAR PASKAL ORGANIZE THE LIST OF NONMEMBERS SO THAT EACH NONMEMBER WILL BE CONTACTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING IN APRIL AND THAT ALL 189 MEMBERS WILL BE GIVEN ASSIGNMENTS AT THAT TIME. --adopted.

OCCUPATION FORECAST COMMITTEE: Joan G. Kilpatrick (Chairman & Exec. Bd. Member); Caleb Sandifer (Correspondent); Duane Beeler, George V. Boyle, Paul Bullock,Members.

Joan Kilpatrick reported for the committee as follows:

1. Effect of the Great Society Programs -- not only do they create an immediate demand for labor education skills but the longrange demand will even be greater.
2. Traditional labor education jobs -- most programs, especially university, are projecting increase in staff.
3. Sources of entrance to the "trade" -- here is the real problem an increasing number of people entering who lack a union background or civil rights or other action background.
4. Training -- this calls for a stepped up program to provide people in the field with the necessary skills. Our processes for doing this today are virtually nonexistent.

She then discussed possibilities for training -- internships, NILE, union and university cooperation, etc.

Everyone present congratulated Joan on an extremely interesting report and urged that she prepare her notes in writing to make them available to the Executive Board and for Viewpoints.

LABOR EDUCATION VIEWPOINTS & HANDBOOK COMMITTEE: Mil Lieberthal (Chairman and Executive Board Member); Ruth Wiencek (Correspondent); Richard W. Humphries, Holgate Young (Executive Board Members); John Carroll, Frank L. Collins, Raymond J. DeSantis, Edward A. Disch, E. Keith Dix, Robert K. Elsner, Henry Wm. Fries, Walter O. Froh, Paul R. Hempel, Forrest Heckman, Members.

Mil Lieberthal reported for the committee that they have continued to work on the handbook begun last year by beginning to assign 189 members to write pieces of the

March 25, 1966

Reservations Desk
Whittier Hotel
415 Burns Drive
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Gentlemen:

Kindly reserve one single room in the name of Emory F. Via for the evenings of March 30 and 31, 1966. Mr. Via will be in Detroit in connection with the Local 189, American Federation of Teachers meeting being held in your hotel.

If for any reason you cannot confirm this reservation, please advise us by collect telegram.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

/jb

File AFT-189

Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

Minutes of the Annual Meeting

Detroit, Michigan

March 31, 1966

Whittier Hotel

In Detroit, 189 members voted to . . .

- continue the 189 Labor Education Internship
- establish a Job Clearinghouse
- set up a student 189 membership
- change the dues to provide for the new AFT per capita and the 189 programs including the internship.
- hold the Winter Conference annually.
- support Charles Cogan's administration of the AFT
- back Art Carstens for Congress (he almost made it!)
- nominate new officers.

See details inside . . .

M I N U T E S

The 44th Annual Meeting was called together at 8:30 p.m. by President Wolfe. Role call of officers: Wolfe, Brock, Humza, Young, Kienzle, Suarez, Kopelov, Lieberthal, Mire, MacKenzie, Pragan and Ruhig were present.

The minutes of last year's meeting were read by Stan Rosen and were accepted.

FINANCIAL REPORT --

Hoagy Young presented the Financial Report:

WHY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD IS RECOMMENDING A CHANGE IN DUES

This report looks back over 10 years of Local 189 activity. It is appropriate that we do this to make the decisions we have to consider at this time, and since this is my last term of office in Local 189, I would like to give a longer view of our work.

One might ask, looking around this room, why there are several organizations in such a small field as ours. Weren't many of the same people that are here tonight as 189 members in meetings this afternoon of other organizations?

ORGANIZATIONS IN UNION EDUCATION

Local 189 is the only organization in our field which brings together union educators as individuals. The ULEA is an organization of programs, and the AFL-CIO meetings are meetings of representatives of programs.

There is a special role for each of these organizations. Local 189 concerns itself with our problems as employees and with our contribution to the growth of the field. In any skilled trade or profession, the workers in a field have a special contribution to make to its development. We in Local 189 feel that the future of education in the labor movement should not lie exclusively in the hands of the directors of labor education -- mostly but not exclusively.

TEN YEARS AGO AND TODAY

Over the past ten years the contributions of Local 189 has changed because of changes which have taken place in the times. Ten years ago we stood in the twilight of the

passing era -- the end of labor's heroic era. Today we stand in the early light of another era.

WHAT LOCAL 189 IS DOING

Local 189 has developed a number of activities to change with the times --

We have learned about collective bargaining in the labor movement through our members in the IUE Unit. They have broken new ground in their contract this year with leave of absence. We are much indebted to the leadership of Ruth Wiencek, Al Silberman, Marilyn Rose, Tom Cosgrove and Jack MacKenzie in this work.

We have established the Defense Fund on a continuing basis by regularly adding 15¢ per month of each member's dues to assure its growth.

We have established the Salary Survey through the work of Stan Rosen, Owen Tapper and Chris Piluras.

On the education side of our work ---

In 1959 we began the publication of Labor Education Viewpoints which many new people coming into our field tell us that it is one of the most helpful sources of information about our work. Its 9 issues number 365 pages of information written by 189 members.

Under the leadership of Mil Lieberthal we have begun to assemble material in Viewpoints for a Handbook on Labor Education. Dan Benedict tells us that work already done on this project has attracted interest in Europe, and we will have some participation there in the Handbook.

Through Stan we now have the Newsletter which won the First Award at last year's AFT Convention.

This year's issue of the Directory has received considerable interest for its brief and clear statement of what union education is and what its practitioners do.

Financial Report

	1963	1964	1965
Opening balance, January 1st	$2,400.28	$2,844.88	$2,352.47
INCOME			
Membership	(185)	(142)	(221)
Dues	$3,153.50	$3,210.00	$4,505.00
COPE donations		33.50	
Collected at Socials	80.00		
Winter Board Meeting Income			217.00
Donations received, ICFTU	60.00	28.50	9.00
" " , ERAP-SDS		30.00	
Total Income	$3,293.50	$3,302.00	$4,731.00
EXPENDITURES			
AFT per capita rate '66 - (.90)--'67 - (1.00)	(.67)	(.67)	(.75)
AFT per capita	$1,328.61	$1,187.21	$1,765.25
Supplies & Duplicating	564.88	263.12	362.08
Postage	244.04	216.13	345.38
Clerical help	86.00	97.70	60.00
Viewpoints	363.48	314.20	358.45
Newsletter		125.15	261.26
Directory		264.14	320.15
Salary Survey		70.00	105.20
Per capita to Chapters		179.00	232.25
Annual Membership Meeting	155.64	147.76	201.89
Winter Executive Board Meeting			419.43
Internship: Scholarship			800.00
Travel			209.70
Publicity			469.76
AFT Convention, travel		50.00	
Labor Press Assoc. Membership		50.00	
Donations: ICFTU	60.00		
ERAP-SDS		530.00	
St.Louis AFT Local		200.00	
ADA	10.00		
Hilda Smith book		100.00	
Selma			180.00
Calif. Farm Workers			100.00
Dues Refund	27.00		
Flowers	9.25		
Total Expenditures	$2,848.90	$3,794.41	$6,190.80
Closing Balance, Dec. 31st	$2,844.88	$2,352.47	$ 892.67
DEFENSE FUND: Balance, Dec. 31st	$1,031.95	$1,069.56	$1,103.17

Holgate Young, Financial Sec.
Local 189, AFT

TYPICAL OPERATING COSTS FOR NEXT FEW YEARS

Expense Items	Total	Per Memb.	Per Month
Affiliation with AFT - 188 memb. (@8.04 $1,512)	$2,520	12.00	1.00
@12.00 $2,520			
(increase $1,008)			
Local 189 Program			
*Collective Bargaining Defense 15¢ per memb.	$350.00		
Viewpoints, 1 issue per year	400.00	Handback/India	
*Newsletter, 4 issues per year	400.00	Price & AFT response	
*Directory, 1 issue per year	300.00	144/63	
*Internship - publicity & forms	500.00		
scholarship	800.00	- ! 40 members	
travel cost	300.00	involved	
*Chapter per capita @3.00	300.00	2 new chapt.	
Annual Meeting	200.00		
*Salary Survey	200.00	Tapper	
Donations	400.00		
Dues collection - supplies & duplicating	400.00		
postage	250.00	Impt. to Nat'l. Org.	
clerical	200.00		
total	$5,000.00		
	5,000	24.00	2.00
Total	$7,520	$36.00	$3.00

* changes since 1963.

Current Staff Union Dues

Council of Industrial Organizers (IUE Staff)	10.00 per month
CWA Staff union	10.00 per month
Local 35, ANG (1.2% of salary) about	12.00 per month
Local 2, AFT (New York City)	5.00 per month
Local 189, AFT (Collective Bargaining)	4.00 per month
Local 189, AFT (maximum professional)	2.50 per month

We established our Chapters on a stronger basis, making their support a regular part of the dues. Twenty-five cents of each member's dues goes to their Chapter, if any, and each Chapter has permanent representation on the Executive Board. This year we have two new Chapters functioning and doing interesting projects in West Virginia and Chicago through the work of Jack MacKenzie and Ted Ruhig. One half of our members are covered by these chapters.

We are selecting our second intern this year. Last year thirty 189 members were directly involved in working with Irving Rosenstein during the 8-week program. It is a valuable experience for all of us. Marj. Rachlin and Jackie Kienzie are working on this year's program.

One of the most important developments has been our Winter Meeting. During three days, we came together and seriously worked on our mutual problems. Out of this year's meeting for example came the possibility of a 189 Pension Plan to help those of us who never get ten years in one place, a Labor Education History Project, a discussion on the educational needs of newer trade unionists, closer work with AFT members in areas where we have membership, materials useful in International Affairs, and an interesting look at the future demands for people with labor education skills. This meeting, which involved some 50 of our members, was organized by Stuart Brock and Jim Wolfe.

MORE INCOME NEEDED

I spent some time reviewing the changes in recent years affecting our field, and programs developed by Local 189 because without purpose finances are meaningless. This year the Executive Board had to take a look at these developments because it had to make a recommendation to the membership as to whether or not these programs should be continued. The decision was required in part because of the raise in International per capita tax.

As you can see from the attached Financial Report our present dues structure brings in about $4500 per year. In looking at the picture in the fucure, however, our present program will cost about $7500 per year. This change comes about for two reasons:

1. The AFT is beginning to do the kind of job we all want it to do. At its last Convention, it raised per capita tax from 75¢ to $1.00. The per capita to the AFT was 67¢ at the time our present dues structure was established, so that these changes mean about $1,000 additional cost per year to our Local.

2. Since our present dues structure was established, we have initiated many new activities: The Newsletter, the Directory, the Salary Survey, the per capita to our Chapters which covers about half of our membership, and establishing the Defense Fund with a regular monthly contribution.

The Executive Board felt that all these developments are desirable. And so they asked the Constitution Committee to explore the best ways by which the funds could be raised. The Committee studied several different types of dues and came back with a recommendation which the Executive Board adopted. The Constitution Committee will be presenting this to you later on in the meeting.

LOCAL 189 WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT IN THE FUTURE

In the coming years, the need for a membership organization such as Local 189 will increase. It is clear at this meeting that many labor education agencies are in the process of expanding; many of them doubling in size in the very near future. The number of new entrants to our field will increase.

The need for meaningful contacts within our field below the director level will be more important than they have in the past. I should like to add to the official recommendation of the Executive Board that I think it is vitally necessary for our field to continue to develop the kind of activities that Local 189 has conducted during the past few years. And this will only be possible by adopting the new dues structure.

I should like to express my appreciation for the opportunity to be active in an organization like 189. In the kind of labor movement in which we function today, it has been a most helpful experience.

- - - - -

Motion by Brock, seconded by McAllister to accept the Financial Report. Motion was passed. (Copy of the Financial Report and the Budget for the coming year is inserted on page 4.)

CHAPTER REPORTS

WEST VIRGINIA

Jack McKenzie reported that the Chapter had been active in assisting AFT Locals in the state become active in the state labor movement and has helped establish a Chapter of

the AAUP at the University of West Virginia. They're also affiliated with the State and Central Bodies.

CHICAGO

Ted Ruhig reported that President Charles Cogen addressed the March chapter meeting, and the chapter is planning future activities.

WASHINGTON

Marvin Rogoff sent a report to the meeting which told of the Chapter assisting the Organization of D.C. Teachers and the AFT in some of the local poverty projects. The Chapter also was asked to help on the "D.C. Freedom" movement, and continuing contacts with the "new generation".

I.U.E.

Ruth Wiencek reported for Chairman Alan Silberman on the negotiations completed this year for the IUE unit. The new contract provides for raises of $500 to $1,000, provision for educational leave, and other improvements. The Chapter developed a close working relationship with the OEIU and other unions in the IUE.

REPORT FROM THE AFT

Dave Selden, Assistant to President Charles Cogen, reported on the success of the AFT this year in organizing and developing news services to local unions. He indicated that there were challenges ahead and called upon Local 189 members to assist in the continuing task of building an effective and aggressive international union in the education field.

INTERNSHIP

Jackie Kienzle presented the report of the Committee on behalf of the Chairman Marjorie Rachlin:

Last year's intern was Irving Rosenstein, a public school teacher from Philadelphia, very active in the AFT there. He is now back in Philadelphia, and, partly as a result of the internship, he is working part-time for the Philadelphia Board of Education in their labor education program. He promotes and arranges classes for local labor unions, financed by the school system. His wife has taken a part-time job doing educational work for an ILG local. So the Local can feel that in his case one of the purposes of the internship was clearly accomplished -- to get a new person trained -- and employed -- in the field of labor education.

COST

The 1965 program cost about $1500. Of this about $1000 went for the intern ($800 scholarship, rest expenses incl. travel) and about $500 for publicity and administrative expense. The publicity costs may seem high, but one purpose of the internship is to publicize the field of labor education, and so flyers were sent to all AFT locals, all Labor Press Assn. members, city and state central bodies, international unions and university labor programs, plus 189 members. (Mailed about 2500 press releases and flyers to above).

APPLICATIONS

In January the 189 Executive Board approved the 1966 intern program, and so we are now embarked on that. You all received the flyer in the mail. To date we have received fewer requests for applications this year (75 or so compared to 160 last year), and we now have 21 completed applications back. With a deadline of April 1, I guess we will have 35-40 applications, compared to 78 last year. We have a higher proportion of AFT members this year. (Last year we had about 1/3 AFT, 1/3 other union activists, and 1/3 students and miscellaneous). I suspect that the main reason for the drop in applications is that we got poorer publicity in the labor press, particularly the international union papers, for some unexplained reason.

THE PROGRAM

One of the purposes of the internship was to give us a chance to learn something about this sort of training, training for labor education, so I want to report on that. The basic format used last year was satisfactory -- first and last weeks in Washington, four weeks at one university, one week at another university, one week at a union summer school, the Kentucky Labor School. Many 189 members helped make this a success and we want to thank the people at Rutgers, Penn State, Kentucky AFL-CIO, New York and Washington who gave their time to help "educate" the intern.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Because one thing we learned is that "giving time" -- by professionals already in the field -- is essential. The intern needs continual explanation and interpretation of the programs or activities he is observing. Otherwise he doesn't make sense of his observations or he does not even notice significant details and techniques. What kind of atmosphere, for example, do we set on Sunday night at a summer school -- and why? Why are evening programs more formal with more use of speakers? Why does one union have

a class or program on such and so while another union ignores this issue? The intern cannot figure much of this out for himself, and we who are practitioners in the field do not realize how much we know and take for granted -- about techniques, about union attitudes, about personal approaches to educational problems.

Secondly, we found out that the intern needs to take part, not just observe, as much as possible. Obviously, this participation must be geared to his skills -- last year's intern had real teaching skills, but an intern from a local industrial-type union might be better suited for legwork and helping with the projector than for teaching. However, our intern's comments, as well as our own reflection, have convinced us that the intern needs to do as much as possible during schools, not just observe all the time. This is a problem for the Committee and for the university (or others) who agree to take the intern, because when you get to "doing" everyone wants to be sure that the intern is really capable, and it takes a lot of time to train him to do things adequately. However, in my opinion, it is crucial to try to find ways to involve the intern -- otherwise he feels frustrated and bored after a week or so. This has to be a work-study program -- on-the-job training in some aspects.

Thirdly, we realized from thinking over last summer that the program we plan must be tailored to the individual intern's background. For example, the average AFT teacher needs to broaden his knowledge of other unions and how they work. A week in a local or regional union office might be very helpful. On the other hand, a person from an industrial union -- a local union President -- will probably need more help on educational techniques than most AFT members. These are just examples, but since we have only one intern a year, we should be able to program for the individual. Nearly every intern, in our opinion, will need to learn more about unions, legislation, and similar content subject matter of labor education.

THIS YEAR

The Committee members, particularly those in D.C., have been trying to assimilate these new learnings and thinking about this summer's program. We expect to send the intern to a university for 3-4 weeks, but the Committee has not yet met to decide which university. We expect to have the intern spend the first and last weeks in D.C. Where else will depend on the intern selected. Possibly a regional union education program, or another shorter university experience will be the answer. In any case, we ask your help and interest if you cross the intern's path this summer -- any time you can give to explain your program or your philosophy of worker's education will be useful.

Summing up, it is clear that we are putting much time and money into training one person. It appears that we can do it all right. It is up to the members to decide whether it is worth it. The original aims of the program were to 1) train a new person for the field 2) learn something about training methods and problems and 3) acquaint more people outside the field with the idea that there is a field of labor education with its own experience. It is on this basis that you really have to judge the Committee's report and consider whether you approve of the program or not.

The report was accepted.

Jackie Kienzle also presented the proposal for a Job Clearinghouse. This idea was accepted.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Amendments to the Constitution are made by a majority vote at the Annual Meeting and ratified by a majority vote in a referendum. This meeting discussed and prepared these recommendations for the referendum vote. Al Wickman presented the report for the Constitution Committee. The Committee first recommended that Local 189 have a student membership. Brother Wickman presented the following language for the Constitution:

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP

(New Section)

The dues for a member of Local 189 who is a student shall be 40 cents a month. A student shall be defined as an undergraduate or graduate college student currently engaged in workers education as defined by Local 189, a student aspiring to a career in workers education; or a student on leave from college engaged in workers education in the civil rights movement, Peace Corps, VISTA, or in similar organizations or movements. A student member shall enjoy all rights of any other member of Local 189, including joining a chapter, forming a chapter and running for office in his chapter or in Local 189.

The proposal was passed.

The Committee then presented their proposal on change in dues. They presented the table which showed several ways of raising an additional $3500 per year:

by a flat rate dues
by a percentage dues
and by modification of our present dues structure.

	1963 Dues Structure			1966 Dues: Three Approaches								
	PRESENT			MODIFICATION of 1963			FLAT RATE			½ PER CENT OF INCOME		
	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Average Rate	No. Members	TOTAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
All Groups		210	$4,683		210	$7,500		210	$9,224		210	$9,940
AA Collective Bargaining Rate	4.00	14	672	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840
Standard Dues (Annual Income												
A $14,000 and over	—	—	—	4.50	10	540				5.80	13	910
B $12,000 - $13,999	—	—	—	4.00	23	1,104				5.40	24	1,560
C $10,000 - $11,999	2.50	78	2,220	3.50	48	2,016	4.00	163	7,724	4.60	59	3,245
D $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	2.00	25	504	3.00	38	900				3.70	38	1,710
E Less than $8,000	1.50	21	378	2.50	21	630				2.90	29	1,015
Representation												
A1 $14,000 and over				3.75	3	135						
B1 $12,000 - $13999				3.25	4	156						
C1 $10,000 - $11,999	1.75	18	357	2.75	11	363						
D1 $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	1.25	7	90	2.25	5	135						
E1 Less than $8,000	.75	1	9	1.75	1	21						
Special Rates												
F AFT	.75	22	198	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528
G Retired	.75	11	99	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132
H Part Time	1.00	13	156	—	—	—	—	—	-	—	—	—

The Committee favored the latter plan, and presented the Constitutional language to put into effect these changes.

Discussion of the dues structure followed.

Motion by Wiencek to make the dues for members with $12,000 or more salary $5 per month. Motion seconded and passed.

Motion by McAllister seconded by Uphoff to make the dues for members of other AFT locals $1 per month instead of the proposed $2. Motion passed.

The membership then approved the amended dues article for submission to membership referendum.

The new language is indicated here by all caps; Language deleted is indicated by crossing out.

Article XI - Dues

Section 1. Collective Bargaining Membership

All members for whom Local 189 is recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining representative, shall pay a dues of ~~$48 per year ($4 per month)~~ $5 PER MONTH.

Section 2. Professional Membership

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for members working at a full time job, other than those who pay under Section 1, above, shall be as follows:

$12,000 OR MORE ANNUAL SALARY	$5.00
$10,000 to $11,999 annual salary ~~$30~~	$3.50
$8,000 to $9,999 annual salary ~~$24~~	$3.00
Below $8,000 annual salary ~~$18~~	$2.50

The schedule is subject to the following adjustments:

a) Membership in other unions

A member of Local 189 holding membership in another union which is recognized by the employer to represent him shall pay ~~$9.00 per year~~ 75¢ PER MONTH less than the dues schedule given in this section. This subsection does not apply to a member of Local 189 holding membership in another union that is not recognized to represent him.

b) Membership in other AFT locals.

the ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a member of Local 189 paying full dues to another AFT local shall be $9 ~~per year~~ $1 per month.

~~e) Part Time employees~~

~~The annual dues for a member of Local 189 employed part time and holding no fulltime job shall be $12 per year.~~

c) Retired members.

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a retired member of Local 189 shall be ~~$9 per year~~ $1 PER MONTH

Motion passed. Motion by Wickman, seconded by Daitsman, that the new dues would become effective July 1, 1966. Passed.

NOMINATIONS

Ruth Wiencek presented a report of the Nominations Committee. Additional nominations were made on the floor. Following members were nominated for office.

President (one to be elected)
Jim Wolfe

Vice Presidents (two to be elected)
Joan Kilpatrick Suarez
Mil Lieberthal

Recording Secretary (one to be elected)
Stan Rosen

Financial Secretary (one to be elected)
Owen Tapper

Executive Board Members-at-Large (twelve to be elected)

Al Wickman	Lee Stanley
Irving Rosenstein	Ernestine Friedman
Marilyn Rose	Harry Fleischman
Steve Max	Ron Donovan
Connie Kopelov	Don Cagle
Jackie Kienzle	George Boyle
C. J. Slanicka	Mark Brown
Oscar Paskal	Charles Davis
Al Humza	George Daitsman
Stuart Brock	Jack Sessions
Don Vial	Joe Glazer

Jake Schlitt	Eleanor Coit
Duane Beeler	Bill Elkuss
Jim Williams	Frank Collins

Delegates to AFT Convention in Chicago in August (five to be elected)

Jim Wolfe
Stan Rosen
Brendan Sexton
Joan Kilpatrick Suarez
Mil Lieberthal
Jack MacKenzie
Ruth Wiencek
Duane Beeler
Frank McCallister
Ted Ruhig

NOMINATING PROCEDURE

A recommendation from the Nominating Committee was read at the meeting:

Marvin Rogoff: As Chairman of the Committee I wish to express some thoughts on the nominating process mandated by the membership.

The Committee was obligated to bring in nomination acceptances from two candidates for each office. This means, in cold turkey, two for president, four for vice president (if you decide, as the Committee did, that we ought to continue to have two vice presidents), two for recording secretary, two for financial secretary, and if you go along with the present arrangement of 12 board members at large, 24 for that office. Of course, being a novice in this activity, I also solicited Mark Starr's approval for nomination as honorary president. In his infinite wisdom, Mark accepted, and chose not to chide me for making an elective office of it - while also including some Esperanto literature along with his acceptance.

Now how does a Committee go about choosing this dual slate, while attempting to secure a balanced list and availing the Local of all the constructive brainpower and manpower within its ranks?

One way is to find the candidate you really want for each office, then convince another to run just to make it look good. That's just the way it stacks up - but this Committee chose not to function that way. It sought, instead, the best possible for each office. That meant putting up four good people for vice president, for example. Should all four accept, two will lose, and the Local will be deprived of their services at or near the level at which they should be functioning.

After all, we could not at the same time put up someone for an executive office and board member at large- "Just in case." We would go wild keeping track of all the permutations and combinations- and the services of the Committee would be lost to the Local for a while (one just can't function too well from within the confines of a mental institution).

Again to lay it on the table, take the case of president. We drew up a list of three good people- Jim Wolfe, Al Humza and Stuart Brock. Any one of the three as president would make the Committee feel proud to be members of Local 189. The reason for three was a simple one. We just could not be sure Jim Wolfe, or for that matter, Al Humza would accept. So you need backup candidates. We don't all live close together, so that sounding out a potential candidate means just a few minutes on a local phone call: quite the opposite, it takes a lot of time to determine where people stand. In short, the Committee wanted the Local to have the services of Humza and Brock (and Wolfe) in the highest and most responsible capacity possible. But all we have succeeded in doing, since only one can win the office, is writing the others out of any other office - unless nominated from the floor of the membership meeting, and then the merry-go-round starts all over.

Without this explanation, members might also conclude we were not pleased with the services this past year of Brock and Humza as vice presidents. Why should one reach this conclusion? We all know a president who has done well, should be asked to run again; and that under these conditions he will almost automatically be re-elected- that's how organizations happen to run, Local 189 not excluded.

So it would seem that Humza and Brock are being thrown to the wolves, and the poor Nominating Committee takes the rap; while Humza and Brock actually couldn't rate any higher in the esteem of their colleagues and fellow trade unionists on the Committee.

Of course, the names of offices used as examples aren't important; the same conclusions could be drawn for any of the others.

I make this suggestion (I believe the others on the Committee will agree). I believe organizational needs and democratic processes can best be served by instructing the Nominating Committee to bring in the best <u>single</u> slate of nominees. A different minded group within the Local could bring in its own, and finally membership action on the floor of the annual meeting is always available.

I take no particular pride in this suggestion; there may be one or more better ways of accomplishing the same ends. Whatever they are, I believe such ways of handling the nomination procedure should replace the present one.

Fraternally,

Marvin Rogoff, Chairman
Nominating Committee

Motion made by Ruth Wiencek, seconded by Kienzle, that the Resolution requiring the selection of two candidates for each office be repealed. Motion was tabled for discussion at the winter meeting.

RESOLUTIONS

Joan Kilpatrick Suarez submitted the following resolutions as chairman of the committee:

SPECIAL COPE PROJECT

Whereas, Local 189 member Art Carstens is running for Congress in the 27th District of California, and whereas Local 189 desires to participate meaningfully in the 1966 Congressional elections.

Therefore, be it resolved that we appoint Jim Wolfe to coordinate a campaign to solicit the membership of L 189 for COPE contributions in support of the candidacy of Art Carstens and that this money be gathered and presented to Carstens in an appropriate ceremony.

Motion offered by Jim Blackburn, Seconded by Levine. Passed.

(Brother Carstens acknowledged donation made by 189 members and sends word everyone should run for Congress once in their life! In the primary June 7th he lost by about 1,000 votes.)

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING

Growth in both programs and personnel in the field of labor education has resulted in growth in membership in Local #189, AFT, during the past several years. Growth has made communication and exchange of ideas between labor educators on a regular basis increasingly important.

Local #189 is now beginning to seek ways of helping to fill this void. As a beginning step, a system of "task force"

committees were established by the Executive Board to examine both internal operations and the broader aspects of improving the field of labor education. These committees, composed of a sizeable number of Local #189, met during the Winter Executive Board meeting in Washington, D.C. in January, 1966. The results of this new committee system were exciting and pointed up the possibilities of fruitfully expanding the membership activities of Local #189.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, the annual membership meeting of Local #189 now be expanded in the following manner:

1. An annual membership business meeting to be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the AFL-CIO Education Directors and the ULEA in the Spring of the year.
2. An Annual membership weekend meeting to be held during the winter in conjunction with the annual Executive Board meeting of Local #189, said workshop to continue the exploration of new and improved "ideas" for the field of labor education.

Passed.

AFT CONFERENCE

WHEREAS, the AFT is sponsoring a conference on "Racism and the Schools" December 10, 1966 in Washington, D.C. (This program will be headed by Professor John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago, and Arthur Reese, AFT Freedom Schools Director. Other labor and civil rights leaders will participate).

LOCAL 189, therefore, goes on record in support of the purposes of this conference and offers its assistance in publicity, recruitment and administration of the conference,

AND, that the Washington Chapter be notified to make contact with the AFT on this matter.

Passed.

SUPPORT OF AFT ADMINISTRATION

During the past two years the American Federation of Teachers under the leadership of President Charles Cogen, has made outstanding progress. Total membership has increased by more than 20%. Publications have been improved in content and format. Research facilities have been expanded and revitalized. State federations have been strengthened. Teacher collective bargaining has advanced.

The relationship between the AFT and other unions has been deepened and made more meaningful. A sound and imaginative financial program has provided a firm underpinning for expanded AFT activity, therefore be it

RESOLVED that Local 189 supports the program of the incumbent administration and that local delegates to the 1966 AFT Convention consider this support when voting in the AFT presidential election.

Passed.

TEACHER-UNION EDUCATOR COOPERATION

WHEREAS, organizing is a major concern of the AFT; and

WHEREAS, Local 189 members could help in many ways, such as getting the case for teacher unionism to union members and others, and

WHEREAS, teachers are an excellent source of speakers and information for local unions or AFL-CIO state and central bodies who wish to discuss problems of public education; and

WHEREAS, Local 189 could be a valuable resource to teachers who wish to discuss the labor movement in new courses, and

WHEREAS, Local AFT chapters may wish to draw on the experience of labor educators in developing union building activities and materials,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the executive boards of the AFT and of Local 189 seeks ways to develop greater cooperation and joint activities.
2. That the executive board of 189 explore the possibilities of offering a resolution to the 1966 AFT Convention on this matter.

Passed.

AFT WORK IN CENTRAL BODIES

WHEREAS:- The Labor Movement has a continuing need for education because of the complexities of our society, and

WHEREAS, the members of the AFT are equipped to train workers for leadership in their Unions and the Community, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that AFT Local 189 calls upon the AFT to encourage the affiliated Local Unions to take an active part in the affairs of the City Central bodies, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFT Locals encourage the formation of active education committees and state and local central bodies and that AFT members volunteer their services.

Passed.

16 YEARS OF FREE EDUCATION

WHEREAS, The advance of automation has eliminated and will continue to eliminate millions of jobs now and formerly performed by working people, and

WHEREAS, New categories of jobs requiring varying degrees of advanced education are being continuously created, and

WHEREAS, Income levels of working people in this country are generally too low to permit them to finance higher education for their children, and

WHEREAS, State funds, private funds, scholarships and charity cannot begin to meet the need for the education of millions of children on the post high school level,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO call upon the Congress of the United States to pass such legislation as will guarantee the equivalent of sixteen years of education to all children at no tuition costs to their families, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that Congress be called upon to appropriate such funds as are necessary to construct colleges and junior colleges and staff and equip these institutions to carry out the purposes of this resolution, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFT seek the support of the AFL-CIO and all its subordinate bodies and departments for this purpose, and be

FURTHER RESOLVED that a full campaign toward the ends of this resolution be prepared to win the support of the American People.

Passed.

VIETNAM

WHEREAS, the conflict in Vietnam continues to take an increasing toll of both American and Vietnamese lives and resources without bringing either side in the war visibly closer to a negotiated peace; and

WHEREAS, in recent weeks the debate, both in Congress and among a number of non-government organizations, has revealed a substantial and informed resistance to the present course of United States policy in Vietnam and has also made

clear the enormous disparity between that policy's avowed aim of seeking peace and the reality of its military commitment to "Winning" the war; and

WHEREAS, those who are suffering most in loss of life and property and hope in the present conflict are the common people of all involved countries, therefore be it

RESOLVED: The Workers Education Local 189, AFT, which is committed to working for and with organizations of this nation's working people - American labor unions, announces its opposition to continued escalation of the Vietnam war and its unqualified support of immediate negotiations among all parties to the conflict guided by the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1954; and be it further

RESOLVED: That Local 189 submit this resolution to the 1966 National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Passed.

LABOR EDUCATION HISTORY

The following report was presented by the Committee from Ernestine Friedman:

The Labor Education History Committee met January 7th to consider suggestions received by mail from nine members in response to a questionnaire sent out previously. Its purpose was to ascertain the interest among Local 189 members, today's leaders in Labor Education, in material about the pioneer period, the records of which are being deposited as archives, thus becoming available for historic study. These materials are labeled for identification and placed with State Historical Societies, University Archives, libraries or other institutions providing this perpetual service.

The return questionnaires yielded three good suggestions for 1966 projects on the history of Labor Education. These were presented to the full conference as follows:

Suggestion No. I from Alice Cook, Cornell.
That tape recorded interviews be arranged with our pioneer leaders to have them tell their own stories.

Suggestion No. II from Hilda Smith & Eleanor Coit.
That as a first step a list be gathered of the materials not available in these historical records telling the story of many of the pioneer efforts of resident and summer schools, institutes, city labor colleges, etc. Some analytic writing

will be done by Eleanor Coit, Hilda Smith and others to add to the value of these archives but more evaluation and analysis needs to be added in the future.

The need for such a list was expressed by Larry Rogin who believes it is important for unions and universities who are doing labor education programs to determine what materials should be saved and where they should be sent. He said the matter would be discussed at the gathering of the AFL-CIO conference of Labor Education Directors, March 30-31, 1966.

Suggestion No. III from Dorothy Oko, Librarian. That she would prepare a bibliography on Labor Education related to the story of its historic development and the available written material.

Two other suggestions received but not presented to the 189 Conference:

1 - Chester Graham who knows rural programs asked that we include joint educational activities of farmers and workers.

2 - Orlie Pell emphasized the need for further analysis of areas in which labor education has made its greatest contribution: its subject matter content, its methods, teacher training, etc. For this writers acquainted with this program should be found.

Discussion by the conference group showed real interest in "our history to date." Several volunteered to become committee members. It was voted that the committee be asked to continue along all three lines, concentrating first on the historical materials -- what they cover, where they are; and showing the development of labor education at least up to the Workers Education Bill introduced into Congress in 1948.

(A questionnaire for interested members is attached)

Meeting adjourned at 11:00 p.m. for beer and pretzels.

Stan Rosen

Freedom Budget

Apartment L - 1
2255 Lenox Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 7, 1966

The Editor
The Wall Street Journal
30 Broad Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I read The Wall Street Journal regularly and with respect. I am among a rather sizable portion of your readers who respect your paper as a journalistic enterprise, but who find themselves frequently in disagreement with your editorial positions. I am sorry that this letter is not occasioned by a favorable response to an editorial position rather than a negative one. But you have reacted, I think, too quickly and far too negatively to a proposal which (a) attempts to be responsible in the U.S. scheme of things, (b) which offers help to our land at a point of great hurt, and (c) which suggests positive benefits, possible of attainment, to the nation, its economy and, thereby, to business.

I speak of your response to the "Freedom Budget" proposals in your editorial of November 1, 1966.

I guess I am realist enough to know that no letter such as this could persuade you to consider an about face. But as a people, business and The Wall Street Journal included, we face problems of such seriousness that I would hope for some reconsideration on your part. Or perhaps you could call for an open examination of what the "Freedom Budget" offers.

Surely you, and all of us, must go beyond the right-middle-left cry that poverty programs have failed. We must find ideas and programs which meet needs--needs which have frequently found eloquent and factual expressions in your own most worthy news columns.

There probably are those of us who can point to even more poverty program failures than the editors of the Journal. But can we let the matter rest with such criticism of recent special efforts--even when we fail to recognize successes? Can we urge a return to prior practices which benefited many of us, but which did little to narrow the gap between those of average means (leave the rest of us out) and those in poverty? Can we ignore the impact of world events, the mass media, and a to-be-praised rising expectation of our own people which have led to accelerated demands for solutions to individual and group problems occasioned by society's ills?

It would be wrong to suggest that our society is all bad. I for one defend even the near-indefensible in the hope that we preserve the good while nudging the bad from the picture. Would that I and you were dedicated to the eradication of the bad.

We could quibble at great length about what the "Freedom Budget" proposes. Let me suggest some things which it, or similar plans with broad backing, holds that your editorial over looks:

(1) Full employment for the able and willing;

(2) Training, education, motivation toward making people able;

(3) A candid recognition of the harm done to others (children, for instance) by not caring adequately for those not now ready for full participation in the economy;

(4) Recognizing that those described in (3) are deeply affected by society's own failures;

(5) Leaving unsaid as to the details of what we can do for those cases--large in numbers but small in percentages--whose failures may be due to individual inadequacies, but suggesting a more positive approach than the nation has yet tried;

(6) To encourage economic growth, full production, improved transportation, water and air purification, resource development;

These profit us all--me, the editors, business, the masses. The cost is not likely to exceed the return to our economic health to say nothing of the gain in human values.

You rightly proclaimed the contribution of the two hundred billion dollars spent annually on education and social services. Did the proposers of the "Freedom Budget" fault existing expenditures? I think not. They took a hard look and added what further was needed, and I think they have stated why.

Could we all find a way to quibble, if needed, about particulars, but accept with energy the basic outline for a common effort for our common good?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

I wrote this originally as a personal exchange with the editors, but would not mind its publication. I am sorry about the length, but you have able people there and if it must be cut, cut it.

Appreciatively,

E.F.V.

REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

A Poverty of Thought

In an atmosphere of uncalled-for enthusiasm, a coalition of civil rights, religious and labor leaders is launching a drive to "end poverty" in the next 10 years. Without questioning their motives, we have no hesitation in saying their approach appears to reflect a poverty of thought.

The group's main proposal is merely to pour more cash into existing Federal antipoverty programs. "The envelopes are already addressed," blithely observes Dr. Leon Keyserling, economic consultant to the coalition and one-time chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. "All we have to do is put more money in them."

There's no indication that members of the group know how the existing programs are functioning. Or if they do, they apparently have chosen to ignore the multiplying evidence of scandalous waste and mismanagement.

Congress itself concedes that the present antipoverty "war" is in deep trouble, though its response isn't much more realistic than that of the coalition, which is headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In the process of pushing through an extension and expansion of the antipoverty project this fall, the lawmakers promised that they would look into the programs' shortcomings sometime next year.

It ought to be obvious that a useful effort to meet the problem of the relatively few Americans who are still in need requires a policy that shows promise of working, not simply for fresh outpourings of money from the Federal Government or anywhere else.

When Mr. Randolph's group goes beyond Federal programs already in existence, it gets no better marks for careful consideration. Its lack of contemplation is especially evident in the coalition's bland endorsement of a guaranteed annual income for all Americans, which really means singling out those below a certain income for special subsidies regardless of whether they are willing to work or not.

Even many of those who lean most strongly toward the guaranteed income as a social goal clearly see that it is a concept surrounded by serious dangers. No one can predict with certainty the results, psychological and political, of designating by decree a class of Americans who no longer will owe any responsibility to society.

However well-intentioned the Government might be at the start, the right to raise, lower or take away the incomes of millions of Americans on whim would give it an unparalleled power of coercion. Instead of restoring the poor to useful roles in normal society, moreover, the guaranteed income might well destroy the will or incentive many of them had. A program with such implications at the least deserves cautious thought instead of being rushed through as part of a crash program to end poverty.

The poverty warriors should remember that it is mainly the nation's vastly productive economy, together with Americans' longstanding willingness to help those in need, that has steadily reduced the ranks of the poor. Further gains depend heavily on stable, job-producing economic growth; that stability is already undermined by the Government's inflationary spending, and it could easily be wrecked by more of the same.

What's chiefly needed, in any case, is not more dollars but more sense. Mr. Randolph's group talks of spending an additional $185 billion in the next 10 years, a tidy sum. Yet private and public spending on education and other social programs, all of them in a real way directed toward preventing or easing poverty, now totals around $200 billion—not in a decade, but every single year. Before spending more money blindly and badly, it would seem reasonable to put a little thought into making better use of the present outlay.

We believe intelligent public and private policies can provide further assistance to the poor. But not utopian talk of literally ending poverty, talk which bespeaks a rare innocence of human nature. Those who demand action on that basis delude not only themselves but the very people they profess to want to help.

VIETNAM

WHEREAS, the conflict in Vietnam continues to take an increasing toll of both American and Vietnamese lives and resources without bringing either side in the war visibly closer to a negotiated peace; and

WHEREAS, in recent weeks the debate, both in Congress and among a number of non-government organizations, has revealed a substantial and informed resistance to the present course of United States policy in Vietnam and has also made clear the enormous disparity between that policy's avowed aim of seeking peace and the reality of its military commitment to "Winning" the war; and

WHEREAS, those who are suffering most in loss of life and property and hope in the present conflict are the common people of all involved countries, therefore be it

RESOLVED: The Workers Education Local 189, AFT, which is committed to working for and with organizations of this nation's working people - American labor unions, announces its opposition to continued escalation of the Vietnam war and its unqualified support of immediate negotiations among all parties to the conflict guided by the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1954; and be it further

RESOLVED; That Local 189 submit this resolution to the 1966 National convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Workers Education Local 189

AFT

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

OFFICIAL NOTICE

of

MIDWINTER MEETING AND CONFERENCE OF L 189

Date: January 6, 7 & 8, 1967

Place: Manger-Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Time: Sessions begin 8:00 PM, Friday, January 6.

Program: Committee reports, Speakers to be announced.

Cost: Registration Fee $7.50. Includes Luncheon - Saturday and Breakfast - Sunday. (meetings.)

Hotel Rooms: Single - $9.00 -- Double - $14.00

ALL INTERESTED MEMBERS AND FRIENDS ARE
INVITED TO ATTEND THIS IMPORTANT MEETING.

Advance Registrations Will Help Our Planning

****

Registration Form

Mail to: Stuart Brock
Chairman, Arrangements Committee
11512 Highway Avenue
Silver Springs, Maryland

Name_____

Address_____ Tel No_____

I would like to register for the Midwinter Local 189 meeting.

Please reserve /___/ Single Room /___/ Double Room on the following nights
_____ at the Manger-Hamilton Hotel.

/___/ $7.50 Registration Fee enclosed

/___/ Will pay at registration.

Make checks for registration fee payable to "L 189 AFT"

LABOR EDUCATION NEWS

Member of the International Labor Press Association

Editor
Stan Rosen

NEWSLETTER OF LOCAL 189, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO
401 Sandburg Street-Park Forest, Illinois 60466

Vol II No. 13 November 1966

ANNUAL MIDWINTER MEETING AND CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON D.C.

On January 6, 7 & 8, 1967 the Executive Board of L 189 and all interested members are expected to gather in Washington, D.C. for the Midwinter meeting.

The meeting which combines L 189 business with education will include:

* Report of the Intern committee with recommendations for next year.
* Report of the Committee on L 189-AFT Relations.
* Reports of the Pension and Welfare, Young Trade Unionists, View points, Organizing, Labor Education History, Job exchange committees and others.
* Report from the officers.

Several speakers and panels are being arranged to permit the presentation of subjects of interest.

Details attached.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions and motions to be submitted to Joan Suarez, Apt. E 1550 NorLakes, St. Louis, Missouri, 63135. By December 28, 1966. They will be duplicated for distribution to the meeting.

Additional Resolutions can be made at the meeting.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS

SIGN UP A NEW MEMBER TODAY

OFFICIAL NOTICE AMENDMENTS & CHANGES TO AFT CONSTITUTION

In order to offer amendments to the AFT Constitution, we must vote open them at the Midwinter Meeting since they must be submitted 6 months before the AFT Convention.

If you have any proposals or suggestions for changes in the AFT Constitution please send to Marvin Rogoff, 6005 Greentree Road, Bethesda, Maryland, 20034. He is Chairman of the Constitution Committee.

Such suggested changes and amendments will be discussed at the Midwinter Meeting and if adopted sent on to National AFT.

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ETHEL ROGIN MEMORIAL FUND CONTRIBUTIONS CONTINUING

Lee Stanley, Chairman of the Committee reminds all members of the establishment of this fund, and its purpose, the support of a Freedom School in the south next summer.

Send contributions to: Lee B. Stanley, 2930 Porter Street, Washington, D.C. 20008.

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AFT CONFERENCE ON NEGRO HISTORY

CONVENTION REPORT

By Jim Wolfe, President
Chairman L 189, Delegation to the Convention

Local 189 was represented at the A.F.T. Convention in Chicago in August by: Frank McCallister, Stanley Rosen and Jim Wolfe. Each was allowed 2 votes as the local was entitled to 6 delegates.

History was made when President Charles Cogen was re-elected by an overwhelming vote, and carried with him the complete slate of Progressive caucus candidates. The 189 delegates lived up to the instructions of the membership and, as is the tradition, voted Progressive.

The three delegates attended numerous working and social sessions. Wolfe served on the Civil, Professional and Democratic and Human Rights Committee; McCallister served on the International Relations Committee and Rosen, Committee on Techniques of Organization and Collective Bargaining.

All of the resolutions submitted by Local 189 received favorable treatment with the exception of the Vietnam resolution which was "changed" in committee and then defeated on the floor by a close vote. 189 visitors at the convention were Ben Segal, who was a speaker at a dinner session, George Daitsman, Mil Lieberthal, and Tom Cosgrove.

The delegates were unable to participate in all of the convention sessions because of other responsibilities and commitments. However, all agreed that the convention was exciting and stimulating. Observation: the A.F.T. was acting more like an International union. Suggestion: other International unions might benefit if they would observe the serious discussion and debate on important issues by the committees before resolutions are brought to the Convention floor. The 1967 Convention will be held in Washington, D.C.

L 189 MEMBERS ARE URGED TO PARTICIPATE IN AFT CONFERENCE ON RACISM IN EDUCATION

Teachers, unionists and civil rights activists are expected to gather in large numbers at the AFT Sponsored Conference on Negro History. The conference will be held on December 9 & 10, 1966, at the Hilton Hotel, in Washington, D.C.

A registration fee of $5.00 should be sent to AFT CONFERENCE ON LABOR HISTORY, 716 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

While it is expected that a large contingent of L 189 members from the East Coast will be in attendance, members from other parts of the country are urged to attend or to pool resources so as to send a delegate.

This historical conference deserves our full enthusiastic support.

CONDOLENCES

Sincere condolences are offered to the widow and children of our friend and collegue Art McDowell. Brother McDowell was a long time and long standing member of L 189. Though his philosophy was different from many L 189 members, he was respected as a friend, a collegue, and a man of principle. He stood up for what he believed-a valued virtue.

It is ironical, but significant, that Brother McDowell was killed in an auto accident, while on his way to a union meeting. As labor educators we appreciate the demands and limitations of time and space, and our attempts to bridge the impossible. We know that he died in pursuit of his job and his union - and he accordingly has our fraternal respect.

CHAPTER REPORTS

WASHINGTON: The Chapter has embarked upon a series of activities. First, they continue to assist in the organizing campaign of the Washington Federation of Teachers. With member Jack Sessions on the School Board and other changes to the good, it appears as though a representation election between Local 6 and the NEA will be possible shortly. Secondly, a committee has been set up to develop recommendations for a labor history unit in the D. C. schools. Working on the suggested unit will be Bill Simons, Local 6 AFT President; Stuart Brock, Jackie Kienzle, Marjorie Rachlin and Gloria Johnson. This will be an AFT-Labor Council project.

Local 189 members continued to be of assistance to the various centers of the United Planning Organization (Poverty Organization). This included legal assistance, training of block leaders, developing a proposal for a non-advertising community newspaper. Several members served on the D. C. "Air Rights" committee.

Rogoff sums up by saying, "This one activity sums up our main interest. With our own city as the focus (Washington - since everything revolves around it, regardless of what suburb we live in) we perform vital gut work, get a better idea of big city problems, are better equipped to do our full time jobs and, perhaps selfishly satisfy the urge in all members of Local 189 not to stop at advising people all over the globe how to do things but to do some of them ourselves. Through these activities the "mysterious 'Labor-Negro-Liberal Alliance' begins to take shape."

WEST VIRGINIA: In the past several months the W. V. Chapter has: Assisted in the campaign to raise funds for the striking Local OCAW 3-89 on strike at Union Carbide They have been leading discussions concerning the possibility of establishing an AFT Local for the W. V. University Faculty. They have been a moving force in the re-organization and expansion of the West Virginia University Federal Credit Union.

CHICAGO: Joyce Miller, Education Director of the ACWA Midwest Joint Board, will head the new slate of officers for the Chicago Chapter. Serving with her will be Vice Chairman, Ed Disch; Recording Secretary, Ron Peters; Treasurer, Gil Cornfield; Delegate to Chicago Federation of Labor, Stan Rosen.

Ted Ruhig, Past Chairman and moving force in founding the Local was honored with a resolution commending his "accomplishments and dedication," and wishing him well in his new job as Executive Secretary for the Manpower Commission in Hawaii. A token of appreciation was presented to Ted by the group. Ted promised to help set up a Hawaii Chapter.

The labor history committee reported on plans for a fund-raising affair to be held in 1967. The proceeds from this affair would be shared by the Chicago Labor History Project and the Ethel Rogin Memorial Fund. The committee was given the go-ahead by the meeting. A committee was set up to discuss and evaluate educational programs and resources in the Chicago area. Appointed to Co-Chair the meeting were Pete Schnaufer and Ron Peters. The subject of the potential contribution of labor educators to the Civil Rights movement was discussed, and will be further discussed in detail at future meetings. Ray Dickow, urged support for the Annual Midwest Labor Press Debs Dinner to be held next June.

I U E: New officers of IUE Chapter are Chairman, Don Cagle; Vice-Chairman, Mel Warshaw; IUE Pension Board, Chuck Kimble.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

BILL ABBOTT, Education Director, URW, is on a year's leave of absence to help the University of Hawaii establish a Workers Education Program. He is working along with VIRGINIA HART....BERT GOTTLIEB, Industrial Engineer, AFL-CIO, Department of Research is a visiting Professor at Iowa for the 1966-67 academic year. He is working with the Center for Labor and Management....EDGAR R. CZARNECKI, Assistant Education and Research Director for the IBEW, has joined the Iowa Labor Education staff as Assistant Professor and Program Director of Labor Education....University of Missouri Labor Education Program announces several staff changes. Newly appointed are EDWARD S. GRIEG, with broad experience in Industrial Relations and STEVE COOK, who came to Missouri from the Bureau of Labor Management at Iowa. Steve has an M.A. in Industrial Relations. He will have primary responsibility for stewardship programs. Steve's father is the Vice-President of the International Association of Firefighters....CHARLES DAVIS is now the Labor Liason Representative for the Urban League in New York City. His address is 415 East 80th Street, Apt. 2 L, New York City....JACK WILKINSON is the new and (first) Director of Education for the Laborers International Union. He is a graduate of the Harvard Trade Union Program and holds a B.A. from the University of Missouri... JIM ROBINSON was elected Chairman of the ULEA for 1966-67....JERALD ROBINSON has been active in the formation of the newly formed Missouri Association of Consumers....EMANUEL MARAVCHIK was re-appointed to the Advisory Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training, by Willard Wirtz.... STEVE MAX participated in recent JLC National Session on "Student-Labor Relations" ....The University of Michigan-Wayne State Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations recently appointed LEW BURT and PRINCE MOON as Educational Co-ordinators. This was the first time in their history that men without an academic degree were named co-ordinators and given academic classifications. BURT AND MOON are fourth year students in the Labor School. Both BURT AND MOON were active in Detroit Union affairs....Three UAW Education publications of interest are- "Improve Education About Unions in the Schools," "Union Education - Pathway to a Better Local Union," and "UAW Mandate for Action - Educate - Education Report 20th UAW Convention."...."On the Line," a conversation with HARVEY SWADOS is available from U. S. Department of Labor....Useful implications for workers education.... The Painters Union has appointed JACK T. COX, Director of Research and Education.... A staff conference held by the Brick Clay Workers was the first since the union was chartered 70 years ago. It was arranged by PAUL PELFREY, President and former California Labor Educator and LARRY ROGIN....North Dakota AFL-CIO voted at their last convention to set up a Labor Education Program featuring week-long institutes....WALLY DOCKTOR, State President, was a guest at the 1966 Iowa Labor School....IRV KLASS, Editor of the Chicago Federation News was instrumental in making the papers of John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago AFL-CIO from 1904 to 1946 and Victor Orlander, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois AFL-CIO, available to the Chicago Historical Society. These will be available for researchers. Fitzpatrick was a fiery leader and organizer....WILLIAM ADELMAN, former President of the South Suburban Teachers Local (Chicago) has joined the staff of the Chicago Labor Education Program, ILIR, University of Illinois. BILL was formerly a Social Studies Teacher in Morton Junior High School....CARL MEGEL authors the lively and informative Washington Newsletter, 1343 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.....Labor Education in Israel is often described in the Histradut Photo News, 33 East 67th Street, New York City, 10021. GREGORY BARDACKE will prepare an article for a future edition describing and summarizing such activities....Along these lines HERB LEVINE AND JACK FLAGLER spent the summer in Israel teaching Labor Education courses....First student member is BURR ANGLE. He is a PH.D student, majoring in English, who taught Labor Education courses in Ethiopia for the Peace Corps....MELODY HEAPS, new Chicago member, active in the "Movement" in Chicago, working with the IUD Community Union. She is the daughter of Al Heaps of RWDSU....

Another new Chicago member is PAUL LAUTER, Peace Secretary, American Friends Service Committee...."Vietnam - Vital Issues in the Great Debate" is available in pamphlet form from Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46th Street, New York City, 10017....ALLAN SILBERMAN is going to Bonn as Labor Attache with State Department.... MIL LIEBERTHAL is spending a second year in D. C. working on Adult Basic Education Program - Office of Education....PAULA PALEY recently participated in ACWA Schools at Potosi, Missouri....JOE SMOLON AND HIS WIFE PHYLISS were recently featured in a two-page spread in the Sunday Hartford Courant. The story was entitled "Yankee in Mississippi," and dealt with one of the AFT Freedom Schools. Copies available from Joe....Adult Education gets a good going over, with lots of statistics and materials useful to Labor Educators in the book, "Volunteers for Learning" by Johnstone and Rivera. The miniscule audience being reached is pathetic...."Labor Faces the New Age," is a useful and readable handbook on ILO Educational Activities, recently distributed by AFL-CIO....Labor History buffs will find "Radicalism in America," by Sid Lens, a useful and spirited book....Labor history is tied into the general radical tradition in America....MARILYN ROSE is with HEW in charge of a section evaluating health institution performance under Title VI Guidelines.... STAN ROSEN and wife recently welcomed a new addition to the family - Joshua Nathan ....RUTH WIENCEK is recuperating at home from a fall off a ladder while painting her house. She hopes to have the casts off her hand and leg shortly. Ruth is very proud of an IUE Publication she developed entitled, "IUE Members Guide - College Education Financing. In less than 3 months, over 4,000 copies have been sent out to IUE Activists - mostly upon request. It is an attractive and useful handbook....JIM WILLIAMS is very active in the D. C. Huelga Committee, aimed at helping the farm workers....DON WASSERMAN was one of the key guys in the very successful and path-breaking 11 Union Joint GE Bargaining....J. ARNOLD FELDMAN, recently sworn in as an Equal Opportunity Compliance Officer in the Office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor for Equal Opportunity....Records of the Play, "The Cradle Will Rock," 1930's labor play by Blitzstein, can be purchased from American Legacy Records, 13100 Nassau Bay Drive #12, Houston, Texas for $5.95 -- a collector's item....MILES GALVIN is on a year's leave of absence at the University of Wisconsin. He is working on a degree. He can be reached at the School for Workers....ARCHIE GREEN and the New Lost City Ramblers recently presented a program at the Smithsonian Institute....ACLU National Newsletter is out in an enlarged newspaper format - their membership is growing...."Survey of Teachers Salaries," prepared by Pete Schnauffer and his staff is off the presses - with more information and more coverage available from AFT....BOB LIEBERMAN recently appointed AFT Director of Publicity....BOB REPAS, who keeps all the promises he makes, recently distributed a fact sheet containing Union Convention resolutions, films, and program materials dealing with Vietnam. This was an outgrowth of the Vietnam Discussion attended by over 60 persons at the 1966 Detroit Labor Educators Meeting....GUS TYLER sounds off in "Labor's New Horizons," in September 1966 Federationist....CONNIE KOPELOV is featured in a photo on the first page of Advance, September 1, 1966. She is shown speaking to a Team of Turkish Women Trade Unionists....A missplaced news item notes that JIM ROBINSON was married back in April 1965. Congratulations....JIM recently answered an ignorant and malicious attach on labor education written by Thomas Linton, "Reality and Distortion in the Articles on Labor Education." It appeared in the June edition of Adult Education. Jim's letter appeared the next month and laid down the gauntlet....The State Convention of the Washington AFL-CIO voted to appoint a full time specialist in workers education and to develop special programs to reach high school and college students....FRED SCHMIDT brings our attention to the book, "Labor and Learning: Public School Treatment of the World of Work," by Will Scoggins. Availaboe for $2.00 from Center for Labor Research and Education, Institute of Industrial Relations - U. of C., Los Angeles, 24, California,...This study verifies and documents the shabby treatment of unions and

work in the Los Angeles schools - a reading must....Copies of a paper, "The Recruitment and Training of Labor Educators" svailable to interested persons, from Stan Rosen....Convention Edition of "Changing Education," AFT magazine is a useful guide to AFT history...."Songs of Coal," a new record by JOE GLAZER available from Sound Studios, Inc., 306 Sixth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. for $4.00, includes 14 miners songs...."Problems Confronting Union Organizations in Public Employment," available from Ohio State Labor Education and Research Service....papers presented at April meeting in Detroit-bound....C. J. SLANICKA is recuperating from a heart attach suffered this summer....GEORGE GUERNSEY'S son, Tom, was one of those featured in an article about the "Hangmen" - a Washington Beatle-type musical group. The article appeared in the Sunday Washington Star, May 8, 1966. The Hangmen were also mentioned in an article in Newsweek entitled, "Washington Swinging Scene," June 20, 1966. Tom is also making some records....STEVE MAX, Field Secretary of League for Industrial Democracy, writes a column "From the Field," for LID News Bulletin....TOM COSGROVE highlights labor's role in poverty in an article entitled "Union People are Old Veterans of Fighting Poverty, Praised for Work on Programs," in the August 1966 edition of the Brewery Worker....STEVE REMSEN, well-known in New York, and New Jersey labor circles has recently been appointed Director of the Department of Education, Textile Workers Union of America....TOM MIECHER and the importance and value of workers education was recently highlighted in the Monthly Message of President Felix Jones, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers. The editorial was entitled "Union Training Activities"...."War and the Domestic Scene-What Role For Teachers," was the subject of a meeting held one evening at the AFT Convention. The meeting was sponsored by the AFS with the assistance of Teachers Committee For Peace in Vietnam, 5 Beekman Street, Room 1027, New York City, 10038. Literature available on request....BEN SEGAL delivered a short and hard-hitting talk at the AFT Civil Rights Luncheon at the AFT Convention. He shared the platform with Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph and President Charles Cogen....Panels on Education in a Changing World, Monday, August 22nd, featured STAN ROSEN, NORM HILL, TOM COSGROVE AND MIL LIEBERTHAL....JIM WOLFE is shown in a photo showing the first Quaker Oats School (AFL-CIO News July 2, 1966)....Unionists in New York and Chicago concerned with world peace are encouraged by the Organization of a Trade Union Committee of SANE. For further information, contact: Moe Fener, Executive Secretary, L 1199, RWDSU, 709 8th Avenue, New York, 10036....JOE MIRO, Executive Director, NILE, has been appointed a Professor of Research in the Department of Economics at American University....MARK STARR keeping up his hectic pace, spreading the gospel of Esperante. He is traveling to Japan, Budapest, Yugoslavia, United Kingdom to Esperante meetings. He complains in a letter that "I am running into the unbreakable rule of the New York Board of Education, that a person over 70 can only serve as a volunteer teacher.".... BILL KEMSLEY has sold his country store which is rumored to have become a booming success. He has volunteered to whip up an occasional ICFTU column on labor education and we welcome his contribution. Bill too, is "retired," but keeps up a hectic pace. He is a Consultant for OEO, Department of Labor and is developing educational tours...."The American Way in Labor Education," is available in reprint form from Cornell (by Lois Grey)....A new film about Joe Hill is in the works. For details contact Barry Arlen Nichols, Vir-Ed Productions, 6311 Yucca Street, Hollywood, California 90028. It looks like a good film...."Please Come to Order" - The Final Word in Parliamentary Procedure, by BYRL WHITNEY is available in book form for $1.95 from Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 22003. (added easy reference chart was sent out with last mailing....Steel Labor, August, 1966, features an article entitled "Staff Training Institute Lists 7 Classes for 66-67." Programs are headed by FRED HOEHLER.

A REPORT FROM 1966 LABOR INTERN - HAROLD ALPERT

Harold Alpert, 33-year-old unionist from Connecticut, was the recipient of the second Local 189 Labor Education Internship. Below are included some of Brother Alpert's impressions of the 8-week training program.

To Brother Alpert, "The eight weeks of the internship was an experience unlike any I've ever had before. It was educational, enlightening, broadening and enjoyable. I met many members of Local 189 and was extremely impressed by the fact that almost without exception, the members of 189 are dedicated, competent and liberals. They are also some of the nicest people I have met."

Alpert commented on the value of having the opportunity to learn more about the AFL-CIO by his visit to Washington. He indicated the value of learning how to prepare teaching lesson plans, but urged that future programs for unionists spend more time on this subject. He felt that spending four weeks at one university, the University of Wisconsin was valuable, since he had an opportunity to observe and participate in various different institutes. He was active in administration and teaching in these programs.

The week in Texas was enjoyable and enlightening but provided only limited activities to observe and participate in actual on-going activities. His visit to St. Louis was highly rewarding and fruitful, with time spent with the ACWA, Local 688 Teamsters and the Missouri Labor Education Program.

Alpert observed that a week spent with a civil rights or similar type social action organization would have enriched the program.

Alpert summarized his comments by expressing appreciation to all those people who participated and aided him in the 8-week program. He appreciated the consideration and personal attention that he received from all. He paid special tribute to Norris Tibbetts, Joe and Jean Suarez, Jackie Kienzle, Hoagy Young and Marge Rachlin. He noted, "I owe a debt of special gratitude to Owen Tapper and the West Allis Firefighters who were kind enough to allow me to join them in picketing City Hall. Above all, special thanks to Ruth Wiencek, without whose inspiration and help I could never have gotten the internship. I hope that I can be as dedicated and as liberal and almost as competent as the members of Local 189 I have met this summer."

Brother Alpert's report of Activities since he has returned to Bridgeport indicate that he has already put much of his training to work. It is hoped that sometime in the near future, he will find an appropriate and challenging position in workers education.

The 1966 Labor internship committee was made up of Marge Rachlin, Larry Rogin, Norris Tibetts, Jacqueline Kienzle and Oliver Petersen. Plans are moving ahead for the development of a 1967 internship. Specifics will be discussed at the Winter Executive Board Meeting.

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RUSKIN GRANTS AVAILABLE

Union members interested in doing research connected with either Ruskin College or The London School of Economics both in England, are invited to apply for Senior Fulbright Fellowships.

The rule permits considerable flexibility as to the kind of project which can be submitted and the time which may be as short as three months or as long as nine months.

Application papers may be obtained from Dr. Francis A. Young, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Donstitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418.

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ICFTU EDUCATION NEWS

BY BILL KEMSLEY

ICFTU's new pamphlet, "Trade Union Strategy", outlines the various steps union can take to achieve their objectives. Available at 25¢ per copy from the ICFTU New York Office.....HANS GETTFURCHT, former ICFTU Assistant General Secretary has published a new history of the international trade union movement in German.....Fifty union leaders from Libya and Tunisia attended a two-week course in Tunisia co-sponsored by Tunisian UGTT and ICFTU....J. O. METTLE, ICFTU African Labour College staffer has directed an ICFTU seminar for top officials of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of Liberia during first two weeks of August. August 1 to 20 were the dates of ICFTU seminar at Tananarive directed by Yair Levi, Education Representative of Histadrut, for 24 union leaders from all parts of the Malagasy Republic....The General Federation of Labour of Congo-Kinshasa (FGTK) announces establishment of a special department in the fields of research, documentation and information....The ICFTU African Labour College has published another pamphlet in Swahili entitled "Fedha Za Chama" (Trade Union Finances) available for $1.00 from the College, P. O. Box 3337, Kampala, Uganda....P. P. NARAYANAN, Vice President, ICFTU's Asian Regional Organization, lectured at a seminar on unions and co-operation attended by 31 unionists from 11 countries, co-sponsored by the Malaysian Trades Union Congress and the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, held August 2 to 20 at University of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur....ORIT was represented by Alfredo Fidanza at an AIFLD-sponsored union course held at Colonia John F. Kennedy, near Santiago, Chile, and attended by 35 officials of the Chilean Agricultural Workers Union (MCI).

This will be a periodic column.

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AFT 189

MINUTES

SPRING MEETING - LOCAL 189, AFT
EDGEWATER BEACH HOTEL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
APRIL 27, 1967

In Chicago, Local 189 members:

- Heard AFT President Cogen urge 189 members to act as "catalysts" to stimulate AFT education activities.
- Presented Hoagy Young with a watch inscribed with "How does this grab you."
- Appointed Joe Smolen to the 189 Civil Rights Committee.
- Heard the report of the Internship Committee
- Adopted a resolution on Vietnam.
- Nominated officers.

LOOK INSIDE...

MINUTES

Spring Meeting - Local 189, AFT
Edgewater Beach Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

April 27, 1967

President Jim Wolfe called the meeting to order at 8:30 p.m. Some 75-80 members and guests were present.

The Recording Secretary summarized the Minutes of the Winter Meeting. The Minutes were accepted.

The Financial Secretary, Owen Tapper, then reported on Local 189 finances. The report, below, was distributed. Tapper stated that receipts from dues were coming in and the Local would soon be more solvent. He also indicated that the 1966 financial report would soon be mailed to all members. The report was accepted.

INCOME AND EXPENSE TRENDS
November 1, 1966 - March 31, 1967

INCOME				
11/1/66	Bank Balance	0.00	Outstanding Indebtedness	$2223.36
Nov.	1966	$1264.30		
Dec.	1966	956.05		
Jan.	1967	921.00		
Feb.	1967	987.80		
Mar.	1967	1356.10		
11/1/66 - 3/31/67		$5485.25		

EXPENSES (11/1/66 - 3/31/67)

OUTSTANDING BILLS PAID		$1544.56
Current Expenses		
Bank charges	$ 10.19	
Duplicating, supplies	137.91	
Per Capita	1152.80	
Postage	222.50	
Directory (1967)	147.37	
Chapter Rebates	287.25	
INTERN (1967)	68.00	
Miscellaneous	73.44	
Winter Meeting	274.96	
	$2374.42	2374.42
		$3918.98

Bank Balance (3/31/67) $1566.27

Outstanding Indebtedness 678.80

COGEN SPEAKS

As a special order of business, Charles Cogen, President of the AFT, addressed the group. He discussed the rapid growth of AFT and its potential for 2 million members. He reported that AFT has "swept the field" in the big cities and cited the Washington collective bargaining victory as the most recent accomplishment.

Cogen covered a wide area of subject matter, including: AFT Structure; the newly established AFT Public Review Board; the newly developed State Organization Division of AFT; and the "More effective Schools Program".

He noted Local 189 resolutions passed at the past convention provide a basis for future action and co-operation. He called upon Local 189 and its members to apply their expert skills to help train new teacher unionists in collective bargaining, grievance handling and other similar skills. Moreover, he urged Local 189 members to act as "catalysts" in stimulating AFT activities in the education area.

He noted that the "utopian" idea of establishing an AFT Leadership Training School was "on the drawing boards" and hopefully in the near future it would become a reality.

RESOLUTION

Joan Suarez, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, followed Cogen to the podium. On behalf of the Resolutions Committee she presented a special resolution dealing with AFT and Local 189 cooperation.

Connie Kopelov, speaking on the motion, reported that a dialogue had been established between a Local 189 Committee and AFT Leadership. They are exploring ways in which they can cooperate on projects more successfully.

Stan Rosen commented on the good relationships he has had with AFT staff. He pointed to the help given him in developing the recent special issue of Labor Education News.

The motion was to adopt the resolution. Adopted.
(See attached for full text.)

C.O.P.E., TOO

Al Wickman, C.O.P.E. Chairman, noted that AFT-PAC had sent him 50 C.O.P.E. tickets which he quickly passed about. Fifty-two dollars were collected which was promptly mailed to Robert Porter, AFT Secretary-Treasurer.

WATCH FOR YOUNG

A special order of business followed. A watch was presented to Holgate Young, former Financial Secretary and long-time Local 189 activist. The presentation was made by Jim Wolfe with Charles Cogen participating. The watch was inscribed "How does this grab you? -- Local 189, AFT." (for an explanation wire Jim Wolfe collect).

LOCAL 189 ORGANIZATION

Harvey Friedman, Chairman, indicated that letters had been sent out to university labor educators who were not members of Local 189. The next mailing is to go to union labor educators who are not members. Other membership building activities are planned.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Joe Smolen was appointed by Jim Wolfe to be the Chairman of the Local 189 Civil Rights Committee. Committee members are now being solicited. It is expected that the Committee will promote the AFT Freedom Schools as well as other areas.

SALARY SURVEY

Ted F. Silvey has consented to bring the Union Labor Educator wage and salary survey up to date. He will work with Larry Rogin who is also interested in obtaining this type of information for his NILE Survey.

PENSIONS

Earl Kipp is exploring the feasibility of a trust or pension plan for Local 189 members. The meeting instructed him to canvass the members with a specific proposal to gauge interest.

THE HISTORY OF WORKERS EDUCATION

Oliver Peterson, Chairman, was not in attendance. An excellent report, prepared by him, stating the accomplishments, problems and goals of the Committee, was distributed to the members. Larry Rogin commented that the Committee was continuing its work. (See attached History Committee Report).

JOB CLEARINGHOUSE

Chairman Jackie Kienzle sent a report that the service was functioning. She urged those seeking jobs and those seeking workers to keep in touch with her. Inquiries are welcome.

THE LABOR INTERNSHIP

Owen Tapper reported for Hervey Juris, Chairman. He noted that 85 inquiries were received by the Committee this year. Forty-four completed applications were filed. Both figures are slightly higher than last year. Several of the applicants are very well qualified. At the time of the meeting the Committee had not yet chosen the 1967 Intern, but the choice had been narrowed down to a few.

CHAPTER REPORTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Chapter remains active participating in training of Neighborhood workers in the City, participating in the Central Body Education Program, assisting AFT in D. C. and helping striking Suburban Hospital workers.

IUE

Don Cagle, formerly with the IUE Chapter indicated that the Bargaining Chapter was at a standstill. President Wolfe was commissioned to investigate the situation with an eye to providing appropriate assistance to the membership there.

CHICAGO

Joyce Miller reported on a letter sent to Governor Hughes of New Jersey concerning jailed AFT members and letter received in return. Labor History project still in the planning stages.

WEST VIRGINIA

Jack MacKenzie reported on the active program in West Virginia and introduced Glen Armstrong from the West Virginia Labor Federation.

MINNESOTA

Martin Duffy reported that the Minnesota Chapter had just been organized. It is on a membership building campaign and is planning future activities.

WISCONSIN AND OHIO

Both Chapters are in the process of organizing themselves for activity.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE REPORT

Holgate Young reported on the recent changes to the Local 189 Constitution. He reported that all three amendments (change in AFT dues category, wider Executive Board representation and affiliation requirements of Chapters) were ratified by the membership. He explained the effects of the changes.

In line with this report, Jim Wolfe was asked to establish a Committee which would explore and develop standard by-laws and operating rules for the Chapters.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Jack MacKenzie read the report and recommendations of the Nominating Committee. Nominations were then requested from the floor. The following persons have been nominated for the offices indicated and their names will appear on the official ballot to be mailed soon.

OFFICE	CANDIDATE(S)	AFFILIATION (for identification only)
PRESIDENT (1)	JAMES WOLFE	Education Director Brewery Workers
SECRETARY (1)	STANLEY ROSEN	University of Illinois
VICE PRESIDENTS (4)	STUART BROCK	Education Department AFL-CIO
	JOAN SUAREZ	Amalgamated Clothing Workers
	HARVEY FRIEDMAN	University of Massachusetts
	ELEANOR COIT	Retired
TREASURER (1)	OWEN TAPPER	University of Wisconsin
DELEGATES TO THE AFT AUGUST CONVENTION (9)	STANLEY ROSEN	University of Illinois
	JAMES WOLFE	Brewery Workers
	MARVIN ROGOFF	OEO
	STUART BROCK	AFL-CIO
	RUTH WIENCEK	IUE
	LEE B. STANLEY	ILO
	JACOB SCHLITT	U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
	DORIS GIBSON	AFL-CIO
	JOHN MAC KENZIE	West Virginia University

The following accepted nomination for the office of regional Executive Board member. Their names will appear on the ballot and all members may vote.

REGION	CANDIDATE(S)	AFFILIATION
NORTHEAST (1)	BILL KEMSLEY	Free Lance Educator, Writer, Lecturer
	IRV ROSENSTEIN	Philadelphia School Board
	MARK BROWN	Pennsylvania State University
	HAL ALPERT	IUE Local 244
MOUNTAIN (1)	AL WICKMAN	Oil, Chemical, Atomic Workers

REGION	CANDIDATE(S)	AFFILIATION
GREAT LAKES (1)	DUANE BEELER	Roosevelt University
	PAULA PALEY	UAW
	BOB LIEBERMAN	AFT
MIDWEST(1)	STEVE COOK	University of Missouri
FAR WEST (1)	JACK BLACKBURN	UCLA
SOUTHEAST (1)	ROGER RINES	West Virginia University
	FRANCIS DUGGAN	Texas AFL-CIO
POTOMAC (1)	CHRIS PILURAS	IAM

RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS

RESOLUTION ON LABOR PRESS: Adopted. (See attached).

RESOLUTION COMMENDING AFT: Adopted. (See attached).

RESOLUTION ON AFT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT: Adopted. (See attached).

RESOLUTION ON VIETMAN: Adopted. (See attached).

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO AFT CONSTITUTION: Referred to Winter Meeting. (See attached).

This amendment was proposed by Brother Edelstein of DeKalb, Illinois. He is invited to use the columns of the newsletter to present his case for this amendment.

VIETNAM

The only resolution to draw controversy was the resolution on Vietnam.

Paul Booth offered to amend the resolution by adding a whereas which called on 189 members and AFT to withhold their votes from President Johnson in 1968 because of his Vietnam policy. After vigorous discussion, this amendment was defeated in a close vote.

Irv Brotslaw offered a milder amendment to emphasize the seriousness of the intention of the resolution. This amendment, too, in a close vote, was defeated.

The basic resolution, as submitted by the Committee was adopted by the body.

Several questions were asked from the floor. The meeting was adjourned at 10:55 P.M. and was followed by a few drinks at a cash bar and considerable informal conversation.

Fraternally submitted,

Stan Rosen, Recording Secretary

RESOLUTION

AFT AND LOCAL 189 COOPERATION

WHEREAS Local 189 members can play a key role in bringing the case for teacher unionism to trade unionists;

WHEREAS Local 189 members and AFT members share a deep concern for the need to improve and expand public education;

WHEREAS teachers are a valuable resource for unions who wish to build understanding and concern of the needs of our public education system;

WHEREAS members of Local 189 are an important source for teachers of information on the labor movement

BE IT RESOLVED -

1. That Local 189 continue efforts to expand cooperation and joint activities with the AFT;

2. That the AFT take additional steps to encourage participation by AFT local unions in AFL-CIO city and state central bodies with special emphasis on the formation of education committees in those bodies;

3. That Local 189 recommends that proposals outlining areas of cooperation between Local 189 and AFT be prepared and that Local 189 request the opportunity to present these to the Executive Board of the AFT.

4. That Local 189 Executive Board be directed to set up a Committee to explore the possibilities of establishing an annual Workers Education Conference of the American Federation of Teachers as a service of Local 189 for other affiliated AFT local unions; and that this Committee be directed to report on this project at the next Winter meeting of Local 189.

Adopted: April 27, 1967
Chicago, Illinois

Local 189, AFT

Committee on

History of Workers' Education

We are confronted here with the open-ended job of locating and preserving material bearing on both past and current experience in Workers' Education, material useful to writers and researchers as well as to labor educators.

Material related to current and on-going experience may appear to be of relatively less importance but it should not be neglected. We may have all the historically significant records from the work of a Mark Starr but if so we are luckier than we deserve to be. Those who make history shouldn't be required to write it but in this field we should like to make them at least a little bit "history conscious" and thus assure the preservation of records and materials no longer essential to their programs but very important as history. The Committee hopes to develop a set of suggestions on this for unions and for labor education practitioners and welcomes ideas from others. As a matter of fact, there is no limitation on the size of the Committee and we urge the continuing participation of any 189er who is interested.

Some modest beginnings have been made on the other part of the Committee's task, that of contributing to the over-all job of identifying, locating and preserving materials relating to earlier activities in the field. It is important that we recognize we are only contributing to the job. Even if we were archivists and historians we do not have the staff or the facilities for assembling the variety and quantity of material involved, including information still in the minds of labor educators and materials now in their attics or to be rescued from filing cabinets needed in current operations

Last October the then chairman of the Committee, Ernestine Friedman, sent letters to a number of organizations and institutions possibly interested in the history of labor education and we have received some extremely interesting and useful replies. Noteworthy for their expressions of interest and for information on their present holdings were the replies from the Wisconsin Historical Society, The University of Wisconsin, Wayne State University, National Archives and Tennessee State Library and Archives. The West Virginia University Library expressed an interest in the project as a whole and, in addition, offered to serve as a repository for material on the history of Local 189. This offer has been referred to the Board of Local 189 for consideration.

Some of the collections covered in the above replies are described also in the article by Wisconsin State Archivist Gerald Ham in the Fall 1966 issue of Labor History and the following items may be noted in addition:

> Sorted and classified material from American Labor Education Service (125 boxes), at the Documentation Center of the New York State School of Labor and Industrial Relations at Cornell. As a part of that collection, Eleanor Coit and Marie Algor have written a 130 page report of ALES.
>
> Duplicates of some of the ALES material, plus material on summer schools as well as records of the YWCA Industrial Department, at the Smith College Archives of Women's Activities in the United States.

It is apparent from the foregoing that we are not lacking in repositories and that we should not lightly undertake a collecting job, even if we had the facilities and the expertise. And it may well be that, for the present, the Committee should not be thinking of writing history, that it should only promote the assembling of materials at appropriate repositories and assist in the development of minimum standards for their maintenance and use.

There would be little point in collecting material without adequate provision for continuing use, by direct reference or, when necessary, through photo copying.

This leads to the question of what repositories, if any, the Committee should recommend to organizations and individuals with eligible materials and it is recognized that there is no simple answer. The Committee welcomes suggestions on this and the Board of Local 189 will be asked to establish a policy.

One of the early suggestions to the Committee was the taping of interviews with labor educators who are or were too busy to write the history they have made and here again we recognize our limitations. There are oral history programs with facilities and expertise far beyond any that we could develop. It may be that we should concentrate on the identification of such programs and on assisting them in the selection of interviewees and interviewers, with suggestions on procedures and possibly questions and outlines for interviews. There may be occasions when labor education could be made a distinct part of a general interview and we want to be in a position to alert oral history interviewers to such possibilities. It should be emphasized that in may instances, we may not be interested in oral history as such. Our primary concern is with the recording, for later transcription, of material that would certainly be lost if we were to rely only on the written word. Again, the Committee is looking for suggestions and for sub-committee volunteers.

It has been suggested that we give thought to the development of guidelines for the analysis of the material in the field in order to facilitate its use by writers and researchers as well as practitioners. Two approaches to such an undertaking are under consideration and they may lead to still others.

One is the straight chronological approach, identifying and describing distinct periods in the development of workers' education in the U. S. The other approach would concern itself with areas of special interest such as labor education and civil rights, tool courses, teaching methods, curriculum development, foreign contributions to labor education in the U. S. These are only suggestive of the variety and the number of areas that could be listed.

While the Committee is not establishing an archive it is recognized that interested individuals may wish to send in useful items that turn up and could be easily mislaid and lost. They may be sent to the Committee, care of the National Institute of Labor Education, The American University, 1911 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006, where limited desk and shelf space has been made available. It is hoped that a policy can be developed soon on the disposition of relatively bulky items and collections and in the meantime the Committee should be happy to learn of their existence. Interested individuals should feel free to make contributions of material and ideas and not wait for formal announcement of a program developed in all of its details.

Especially welcome here would be copies of or references to critical and analytical writings such as the article by Amy Hewes on "Early Experiments in Workers' Education" in the Summer 1956 issue of Adult Education. Another example of this is a 1966 article by Hilda Smith on "Labor Education History--Past, Present and Future" written for Labor Education News. There may be additional items of this nature on state and local as well as national programs that should be brought to the attention of the Committee.

Many program details are dependent on the size and strength of the Committee and volunteers are encouraged to come forward for single one-shot

operations or for continuing activity. Ernestine Friedman has unloaded the chairmanship but remains with a number of others as an active member of the Committee and there is work for many more.

Reference has been made to matters calling for action by the Board of Local 189. It is obvious that a committee cannot speak for the Local in matters such as those mentioned but it is equally obvious that the officers of the Local should not be bothered with routine matters and it is hoped that some general guidelines can be developed at the Spring Meeting if not before.

Oliver A. Peterson, Committee Chairman
c/o School of International Service
The American University
Washington, D. C. 20016
February 1967

RESOLUTION ON LABOR PRESS

WHEREAS: The labor press has provided increasing and more extensive coverage on labor education activities and related labor education topics;

WHEREAS: Through special feature stories and articles the labor press has dealt creatively and in depth on issues such as labor history and labor teaching in the schools.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Local 189 commend this type of activity and urge its expansion;

that Local 189 express its willingness to cooperate with labor editors in pursuing these goals by providing materials for articles, feature stories, and so forth;

that the officers of Local 189 be commissioned to explore the possibilities for joint activities with ILPA;

that this resolution be transmitted to ILPA, the leadership organization of the labor press.

Adopted: April 27, 1967
Chicago, Illinois

RESOLUTION COMMENDING AFT

WHEREAS the Conference on Racism in Education sponsored by the AFT made a major contribution toward discussion and action on this important issue;

WHEREAS the Conference on Racism in Education was informative, provocative, well organized and has led to continued activity and concern about the omissions and distortions of the role of the Negro in America.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Local 189 commends the AFT for its sponsorship of the Conference on Racism in Education.

FOR AN AFT UNION EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Whereas: It has been demonstrated that union education provides union members the opportunity to systematically think about the problems they confront in performing their union leadership jobs.

Whereas: Disseminating trade union principles among members of the AFT is important to the whole labor movement because of the key role AFT members hold in their communities.

Whereas: Considering the skills available among AFT members enabling them to effectually utilize education materials and concepts, an education program in the AFT could be very effective.

Whereas: AFT local officers, chairman, and members are daily meeting difficult and perplexing problems as they build a trade union among those who work in education.

Whereas: The Union could do a great service for its members and the labor movement by preparing information, outlines, units, fact sheets, films, summaries, reading lists, and other materials and arrange discussions, classes, and other education activities to deal with the information and skills needed by AFT members in building a strong union.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the AFT Executive Board establish an AFT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, whose role it is to see that education activities in the union are encouraged and assisted.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the AFT Convention each year include a UNION EDUCATION COMMITTEE to review the education activities of the AFT and to aid their development.

RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

WHEREAS, the continuing escalation of hostilities in Vietnam has brought increasing death and destruction to both the American and the Vietnamese peoples; and

WHEREAS, these hostilities have provided employers and government officials with the opportunity and excuse to thwart the legitimate aims of the labor movement through invoking injunctions in the name of "The National Emergency" under the Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, war hits union members and the children of working people hardest of all since they provide the cannon fodder for the armed forces, and

WHEREAS, the material costs of the fighting are destroying many of the domestic and foreign programs such as foreign aid, the fight against poverty, the anti-pollution campaigns and others, the success of which would provide much better arguments for freedom and our way of life than military destruction, and

WHEREAS, the gulf between the United States' avowed policy of seeking peace and the reality of its military commitment to winning the war has continued to widen, and the awareness of this disparity has grown on the part of citizens of all countries; therefore be it

RESOLVED: The Workers Education Local 189, AFT, urges the United States government to accept the proposals of United Nations Secretary U. Thant for an immediate cessation of the bombings North and South, for negotiations involving all parties in the conflict and for a return to the principles of the Geneva accords of 1954; and be it further

RESOLVED: That Local 189 forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President and Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers, and the President and Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

Copies to: Press
Labor Press
Trade Union Committee for SANE

ADOPTED: April 27, 1967
Chicago, Illinois

je:afscme#171

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE AFT CONSTITUTION

(Article VI, Section 3 - Nomination and Election Procedures)

"The Convention shall elect the President, Secretary-Treasurer and all other full-time national officers to be chosen by the Convention under a system of preferential voting (single transferable votes), an absolute majority of the count being required for election."

(Note: There will always be an absolute majority obtained under this system, since the count continues (if necessary) until an absolute majority of the count is obtained. The system is fairly common in professional associations in the U.S., and in British unions.

Modern methods of counting punch cards or IBM answer sheets can easily be adapted to counting the votes -- if they have not already been.)

"The Convention shall elect the national executive council by proportional representation (single transferable votes, Droop quota *), votes being cast for individual candidates."

(Note *
The Droop quota is "one vote more than the number obtained by dividing the total number of valid votes by one more than the number of seats to be filled." It is specified in Enid Lakeman and James D. Lambert, Voting in Democracies, London: Faber and Faber, 1959, p. 131.)

BASIC ARGUMENTS FOR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF NATL. EXEC. COMM., AFT, AND BASIS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT:

1. It is widely recognized that the current system (voting "X" for up to several or more candidates in simultaneous elections) LEADS TO WINNER TAKE ALL, WHEN PARTIES OR FACTIONS DOMINATE THE ELECTION, AND WHEN VOTING STRENGTHS ARE NOT QUITE CLOSE.

2. It is questionable that a PARTY SYSTEM in a UNION can survive long when when even relatively strong minorities cannot gain representation on the natl. executive.

3. Proportional representation would be a GOOD EXAMPLE for other unions in which (in some cases at least) oligarchy has been maintained in part by just such an electoral system as now exists in the AFT!

4. The most suitable opposition, or potential opposition, may often be (and probably now is) WITHIN THE MAJORITY PARTY. The present system tends to (a) unite majority members when they might not or should not be united; (b) keeps independent-minded majority members of the exec. in line, since they require majority-party endorsement in the next election. (Local 189), in particular, might prefer to have a different type of opposition than we now have; at least, the writer hopes so.)

5. Smaller locals now opportunistically get behind the major party, since there is no other way that they can see which will get them their special interests. This makes for (a) unnecessary horse-trading; and (b) conservatism, since these special interests are forced to operate within the strongest tendency. This COULD support oligarchy, later.

6. Greater independence of exec. comm. members will build them up to be potential competitors for the presidency, which no doubt some of them deserve to be. (See also point 4) At any rate, the most appropriate challenge may not be from any existing minority party leader.

7. Voters may reward and punish within their own party slates, under proportional representation. In other words, unpopular candidates WITHIN slates can be by-passed, in favor of more acceptable (to the voter) candidates of the same party. Lack of acceptability, with consequent defeat, may change the complexion of the parties themselves, and -- at least sometimes -- accomplish a transition to a new policy without major electoral upsets, over a period of time. (Electoral upsets are not presumed to be bad -- just difficult. And sometimes they are bad, from the point of view of the voter who on the whole likes the majority tendency.)

8. The union is heterogeneous in many respects, and voters with interests in common may be stirred by candidates or issues which neither party has paid much attention to. The heterogeneity is occupational, and regional, obviously; and no doubt to some extent political, using the term broadly.

11/30 19 68 No. 1843

Received of Emory Via

Eighty Four + 50/100 Dollars

Farm (Grape) Strikers

$84.50

OAT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
OWEN TAPPER, FINANCIAL SECRETARY
580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

File
AFT-189

STAMP

Local 189, AFT is the membership organization of staff in union education.

Local 189, AFT — conducts projects to advance education in the labor movement.

— encourages collective bargaining by professionals.

— supports trade unionism in public education through affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers.

$1 of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to the American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO.

25¢ of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to your 189 Area Chapter or Bargaining Chapter, where organized.

To: Emory Via

Your Local 189 dues are paid through DEC 1968 $ 60 will pay your dues for the next 1 year period. Please mark on the blank below the amount you are enclosing and any of the other information which may be of interest to members of the local. Return this envelope with your check. Check proper categories below.

Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

CHECK ONE	Local 189 Membership Dues		Monthly	1 Year	6 Months
☐	STANDARD dues: Salary of	☐ $12,000 or more	5.00	60.00	30.00
		☐ $10,000 to $11,999	3.50	42.00	21.00
		☐ $ 8,000 to $ 9,999	3.00	36.00	18.00
		☐ Less than $ 8,000	2.50	30.00	15.00
☐	If another union is your collective bargaining representative with your present employer write the name of the union here and use these rates:	☐ $12,000 or more	4.25	51.00	25.50
		☐ $10,000 to $11,999	2.75	33.00	16.50
		☐ $ 8,000 to $ 9,999	2.25	27.00	13.50
		☐ Less than $ 8,000	1.75	21.00	10.50
	I am represented by: Local _____ Union _____				
☐	If you currently belong to another AFT local write the name of the local here and use these rates:	☐ $12,000 or more	4.00	48.00	24.00
		☐ $10,000 to $11,999	2.50	30.00	15.00
		☐ $ 8,000 to $ 9,999	2.00	24.00	12.00
		☐ Less than $ 8,000	1.50	18.00	9.00
	I belong to AFT Local _____ City _____				
☐	If Local 189 is your collective bargaining representative your dues are: Bargaining group: _____		5.00	60.00	30.00
☐	STUDENT RATE: If you are a full time student or an unpaid community action worker, your dues are: School _____ Seeking: BA MA PhD		.40	4.80	2.40
			Effective January 1, 1968		

To Local 189, AFT:

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ 12 months _____ 6 months dues. I've checked my dues category above.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION – Please pass on to the appropriate chairman:

☐ Send a Local 189 membership application to: Name .....

Address .....

☐ Please correct your mailing list, as follows: (WRITE CORRECTION HERE) .....

☐ I am now working for: (If you have recently changed)

Employer ..... Your title .....

☐ JOB CLEARINGHOUSE: Here is information about _____ an opening _____ a person interested in a position:

☐ NEWSLETTER. Here's an item for the next issue: (Please enclose in envelope)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

1968 Financial Report

Bank Balance (1/1/68)		$ 2,172.78
Income		
Dues	$10,352.10	
Winter Meeting Receipts (Chicago)	340.50	
COPE Collection	10.00	
Farm Workers Collection	84.50	
AFT Militancy Fund Collection	662.69	
Other	6.00	
	$11,455.79	11,455.79
		$13,628.57
Expenditures		
Per Capita to AFT	$ 2,731.75	
Postage	570.57	
Duplicating and Supplies	977.34	
Intern (Scholarship & Expenses)	1,216.65	
Directory	753.00	
Labor Education News	254.89	
Chapter Rebates	458.50	
Defense Fund Transfers (1966 & 1967)	702.30	
Contributions - Farm Workers	84.50	
AFT Militancy Fund	662.69	
Poor Peoples Campaign	277.00	
Steelworkers	100.00	
Kingsport Press	100.00	
LA Examiner		
Winter Meeting Expenses	399.87	
Press Ass'n Memberships	40.00	
Annual Meeting Expenses	570.04	
Phone	102.70	
Viewpoints	545.08	
Secretarial Help	86.00	
Miscellaneous (Bonding, COPE, Bank, etc.)	110.26	
	$10,743.14	$10,743.14
Plus "stopped payment" on check # 128		$ 2,885.43
		30.75
Bank Balance 12/31/68		$ 2,916.18

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Defense Fund

Balance 1/1/68	$ 1,164.07
Deposits (1966 & 1967)	702.30
Interest	4.85
Balance 12/31/68	$ 1,871.22

* * * * * * * * * * *

Owen A. Tapper
Financial Secretary

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT
580 Spruce Street
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE ORGANIZATION OF STAFF IN LABOR EDUCATION

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AFT 189

A REPORT FROM LOCAL 189's CONFERENCE:

Have unions failed white workers?

Workers Education Local 189 of the AFT is the only nationwide local in the Federation. It has approximately 300 members, who are principally college and university faculty involved in labor education, and staffers in other international unions in the same field. The local meets twice yearly, once in winter and once in the spring. This article is a report of some of the local's activity at its recent winter meeting.

Stan Rosen, president of Workers Education Local 189, and Hoagy Young, a conference planner, third and fifth from the left, pose with their panel of young labor radicals, from left: Paul Booth, Jim Williams, Roger Robinson. Rosen is with the University of Illinois' labor extension division in Chicago, and Young is with the Communications Workers Union in Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A straw Presidential preference vote taken at five AFL-CIO Young Worker schools in as many states this summer showed the two top vote-getters as George Wallace, with 28 percent of the vote, and Lyndon B. Johnson, with 25 percent.

The AFL-CIO is not publicizing this information, but the people involved in labor education in the nation's trade unions and universities are as deeply concerned with the meaning behind such statistics as is the AFL-CIO. In its winter meeting here in late November, Workers Education Local 189 of the AFT considered the problem in a panel titled "How Unions Failed White Workers."

"Of course," one of the members said from the floor just before the panel began, "we've been failing the black workers all along, and I wonder if the title of the panel has that in mind?" He was assured that it did.

WORKERS ARE WORSE OFF

Paul Booth, the first panelist, lit into the claim that the U.S. has recently had "eight years of unparalleled prosperity." Booth, a former research staffer for the Packinghouse Workers, now with the merged Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Packinghouse union, fired off a volley of statistics showing that the average worker is considerably worse off now, in relationship to the general economy, than he was a decade ago.

"In 1959," Booth said, "39 percent of American families earned over the Department of Labor's 'moderate standard of living' budget; in 1966, only 30 per cent earned over that standard. The combined impact of inflation, taxes, and limited salary increases shows that a lot of people are not only squeezed in their perception of what is happening to them, but in the hard facts of life. The distribution of wealth in our society has been relatively unchanged during this period.

"A large group at the bottom still has nothing," Booth continued. "Those in the middle have very little stake in their attainments because of their heavily mortgaged futures. And while this is happening, the 1967 figure on corporation profits in this country is almost equal to a third of the total family income in the United States. However, in many countries, wage levels are treated not only as a matter of collective bargaining, but of political policy . . ."

Booth's analysis of the Wallace appeal was that "He was the first guy to come along and politicize, in his own racist and funny way, the situation of the working man in the country today, and thus the first guy to win a passionate audience of its victims."

ALIENATION AMONG WORKERS

Panelist Roger Robinson, who works for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in Detroit, pointed out that in his area, the white worker "essentially comes out of a folk background, either ethnic or indigenous," and that the "basic pressure toward alienation from society is still felt by this worker at his workplace." If a worker felt his on-the-job grievances were taken care of, Robinson said, he wouldn't feel so alienated, but in some unions, he must make an appointment "downtown" to present a grievance, and the red tape effectively stifles a feeling of worker freedom. "The basic human demands of workers are most important," Robinson said, "and the only one I've seen come out of collective bargaining in this country is seniority rights." But then he pointed out the recent activities of black and white militants in such autoworkers' locals as those at Dodge, Cadillac, and in Flint, and said it was a hopeful sign.

'We can't continue as we were . . .'

"In an auto plant," Robinson explained, "If a guy is there four years, he'll be there for 40. He's got himself locked into a credit situation with the main item a 30-year mortgage on a tract house that should never have been created in the first place. The guy on the line doesn't see the union working on his problems as it did in the '30s."

The third young panelist, Jim Williams of the West Virginia AFL-CIO, spoke of the "productivity box," which is the limited way of thinking that wages cannot rise unless productivity rises. "It keeps the shares in the economy the same," he said, and this status quo has been challenged by the movements today among black people and poor people.

"In the Wallace, Nixon, and McCarthy campaigns, there was a movement away from the status quo," Williams said, "but only Wallace was able to touch the working class, and he did it with a radical, albeit fascist, approach.

FROM McCARTHY TO WALLACE

"In Charleston, W. Va., workers who had supported McCarthy, after August, ripped the McCarthy stickers off their cars and put on Wallace stickers.

"Most of the recent social gains of the War on Poverty are evoking a great deal of resentment among the working class," Williams continued. He explained that workers believe the poor are able to secure benefits, such as medical attention, that the average worker is unable to buy adequately for himself. "The tax structure in this country is still loaded against the working class," Williams said. "They are, basically, being forced to pay the costs of the programs for others that they can't afford for themselves.

"Wallace, and to some extent, Nixon, were talking about the real issues, about war and racism, while the AFL-CIO was talking about the level of unemployment compensation in Alabama," Williams said. He added that he expects the economic situation to "get worse," and that "how we react in the future will depend on the political moves of labor. We should have medical and housing programs for everybody. Up until now, we have been working on it a piece at a time, and this has created a counter-current among our own people. If workers feel that black people, under the present economic situation, present a threat to their jobs and property values, it is that they do, and the answer is to work for gains for all."

And, Williams concluded, "In this new administration, the political stance of labor will have to be reevaluated. Will 'all the way with LBJ' be translated to 'all the way with Tricky Dick?' We can't continue as we were in 1968, punishing our friends who were against the war in Vietnam, for example, and rewarding our enemies . . ."

Police tactics hit

At its winter meeting, Workers Education Local 189 of the AFT passed resolutions including one on police violence, condemning "police tactics" in connection with both major party conventions this year, and urging that "organizations, particularly those in the labor movement, take care when choosing convention and conference sites, to encourage the selection of cities which exhibit compassion and concern for the civil liberties and rights of human beings," and another dealing with the recent teacher-union strike in New York City, in which a request was made that the community board's side of the story be printed in the **American Teacher.**

A new code of ethics for the 'teaching profession?'

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Early this school year, the AFT was honored by being invited by the National Education Association to consider the NEA's revised *Code of Ethics of the Education Profession* for possible adoption.

After a perusal of the revised *Code,* AFT President David Selden wrote NEA President Koontz: "I question whether there is an all-inclusive 'Education Profession.' It seems to me that there are a number of professions within the educational enterprise. The real difference in interest between these groups should not be obscured by use of such an amorphous term as 'Education Profession.'

"I see nothing wrong per se with a code of ethics," Selden continued in his letter, "but the provisions of such a code ought to be specific enough so that those who are supposed to be governed by them know what is expected of them. Otherwise the terms are meaningless. I could see some advantage in having a code of ethics for teachers which would stipulate (for instance) that attempting to teach more than 20 pupils at a time, except under conditions defined by the teaching profession, is unprofessional. Another provision of such a code might be that attempting to teach more than 20 class periods a week is unprofessional. Such a code might even provide that it is unprofessional to work for less than a professional wage.

"I can readily visualize teachers subscribing to provisions such as those listed above, but I cannot visualize superintendents and other administrators willingly subscribing to them. Top administrators regard their function as keeping the school bureaucracy going with the money provided by the board of education, regardless of what that money will buy."

And, Selden concluded, "One other general comment: perhaps it is unavoidable, but the code seems to be a collection of 'thou shalt nots.' It has an Old Testament, judgmental ring to it. I think a more positive, progressive guide would better suit today's needs."

Bennett case leads to tenure board

ROYAL OAK, Mich.

The board of education here, after dismissing nine of 19 charges filed a year and a half ago against William Bennett, has decided to fire the veteran teacher. It says he failed to comply with the Michigan Education Association's "code of ethics," among other transgressions. Bennett's case was publicized throughout Michigan during a series of open hearings in which Bernard Fieger, Michigan Federation of Teachers attorney, defended him against a series of wild charges. Fieger is appealing the latest decision to the state tenure commission where, he says, "We're confident of vindication."

Dec., 1968

AFT 189

OFFICIAL INFORMATION

AFT REFERENDA ON THE WAR IN INDOCHINA

VOTING INSTRUCTIONS

1. There are **two** questions which are before AFT members.
2. Study the texts of these two questions which appear in resolution form on the next two pages. Pro and con arguments on both resolutions have been assembled by proponents and opponents from the AFT executive council and are also contained on the next two pages.
3. The official voting information and a sample ballot are on the last page. Read this information carefully before voting.
4. To vote:
   A. Use the enclosed OFFICIAL BALLOT on the 3 x 7 card enclosed with this mailing.
   B. Indicate your local number on the line provided on the ballot.
   C. Insert your ballot into the ballot envelope and seal. Place no marks on this envelope.
   D. Place the ballot envelope into the official return envelope and seal. Write your name and local on the return envelope, so that eligibility to vote can be verified. Secrecy of your ballot is insured, because all ballot envelopes will be separated from the return envelopes prior to voting.
   E. Mail your ballot so that it reaches the AFT in care of the First National Bank of Washington, Box 1970, 509 7th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, no later than Nov. 16, 1970.

AFT

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY CONVENTION:

Shall we adopt an antiwar stand?

This referendum vote of the membership, under Article XII, Section 1, of the AFT constitution, has been instituted by order of the 54th annual convention. The resolution was revised and summarized by the Convention Committee on International Relations from several resolutions that had been submitted to the convention by locals. The convention voted no recommendation to accept or reject but voted to submit the following resolution to a vote of the entire membership.

WHEREAS, the United States is involved in an undeclared war in Indochina; and

WHEREAS, as a result of this war over 200,000 American men have been killed or wounded and countless numbers of Southeast Asians have been scarred by the ravages of this war; and

WHEREAS, there has developed within the United States a polarization and divisiveness that has torn our society asunder; therefore be it

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers go on record supporting an immediate cease fire in Indochina and a complete, systematic withdrawal of all American forces from the area to be completed no later than June 30, 1971; and be it further

RESOLVED: that all funds presently being spent on the war by the federal government be channeled into such domestic priorities as aid to education, urban renewal, anti-poverty programs, pollution control, and other constructive areas; and be it further

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers communicate this position to the officers and executive board members of the AFL-CIO; and be it further

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers give widespread publicity to this statement.

Vote YES: Arguments in favor of adopting the resolution

It is hard to find even one aspect of our lives in this country today that is not suffering because of the drain of our resources into the war in Indochina and related military expenditures.

Many people recognize the difficulty in basing a condemnation of the rape of a country, the murder of its people, and irreparable devastation, on what it does to the lives and pocketbooks of people thousands of miles away. But it can be done, because we cannot ignore the cost of the war at home, even if we do not reckon in it the tragedy of American and Vietnamese lives lost, the thousands maimed and wounded, the hopes of hundreds of thousands blighted.

All we really have to do is try to breathe in our smog-bound cities; swim in our polluted streams; or waste hours of frustrated commuting between jobs and home along traffic-clogged streets.

We sign contracts as a teachers' union and find the money is not available to fulfill them. We try to buy a home and find the money is not available to mortgage it. We seek medical care and find that medical schools are closing down because there is no money to train new doctors, and that hospitals are unable to care for those who can't pay the $100-plus daily tariff.

Of our tax dollar, 75 percent goes to the federal government, and 64 percent of that to war-related expenditures. Virtually none of our federal tax money comes back to us.

Federal expenditures for the nation's education budget have slipped from 8.5 percent in 1967-68 to 6.3 percent this year, while at the same time economists and educators are pleading for vastly increased federal expenditures on the schools.

While the federal government has virtually abandoned support of education, it has forced already overburdened state and local governments to try to meet the costs of educating an expanding and schooling-hungry population.

The crunch that results is what we as teachers live with every day in our schools: The outmoded and crumbling buildings, the overcrowded classes, the "teacher surplus" because there is no money to hire the teachers who are really needed, the struggle to keep abreast of the soaring cost of every service and supply.

Most of the gains won by teachers in salary increases have been wiped out by taxes and inflation. Did you know that 36 percent of your salary, one way or another, goes into taxes? Did you know that the 6.5 percent increase teachers received, on the average, in salaries in 1969-70 was whittled down to 1.4 percent because of inflation alone?

Nationally, take - home pay after inflation has remained the same since 1967; since 1965 there has been an absolute decline in the standard of living of American workers because of the war.

The cost of the war in education, health, public services is incalculable, of course. But now and then you can indicate part of the material cost by saying what some sum or other might have bought, had it not been spent on death and destruction. For example, the $6 billion cost of lost aircraft alone would have bought the following:

- **A new elementary, junior high, and senior high school (for 3,800 students), in each of 250 communities.**
- **A starting salary of $7,000 for each of 35,741 teachers.**

The Nixon Administration tells us that if it wasn't for the students—our students—the concern with the war would dissolve into some rosy mist. Do away with student protest, they indicate, and you do away with the problem. Can't finance the schools? Let big business come in with some cheap-jack scheme to solve education's ills.

When Attorney General John Mitchell says, as he did last month, that America is turning so far to the

(Continued on back page)

Vote NO: Arguments against adoption of the resolution

There has been a great change in the country with regard to the war in Indochina. The vast majority of people favor an end to the war and want peace. Most people, however, favor a negotiated settlement and a cessation of **all** hostilities—not a military victory of one side or the other. There is a small group in the peace movement, who, in calling for immediate withdrawal of American troops regardless of the consequences, are really for a military victory of the other side.

This resolution, calling for complete withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam by June, 1971, is, in effect, an immediate withdrawal resolution and if passed as an AFT position, will identify us not with the broad movement for peace but with those who support a Vietcong victory. For example, the resolution says nothing at all about the need for insuring impartially supervised democratic elections in South Vietnam. It says nothing at all about the role of the North Vietnamese Communists and does not call on them to withdraw as well. It says nothing at all about protecting the lives of political independents and the 450,000 members of the labor movement in South Vietnam, should American troops suddenly withdraw and North Vietnamese forces sweep in.

Any AFT policy on Indochina must clearly be one which is for an end to **all** the killing—of Southeast Asians as well as Americans. We must not allow ourselves to be identified with those who are not merely for peace but who favor an American defeat and a Vietcong victory.

Any AFT policy on Indochina must favor the idea that the destiny of South Vietnam should be decided democratically through free elections—and not imposed by armed strength either of the North or South or the U.S. or the Vietcong.

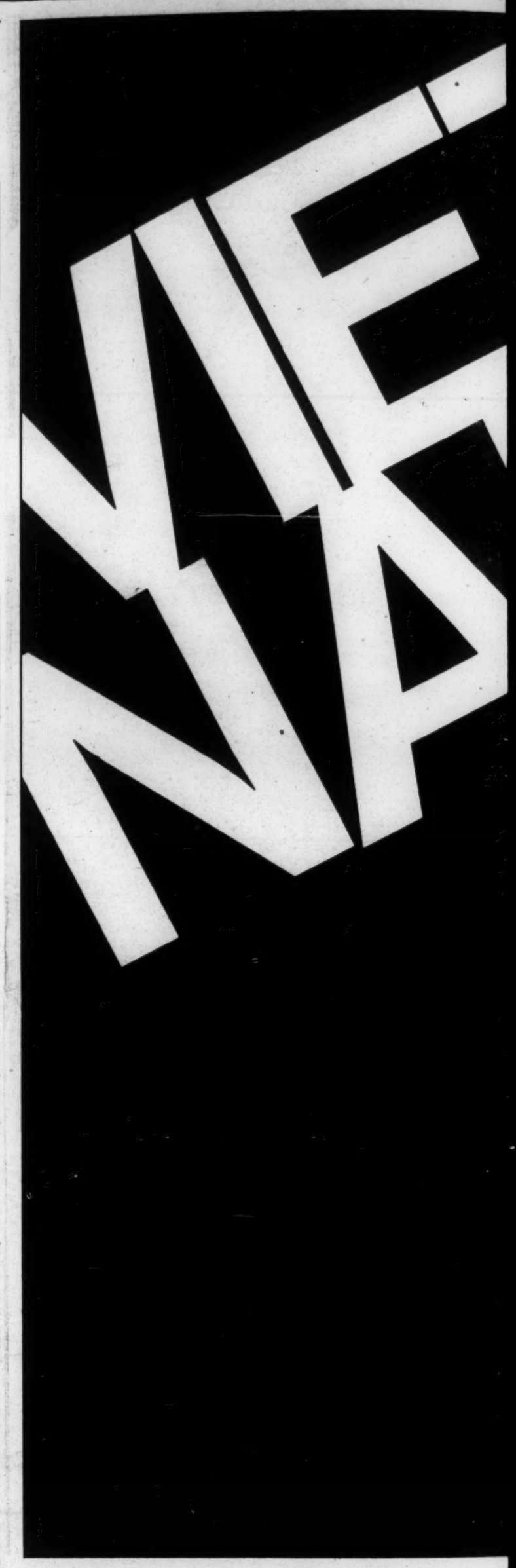
Any AFT policy on Indochina must call for the protection of trade unionists, Buddhists, and other democratic forces against a possible totalitarian takeover of their country. The recent elections in South Vietnam, inadequate as they may have been, clearly demonstrated not just the existence of those independent forces but their substantial following within South Vietnam. Any withdrawal of American troops must coincide with assurances that those independent forces will be able to continue their fight for democracy within their own country.

As trade unionists, we must not abandon hundreds of thousands of union workers in South Vietnam who now do have the right to unionize and strike to the Vietcong and North Vietnamese governments which tolerate no strikes and no free trade unions.

We must remember too that support for a unilateral withdrawal resolution will strain our relationships with most other labor unions in this country, who often have been our only support in crucial strikes, and whom we will need again and again in forthcoming struggles.

Those who argue for immediate withdrawal say that there will be no money for education and other domestic needs until the war is ended. We must not allow ourselves to fall for the argument that there is no money for schools because of the war. **There is enough.** We in AFT have always found that when we strike or threaten to — somehow the money is found. We must continue efforts to mobilize the same type of strength on a national basis, for the money can be found there too. We all want the war to end—but even then we will have to be in a struggle for the allocation of needed federal funds to education. **More money for education will not be automatic,** especially under the Nixon administration. A coalition of liberal forces—in which the labor movement is the prime mover—must be kept together in a long, hard fight for more funds and changed priorities.

(Continued on back page)



Two issues to vote on

AFT REFER
WAR IN IN

Pro and con articles on each question

To encourage full discussion of the AFT membership referenda on the war in Indochina, the American Teacher is providing pro and con articles assembled by AFT leaders who are proponents of the positions

ENDA ON
IDOCHINA

they represent.

The ballot will contain only the final question of each resolution, the full texts of which are also on these pages.

Your public or school library can probably provide you with bibliographies on the war, and additional material for study.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY 19 LOCALS:

Shall we keep 'no position?'

A second question maintaining AFT's "no-position" stand has been submitted by 19 locals: United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, New York City; Kansas City, Local 691; Philadelphia, Local 3; New Haven, Conn., Local 933; Archdiocesan Federation of Teachers, Local 1700, Chicago; Pittsburgh, Local 400; Robbinsdale, Minn., Local 872; Providence, R.I., Local 920; W. Haven, Conn., Local 1547; Binghamton, N.Y., Local 1218; Warwick, R.I., Local 915; Pawtucket, R.I., Local 930; Providence, R.I., Local 958; Putnam Valley, N.Y., Local 1867; Chicago, Local 1; Suburban Teachers Union, Local 571, Ill.; Niles Township, Ill., Local 1274; Granite City, Ill., Local 743; Cleveland, Local 279.

WHEREAS, the major job of the AFT is to remain strong and united so that it can continue to be as successful in forthcoming struggles as it has been in the past, and

WHEREAS, the Vietnam issue divides our members as it does our national, and

WHEREAS, AFT members who wish to be active on the issue have adequate opportunity for doing so in organizations established for that purpose without dividing the AFT, and

WHEREAS, we must continue to take a "no-position" or our union meetings, executive committees, state and national conventions will be prevented from reaching on agenda vital trade union and educational issues because of time consumed on implementing our policy, and

WHEREAS, there are already demands that if the AFT adopts a policy that we take ads, sponsor demonstrations, contribute funds, that we make the campaign a top priority, and

WHEREAS, taking a position is not an end; it is a beginning of a continuing campaign in which the AFT will absorb all its energies, time, and money, and

WHEREAS, in all our strikes we have only one strong source of support—the organized labor movement, and whatever position we take we will be alienating major union support which we will need again, and

WHEREAS, we oppose taking any positions which identify the AFT not merely with a desire for an end to the war but for a victory of the Vietcong, and any position for immediate withdrawal which does not clearly disassociate AFT from those who welcome a United States defeat and a Vietcong victory must be rejected, and

WHEREAS, the other resolution submitted for referendum in proposing a 1971 deadline for all troop withdrawal is, in effect, an immediate withdrawal position and because it makes no demands on the other side and offers no safeguards, it is tantamount to supporting a Vietcong victory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: that we reaffirm the position voted by our entire membership in referendum that the AFT not take any position directly or indirectly on the war in Indochina.

Vote YES: Arguments for maintaining 'no-position'

Teachers, like all other citizens, want to see an end to the war in Indochina. Starting with that premise, we know, too, that teachers, like all other citizens, are very divided on the way in which the war can be ended.

We must take NO POSITION on this issue because:

- It seriously divides our membership. By alienating large groups of our members—as well as thousands of teachers we seek to organize—we will be weakening our union and our ability to continue building a strong, united teacher organization.
- Whatever position we take, we will be alienating needed allies in the labor movement and other groups, whose support we will be needing again and again in forthcoming struggles.
- We will dissipate needed time and energy of our union in implementation of a foreign policy stand—at a time when we must be unified in a continuing effort to organize and to engage in the fight to save as well as improve public education in our nation.
- Teachers can work most effectively for peace in organizations established for that purpose, while our union stays united and strong to carry on the fight for educational and social progress.

The fact is the question of the war in Indochina is one which seriously divides the membership of AFT, as it does our nation. It is the kind of issue which can take us back to the '30s, when teacher unionists split into different organizations over political and international questions, and were kept from building a strong organization at a time when other unions were growing.

We should learn from our own history that issues so divisive can do long-standing damage to our union. We can be prevented from growing and from meeting our many union struggles successfully.

The major job of AFT is to remain strong and united so that we can continue to organize and to meet the needs of teachers struggling throughout the nation for better salaries, working conditions, and educational improvements. AFT members who wish to be active on the issue of the war have adequate opportunity for doing so in organizations established for that purpose, without dividing the AFT.

We must continue to take "no position" so that our union meetings — executive boards, state and national bodies are not prevented from acting on vital trade union and education issues because of a great deal of time consumed in discussing implementation of a foreign policy stand. We have already seen much needed convention time dominated by this one issue while dozens of items of urgent concern to teachers were abandoned.

And, taking a position on the war is only the beginning—we will be submerged in discussion after discussion on how to carry out that policy. We will be asked to take ads, sponsor demonstrations, contribute funds—and even then, our effect as a union on the conduct of the war will undoubtedly be negligible. Teachers can be most effective working for peace in other organizations and in political campaigns — without dividing and therefore weakening their union.

We must continue to take

(Continued on back page)

Vote NO: Arguments for repealing 'no-position'

The basic question facing members of the American Federation of Teachers in this referendum question is whether teachers, as a group, have achieved the self-confidence, integrity, and courage to speak out on questions of national significance.

We are not voting to adopt a particular viewpoint on the war in Indochina. That decision can come later, either in the other part of this referenda or in future votes. What is at issue is whether teachers will be bound by the old policy of noninvolvement. A "no" vote to repeal this policy will mean teachers can stand up and be counted.

Each June, large numbers of our graduates leave the public schools for battlefields in Indochina. It is neither supportive of nor fair to them for their teachers to maintain a collective silence as they march off to battle.

Neither is it fair to the teaching profession as a whole.

Ever since the beginning of U.S. public education in 1834, American teachers have permitted the development of a national myth which paints teachers as meek, uninvolved, disengaged, unquestioning public servants, in the worst sense of that word.

The past decade has seen part of this image erased, through strikes and other militant action to bring about collective bargaining and a share of teacher power in running the schools.

Now, it is time to overcome the rest of the myth. A "no" vote to repeal our "no-stand" position will demonstrate once and for all that teachers are not afraid to use their education, their dedication to their students and their profession, and their experience to speak out on any issue which affects society.

The union has begun to develop a record of taking stands on foreign policy. AFT conventions have taken unequivocal positions on recent events in Czechoslovakia, Ireland, the United Nations, and elsewhere.

A "no" vote would also place AFT members in good company both within the labor movement and among many of our professional colleagues in education and other fields.

For example, even the 130,000-member National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), to which many of us belong, has, **as an organization,** taken a stand against the war in Indochina. Other professional groups which, as organizations, have adopted official positions opposing the war include the Organization of American Historians, the Modern Language Association (whose membership is composed of language teachers in colleges and universities), the Student NEA, and the 25,000-member American Public Health Association.

George Meany has spoken out in favor of the Nixon Administration's policies in Indochina; but he has spoken out. And he's gone a step farther: While the AFL-CIO "takes a very practical view of the situation," he has said, **"Not everybody in the labor movement agrees, there's dissent, and there's no objection to dissent."**

Those who argue that taking a stand on the war would put us in bad stead with Brother Meany and the AFL-CIO have not read, or choose to ignore, his words.

Scores of unions have adopted official positions

(Continued on back page)

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY CONVENTION:

Antiwar proposal

Vote 'YES'

(Continued from 2nd page)

right "that you won't recognize it," he knows the direction our policies are leading us. A nation which must keep down dissent at all costs, which spends the bulk of its federal income on a military adventure, which plans to keep 250,000 troops in Vietnam for years to come (according to the staff report last February of the Foreign Relations Committee), must be turned to a new course.

Many other "nonpolitical" groups in this country have spoken out. Scientific and professional groups and other AFL-CIO labor unions have taken a stand. We cannot avoid our responsibility, through our union, to do the same.

The teachers of this country have a moral obligation to speak out through the AFT, through the referendum ballot, against this insane war and its effect upon all our lives.

A way to strike a blow for sanity is to strike a blow for peace, and to vote "yes" on the resolution chosen by a vote of AFT convention delegates to be presented to the membership.

Vote 'NO'

(Continued from 2nd page)

The unilateral withdrawal position will make the fight for education funds more difficult. It will alienate large groups of our own members, as well as our friends outside our union. For the coming period what we need most is unity—within the AFT and among the labor and civil rights communities, in each of which there are differences on how to end the war. Those differences are apparent—and even if we passed this resolution, we would have little or no effect as a union on the conduct of the war. We can, as teachers, work for peace more effectively in peace organizations and political groups—and prevent a split within our union ranks.

Let's concern ourselves first with our own priorities in building a strong, united, national teacher union. Our strength will be needed for the many struggles ahead.

Vote NO on this resolution.

19 LOCALS' RESOLUTION

No-stand proposal

Vote 'YES'

(Continued from 3rd page)

"no position" also so that we do not alienate not only large groups of our own members, but many needed allies in the labor movement and other organizations. Whatever position we might take, we will be alienating major union support, which we will need again and again in strike situations and in other struggles.

Furthermore, it is not true that an end to the war—which we all want—will automatically deliver desperately needed funds to education. There will still be a struggle for a reordering of priorities, for greater spending for social programs. The teacher union movement, along with the rest of the labor movement, is and will continue to be a major force in the battle to channel our nation's resources into education, jobs, health, housing, and other vital programs. If we are splintered over a foreign policy issue our ability to play a role in bringing together a solid coalition for progress will be terribly hampered.

Taking "no position" on the war in Indochina does not mean that AFT members should not be actively concerned with securing peace in Vietnam. The question is whether AFT members should do it through the AFT itself or the many other organizations in which they can better accomplish these goals.

To keep the AFT united and strong, vote YES for NO POSITION.

Vote 'NO'

(Continued from 3rd page)

against the war. They include: the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO; the United Auto Workers; the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO; the United Electrical Workers; the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council of Alameda County, Calif.; District 65 of the Wholesale, Retail, Office, and Processing Union; the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO; the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, and a wide cross-section of other international and local unions—white collar and blue collar, professional and industrial.

AFT President David Selden declared on the floor of the 1970 convention: "This issue divides the liberal community. As long as we do not come out against the war, we divide our strength in politics and in almost every endeavor. The time has come to reunite the liberal community behind an antiwar position."

Our "no-position" stand has, indeed, divided us. During the past two years, state and local AFT affiliates with a combined membership of more than 60,000 have ignored the national's "no-position" stand and have voted opposition to the war as their official policies. One local, with about the same number of members, voted in agreement with the "no-stand" position. The rest have not taken up the issue.

We are divided. It is time to reunite.

It is time to vote "no" to repeal a tired, impotent position that hamstrings us from speaking out as an important national force on the key issue of our time, an issue that deeply affects our students and ourselves.

Liberate the teaching profession. Vote "no."

PROCEDURE FOR CONDUCTING THE AFT REFERENDA ON THE WAR IN INDOCHINA

1. Two referenda are submitted for membership vote on one ballot. The resolution referred by the Convention has been counterposed by the resolution submitted by 19 locals. Since the proposals are mutually exclusive, members should vote **FOR** only one or the other. Members may vote **AGAINST** either or both.
2. The time table (as established by date of official notice to locals) of the referenda is as follows:
   - Sept. 4, 1970.....Date notice was mailed
   - Sept. 4 to Oct. 16.....Debate
   - Oct. 16 to Nov. 16.....Balloting
   - Nov. 16.....Last date for receipt of ballots

   Be sure ballots are mailed in plenty of time to reach Washington, D.C., on or before Monday, November 16.
3. Each local which holds a membership meeting for the purpose of discussing the referenda shall give equal opportunity for proponents and opponents to present their arguments.
4. All voting on the referenda is to be by individual members and cast on official ballots. Each member is entitled to cast one ballot.
5. Ballots are secret. The only marks on the ballot should be your local number as required by the AFT constitution, and your "X". Written remarks, names and other marks which may tend to identify the member will invalidate the ballot. If the member wishes to make comments or send any information to the AFT, he should send them to the AFT office and not include any extraneous material in the ballot envelope.
6. To insure a secret ballot, a double envelope system is used:
   a. The member seals the ballot in the ballot envelope.
   b. The ballot envelope is then sealed in the return envelope.
   c. The member places the local's name and number and his name and address on the return envelope.

   In the counting process the member's eligibility to vote is checked. In order to vote, the member must be current with his dues in a local that is in good standing with the AFT. Once eligibility has been determined, the ballot envelopes are removed from the return envelopes and placed with other ballot envelopes in such a manner as to prevent any knowledge of how the individual cast his vote.
7. No officer or member of a local is entitled to cast more than one ballot.
8. Ballots shall be sent only to members of locals that are in good standing as of October 2, 1970. Ballots received from members of locals not in good standing as of November 16, 1970 shall not be counted.
9. Each local is entitled to as many votes as it has paid per-capita in the National office.
10. The AFT President, accompanied by representatives of the pro and con position, will sign for the ballots and remove them from the bank vault and cause the ballots to be counted.
11. The majority vote of all members of the American Federation of Teachers in good standing, whose ballots are cast in conformity with these regulations, shall be necessary for the adoption of either resolution.
12. Please refer to the October issue of the American Teacher for the arguments on both referenda. (Copies of the issue can be obtained from the AFT office, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.)

SAMPLE BALLOT

OFFICIAL

AFT REFERENDUM BALLOT

AFT LOCAL NO. ——— **MARK YOUR CHOICE WITH AN "X"**

REFERENDUM REFERRED TO MEMBERSHIP BY THE 54TH ANNUAL AFT CONVENTION

Shall the policy resolution calling for ending the "War in Indochina" through immediate cease-fire and systematic withdrawal by June 30, 1971, become the official policy of the AFT?

☐ YES
☐ NO

REFERENDUM REFERRED TO THE MEMBERSHIP BY 19 LOCALS

Shall the AFT reaffirm the "No Position" policy on the war in Indochina as previously adopted by referendum?

☐ YES
☐ NO

SAMPLE

This ballot must be sealed in the ballot envelope. The ballot envelope must then be inserted in the return envelope.

AFT #189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

January 31, 1969

TO: All Members, Local 189, AFT

FROM: Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

Your attention is directed to the following items:

1. As directed by the membership at our meeting in D. C., Local 189 contributed $300 of its Defense Funds to the strikers at G.E. In addition, ndividual collections at the meeting and, subsequently, several others, have netted another $273.

The strike appears to be over -- but strike expenses will go on for some time.

If you have not yet made a contribution--and wish to do so--please use the attached form.

2. The D. C. Meeting was a reasonably good one. We had a good attendance and interest in the program appeared more than sufficient.

The Minutes - which usually take a bit of time to prepare - are now near completion and should be out shortly.

3. ULEA is sponsoring a "GALAXY" Labor Education Conference on May 7, 8 and 9, 1970, in Columbus, Ohio. Labor and University Labor Educators - as well as other allied groups - are invited to attend and participate.

The Local 189 Program and meeting will start shortly after noon on May 7. Set the dates aside.

There is still a possibility that these dates may be changed.

OAT/jt

RESOLUTION ON THE G.E. STRIKE

Workers Education Local 189 supports fully the workers now on strike against the General Electric Company. We condemn the persistent refusal of G.E. to engage in meaningful collective bargaining.

We see a victory for these strikers as essential to stop an obvious drive by management to significantly weaken the trade union movement in the United States.

Members of Local 189 are hereby asked to become involved whenever possible in developing community support for this strike.

Local 189, as a token of its support, hereby donates $300 from the Defense Fund to the strike committees made up of the cooperating unions conducting the strike.

Local 189 members are also asked to individually contribute at least $3.00 each to the strike fund on a voluntary basis.

Adopted 11/22/69, Washington, D. C.

Please use the form below:

- -

Mail to: Local 189, AFT
580 Spruce St.
Morgantown, W. Va. 26506

I wish to contribute _____ in support of the strikers at G. E.

_____
signed

Make checks payable to "Local 189, AFT."

We realize the strike appears over - But the various unions still need money to continue relief payments for some time in the future.

AFT-189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

February 15, 1969

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For Further Information:

Joan Suarez, (314) 838-8118
535 Clemens Drive
Florissant, Missouri 63033

TEN WEEK APPRENTICESHIP

IN LABOR EDUCATION OFFERED BY LOCAL 189, AFT

A ten week training program in labor education and an $800 scholarship is being offered by Workers Education Local 189, AFT to a man or woman qualified for and interested in a career in labor education.

Now in its fifth year, the Local 189 annual apprenticeship program seeks to find new people for the field of labor education. The aim of the program is to give training to a younger man or woman who would like to make labor education a career but who needs more know-how. Among those particularly eligible to apply for the scholarship are union members who have been active in educational work in their unions, school or college teachers, and graduate students in the social sciences.

This year the Local 189 apprentice will spend most of his internship working in a union or university labor education program under the guidance of an experienced labor educator. In addition, the apprentice will spend at least a week in Washington, D. C., becoming acquainted with the AFL-CIO education program and the education personnel of the various international unions.

Labor education is the branch of adult education dealing with the educational needs of union members, particularly those active as stewards, officers and full-time representatives. Qualifications for work in labor education include experience with the labor movement, understanding of educational principles, and familarity with such subjects as collective bargaining, economics, union administration, legislation and politics.

Deadline for applications is April 30, 1969. For application forms and more detaled information, write: 1969 Labor Education Internship, 535 Clemens Drive, Florissant, Missouri 63033.

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

DATE: February, 1969

TO: Local 189 Members

FROM: Joan Suarez, Local 189 Internship Committee Chairman

Enclosed are a poster and press release announcing the Fifth Annual Local 189 Labor Internship. We are, of course, interested in soliciting as many applicants as possible not only to insure selecting the best candidate, but also to introduce as many new people to labor education as possible.

Will you please post the Poster where it will get the most attention and see that the press release gets in the hands of an editor who can use it effectively.

Your cooperation is appreciated by the Committee.

JOAN SUAREZ, REC-SECY.
LOCAL 189, A. F. T.
535 CLEMENS DRIVE
FLORISSANT, MO. 63033

Rolodex

file

OK
2/21/69
KS

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

C-O-P-Y

March 3, 1969

Mr. Stanley Rosen
President, Local 189 AFT
Chicago Labor Education Program
University of Illinois
10 North LaSalle Street, Room 222
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Dear Brother Rosen:

We verify that the following are the results of the referendum on the three proposed changes to the Local 189 Constitution.

Article IX, Per Capita Rebates to Chapters, Section 1.

102 Yes (to accept amendment) 40 No (to reject amendment)

Article XI, Dues, Section 2. C Retired Members.

116 Yes (to accept amendment) 22 No (to reject amendment)

Article XI, Dues, Section 2. Professional Membership.

114 Yes (to accept amendment 23 No (to reject amendment)

one ballot voided one ballot blank

Sincerely and fraternally,

/s/ John Schmidman, Chairman
Elections Committee

/s/ Alice Hoffman, Member
Elections Committee

/s/ Wells H. Keddie, Member
Elections Committee

JS/as

cc: Joan Suarez
Owen Tapper

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

April 8, 1969

To: All Members, Local 189 AFT

Subject: Candidates for Regional Executive Board Members

Dear Fellow Member:

We are writing to ask whether you wish to run for the Executive Board of Local 189 in your region (see map). These Regional Executive Board Members are elected during the annual referendum election of Officers in June or July, 1969.

Under the Local 189 Constitution, any member in a region may run for Executive Board Member in that region. There are 7 regions, and those elected sit on the Executive Board of the local. You may run in the region in which you list your address with Local 189.

If you wish to run, please fill in the slip below and return it to Jim Williams, Chairman of the Nominating Committee. Please also send us a 200 (or less) word statement which tells what you have been doing during the last two years (your job and work in labor education) and what you think the role of Local 189 should be in the next few years.

We need your acceptance and your 200 (or less) word statement by May 19. The Nominating Committee will make its report at the Local 189 meeting on May 20 in Philadelphia.

We need interested, active members, so please think seriously about running for office.

Fraternally,

Jim Williams, Chairman, Nominating Committee
Marjorie Rachlin
Jackie Kienzle
Gary Deane
Ray MacDonald

P.S. Officers and Chapter Chairmen are not eligible.

☐ Yes, I wish to run for Regional Executive Board Member in _____ Region.

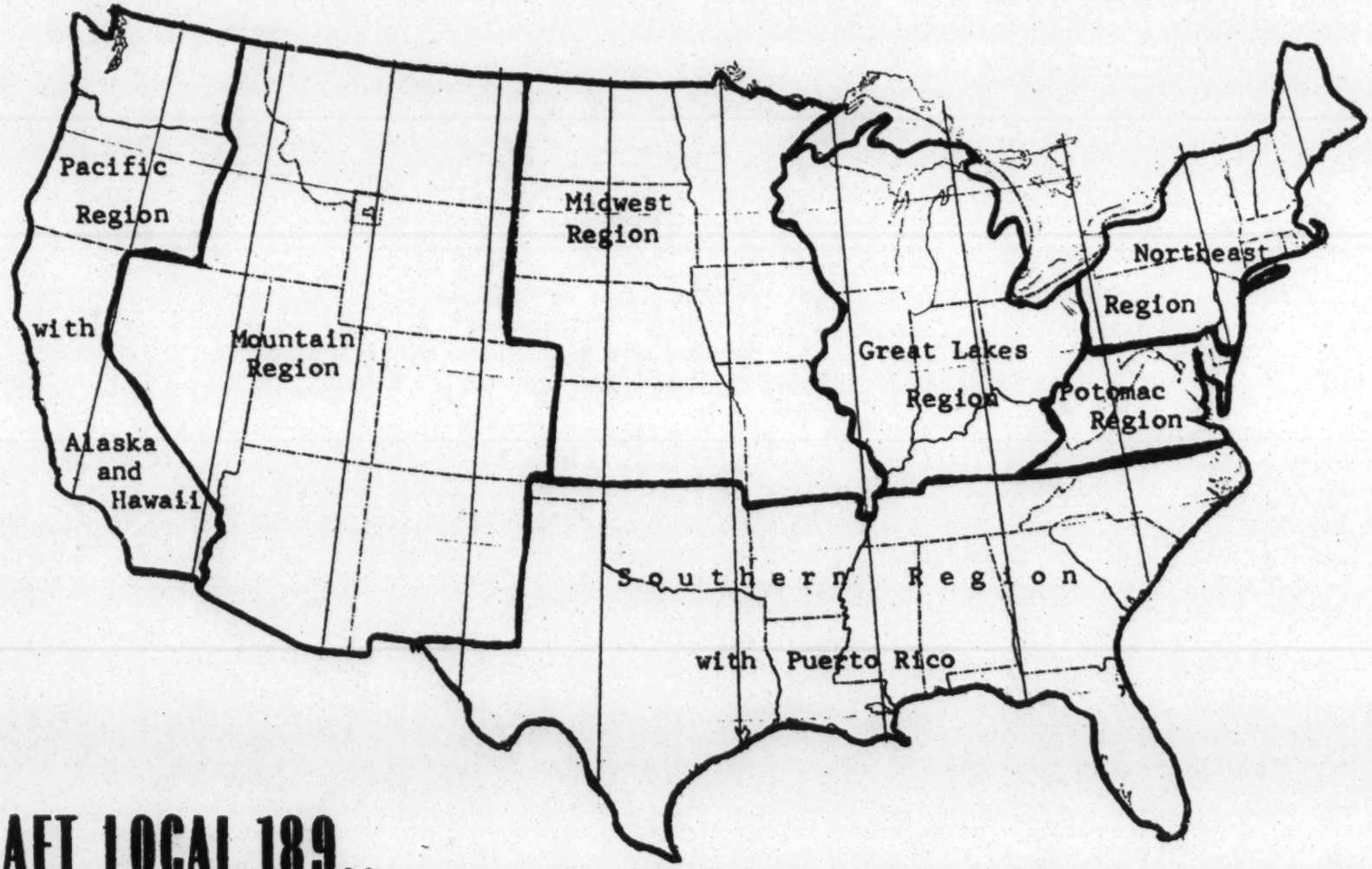
☐ I am enclosing a 200-word statement giving my job and labor education activity in the last two years, and stating what I think 189 should be doing and its role in the next few years.

Send to: Jim Williams % American Newspaper Guild
1126 - 16th St. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

_____
(signed)

RETURN BY MAY 19, 1969

REGIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD REPRESENTATION



AFT LOCAL 189..

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

April 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Members, Local 189 AFT

From: John S. Schmidman

Local 189 members are invited to submit articles for publication in the next issue of Labor Education Viewpoints. The suggested topics are: finding the labor militant; changing racial attitudes through labor education; and reactions to "Labor Education in the United States" by Larry Rogin and Marge Rachlin.

Articles on any other relevant and/or current topics which would be of interest to Local 189 members are also invited for consideration. Articles (please send two copies if it is at all possible) should be sent to:

John Schmidman, Current Editor
Labor Education Viewpoints
1000 Plaza Drive, Apt. 706 A
State College, Pennsylvania 16801

AFT 189

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

SPRING MEETING

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 26, 1969

IN PHILADELPHIA, 189 MEMBERS:

- HEARD IRWIN KELLY DESCRIBE THE SAN FRANCISCO STATE STRIKE
- HEARD WILBERT HEARD DESCRIBE SOME GRIEVANCES OF BLACK WORKERS
- NOMINATED OFFICERS - SEE PAGE 5
- RECEIVED A MILITANCY FUND REPORT
- SET WINTER MEETING -- D.C. ON NOVEMBER 21, 22 AND 23
- TALKED ABOUT RELATIONSHIPS WITH AFL-CIO AND ULEA
- DISCUSSED PROTECTING THE JOB RIGHTS OF 189 MEMBERS
- REVIEWED THE LABOR INTERN PROGRAM
- HAD A DECENT SOCIAL, TOO.

AFT

MINUTES

LOCAL 189, AFT

SPRING MEETING
Benjamin Franklin Hotel
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

May 20, 1969

The Spring meeting of Local 189, AFT, opened at 4:30 p.m. with song. Amie Millstone, a student at Penn State and daughter of a Meatcutters organizer, accompanying herself with guitar, sang a moving selection of folk songs from the labor movement and student protest movement.

President Stanley Rosen said that in keeping with the mood of the songs and issues that had been raised in AFL-CIO-ULEA meetings during the day, that the Spring meeting of Local 189, in addition to regular business, would present several speakers on "relevant issues" of the day.

Roll call of officers indicated ten officers present. Approximately 100 members and guests were present at the meeting.

MILITANCY FUND REPORT

Chairman John Schmidman reported on behalf of Militancy Fund that Local 189's contribution to the AFT Militancy Fund stood at $777.01. He indicated that Local 189's contribution is likely the highest of any local on a per capita basis. Schmidman also said that individual donations by members indicated that the "highest paid labor educators have also been the most conscience-striken." Donations are still welcome.

TREASURER'S REPORT

A copy of the Local 189 Financial Report for 1968 was circulated. Treasurer Tapper said that the local had "made some money" since the restructuring of the dues. He indicated also that the membership was at an all-time high, "although it is difficult to tell exactly how many members we have at any one time . . . since they come and go."

Motion by Joan Suarez, seconded by John Schmidman to accept Treasurer Tapper's report with congratulations on the first straight-forward report since he took office. Passed with wild cheers.

Brother Tapper announced that the Directory, which is printed in the identical colors as last year's, the Green Bay Packer colors, will go in the mail to the membership soon.

MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

Minutes of the Winter Meeting, 1968, were approved as mailed to the membership. Copies were on hand for reference.

Secretary Joan Suarez read notes of the Executive Board minutes. They were, in general, approved, but they will be mailed to the membership with the Spring meeting minutes for full appraisal.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH AFL-CIO & ULEA

President Rosen told the membership of recent meetings with Walter Davis, Education Director of the AFL-CIO and Herb Levine, Chairman of the ULEA, to discuss Local 189's relationship with and to these two groups in regard to the annual Spring meetings.

The discussions had come about as a result of a motion passed at the Fall, 1968 membership meeting requesting the President to explore the possibility of Local 189 securing more equitable arrangements, i.e.--time, space, consultations and content.

President Rosen said that Local 189 was "not interested in confrontation but recognition." The result of the discussions with Brothers Davis and Levine resulted in a proposal by Davis that Local 189 have one entire day at the Spring meetings, followed by one day for the AFL-CIO and the ULEA to meet separately and one day for joint meetings. The Board, President Rosen reported, found these proposals satisfactory.

Holgate Young responded by saying that if this plan had been ratified, he only hoped next year Local 189 might come back with "more of the loaf" by securing some agreement that Local 189 have some voice in the "flavor" and arrangements for the jointly held Spring meetings. He said he sees Local 189 "as the only hope."

FURTHER RESPONSE TO EXECUTIVE BOARD NOTES

Brother Mark Starr rose to point out that along with the Haymarket Memorial the Ashville Central Labor Council is setting up a committee to work out a commemoration meeting for the Marion, North Carolina Massacre of 1929 and that we should also be doing something about the ILO 50th Anniversary celebration.

President Rosen indicated the International Affairs Committee of Local 189 would be making a report on the ILO Anniversary. He said there have been so many massacres that the Local is not in a position to do much more than send a resolution. Brother Art Carstens suggested we might find something to do with the 50 saint days that are now open.

FALL MEETING DATES DISCUSSED

President Rosen called the Executive Board recommendation as to dates for the Fall meeting to the attention of the body. Holgate Young moved that the Executive Board recommendation of November 21-23 in Washington, D. C. be approved. Seconded by Stuart Brock. Passed. Anyone with ideas for meeting content, pass them on!

Wells Keddie, Chairman of the Constitution and By-Laws Committee reported there were no constitutional amendments proposed. The chair remarked on the landmark . . . our first meeting in years that no dues changes were proposed!

IRWIN KELLY, PRESIDENT OF AFT LOCAL 1352, IS GUEST SPEAKER

Irwin Kelly, responding to his introduction as President of the AFT local at San Francisco State College and Labor Economist, said that he had elsewhere heard himself described as "radical, anarchist, fascist and new barbarian among other things." He said it was a pleasure to be simply described as a local union president.

Brother Kelly said his first duty was to bring the message of 300 starving teachers at San Francisco State who are willing and able to teach in summer labor programs. He explained that those who had been on strike at San Francisco State had missed a quarter of their year's pay. Some 700 people had been arrested in the course of the strike and the student demonstrations. He said the local was still trying to raise money to pay fines and bail.

He told of the case of Roger Alvarado who was arrested, jailed without bail for 21 days. Alvarado had never been recorded as committing or asking anyone to commit an act of violence, in fact was known on campus for his stand on non-violence. Alvarado, Kelly said, has now been sentenced to 100 days in jail. (A letter over Alvarado's signature appealing for donations to the San Francisco State Legal Defense Fund was circulated at the meeting and is attached to the minutes.)

In referring to an exchange between himself and Bayard Rustin in an earlier meeting, Brother Kelly chose to quote John F. Kennedy in saying "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable." He said the teacher decision to organize and strike for their union came when the teachers who had stepped between student strikers (who he said had not been destructive of property or life) and the police found themselves being clubbed right along with the students.

Brother Kelly said that issues today for students are not really any different than they have been for workers seeking industrial justice through unionization. He said the new generation is not revolutionary at all. Workers asked what is management going to do for workers and when the answer "nothing" became apparent the workers organized and struck when they had to to gain their goals. Students are now asking what is a college going to do for minority groups.

Out of the student demonstrations, the teachers strike and the reaction of the administration, all very painful experiences, Kelly said, alliances formed. He said several other unions became sympathetic to the teachers strike when they had strikes of their own during the same time period and their strikes found out what they had forgotten about the police.

WILBERT HEARD, RECORDING SECRETARY, LOCAL 174, UAW ALSO SPEAKS

Addressing himself to problems of black union members, Brother Heard said that working conditions in the shops in Detroit for black workers were the same today as they were in the 1930's. He said minority workers get the hard, dirty jobs in the shops; that when a black worker and a white worker are hired at the same time, the black goes straight to the assembly line while in most cases the white worker goes to an inspection job or some other cleaner work.

These conditions, he said, are what led to the formation of DRUM (the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) and other black caucus groups within UAW shops and other union shops throughout the country. He said that the leaders in this movement are militant blacks many of whom are Vietnam veterans.

He charged that the grievance system has broken down in most UAW shops. That the company, by design or not, ties up the Committeemen . . . wines and dines them . . .he charged that few blacks are in apprenticeship programs and that the few black supervisors are so carefully selected that they are like puppets.

He charged, too, that the union discriminates by not having blacks in decision-making positions. . . only two blacks hold any kind of decision-making jobs in the UAW. While blacks may outnumber the whites in a local, UAW policy to allow retirees to continue active membership means that white retiree voices out-vote working blacks, and that the retirees are sympathetic to the top leadership. He said that blacks are elevated to leadership position in the local unions, but only those who can be controlled by the leadership.

Brother Heard said that 26 members of DRUM were fired when they first started picketting at Dodge plant #3. The fired workers went to Solidarity House to get help, but, he said, the union supported the company's stand because the UAW doesn't want a movement within a movement. Brother Heard asked, "what does the union expect when they do nothing to help change the situation faced by minority workers in the plant?"

He said what is needed is for people to find out for themselves what is going on. Heard said radical changes are needed in the labor movement and most change in America has come through violence. He said he hoped violence would not be necessary to achieve equality for all workers within the plant and within their union.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions on Labor Education and the Arts and Commending AFT President Dave Selden for his testimony before the Congress on the Higher Education Act were passed. Copies of these two resolutions are attached.

A third resolution on Unity Among Labor Educators was referred to the Executive Officers for language clarifications. It will be sent out to the membership after revision.

PROPOSAL FOR PROTECTING JOB RIGHTS

President Rosen read his proposal entitled "Protecting Job Rights of Local 189 Members." Motion by Mil Liberthal that the proposal be referred to the Executive Board for revision and consideration. Seconded. Passed.

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The following nominations were made by the Nominating Committee as submitted by Committee members Jim Williams, Marjorie Rachlin, Ray MacDonald and Gary Deane:

For President - Stan Rosen

For Recording Secretary - Joan Suarez

For Financial Secretary - Owen Tapper

For Vice-Presidents - Anne Green, Ernie Weiss and Prince Moon

No other nominations were made from the floor for the offices of president, recording secretary or financial secretary. The following nominations were made for the office of vice-presidents: Wells Keddie, Stuart Brock, Irv Rosenstein and Steve Remsen.

Motion by Holgate Young that Local 189 elect four vice-presidents for 1969-1970. Seconded. Passed.

The following persons were nominated for AFT Convention delegates: Joan Suarez, Steve Remsen, Lee Balliet, Jim Wolfe, Emory Via, Roger Rines, Stan Rosen and Pete Gregan. Motion by Holgate Young that Local 189 elect four delegates and four alternates to cast the eight votes Local 189 is entitled to. Seconded. Passed.

The nominations for Regional Executive Board members, based on nominations received and solicited are:

Potomac - Jim Robinson
Steve Cook
Harry Kranz
Chris Piluras
Jim Williams

South - Emory Via

Mountain - Norman Weintraub

Pacific - Oliver McMillan

Midwest - Keith Knauss

Northeast - Bill Kemsley

Great Lakes - Paula Paley

COMMITTEE REPORTS

The International Affairs Committee report was received via a copy of a letter from Roger Snow to Committee Chairman Bill Kemsley reporting on the outcome of survey of university labor education programs in the area of foreign policy and workers' education outside the United States. A copy of the report is attached.

President Rosen reported for Oliver Peterson, Chairman of the Labor Education History Committee saying that the committee is continuing to circulate its plea for information.

Keith Knauss, Chairman of the Membership Committee reminded the membership that each one should be an organizer for Local 189.

Jim Wolfe, Chairman of the Chapter Development Committee indicated his committee had been given an extension of time and would report at the Fall meeting.

The Internship Committee reported through Chairman Joan Suarez that the final selection of the 1969 Intern was underway and that a sponsor for the entire eight-to-ten week program had been found. The Textile Workers Union of America will have charge of the Intern with Education Director Steve Remsen coordinating the program. The announcement of the intern selection will be made shortly and a news release will be circulated.

John Schmidman, Chairman of the Viewpoints Committee said he had literally no response for articles to be published in Viewpoints. He indicated there will be a continuing evaluation of how to establish a publication. Holgate Young indicated he thinks Viewpoints should be continued.

GOOD & WELFARE

President Rosen indicated that a number of proposals sent to Local 189 by Brother Bill Abbott will be circulated with the minutes (see attached).

Brother Mark Starr said most of the membership knows much too little about the ICFTU. Indicated he had a multilingual structure book for sale.

Motion made, seconded and passed to empower President Rosen to select a present for Brother Bill Elkuss who is recovering from heart surgery.

The meeting was adjourned sometime before 7:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez
Recording Secretary

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

1968 Financial Report

Bank Balance (1/1/68)		$ 2,172.78
Income		
Dues	$10,352.10	
Winter Meeting Receipts (Chicago)	340.50	
COPE Collection	10.00	
Farm Workers Collection	84.50	
AFT Militancy Fund Collection	662.69	
Other	6.00	
	$11,455.79	11,455.79
		$13,628.57
Expenditures		
Per Capita to AFT	$ 2,731.75	
Postage	570.57	
Duplicating and Supplies	977.34	
Intern (Scholarship & Expenses)	1,216.65	
Directory	753.00	
Labor Education News	254.89	
Chapter Rebates	458.50	
Defense Fund Transfers (1966 & 1967)	702.30	
Contributions - Farm Workers	84.50	
AFT Militancy Fund	662.69	
Poor Peoples Campaign	277.00	
Steelworkers	100.00	
Kingsport Press	100.00	
LA Examiner		
Winter Meeting Expenses	399.87	
Press Ass'n Memberships	40.00	
Annual Meeting Expenses	570.04	
Phone	102.70	
Viewpoints	545.08	
Secretarial Help	86.00	
Miscellaneous (Bonding, COPE, Bank, etc.)	110.26	
	$10,743.14	$10,743.14
Plus "stopped payment" on		2,885.43
check # 128		30.75
Bank Balance 12/31/68		$ 2,916.18

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Defense Fund	
Balance 1/1/68	$ 1,164.07
Deposits (1966 & 1967)	702.30
Interest	4.85
Balance 12/31/68	$ 1,871.22

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Owen A. Tapper
Financial Secretary

Accepted
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

ALVARADO LETTER

May 14, 1969

To the Editor:

The strike of Third World peoples and white supportors at San Francisco State College was a part of expanding the movement in this country toward liberation. It was a strike, an action with a direction toward a revolutionary level because it was based upon principles drawn from the foundation of oppressed Third World peoples' needs.

There are some fundamental questions concerning the strike and its history that directly relate to the expansion and development of the movement into a more cohesive and powerful force of the people. The hows, whys, whats, wheres of the strike cannot be overlooked in determining guidelines for the work - work not so glorious and saleable as the strike - that need to be recognized if we are to continue to move and not be overrun by the tremendous powers being concentrated against the people at this time.

For over two and a half years people worked at San Francisco State College and in the Bay Area on the educational needs of Third World people. Not just at the College, or in schools, but in the streets, in people's homes, with juvenile authorities, city officials, gangs, car clubs, Y's, in bars and on and on and on. People worked together and learned together what the general and specific needs of Third World people were and continued not only to educate others but also to develop their understanding and ability to relate to the people's needs. The three principles of the strike were established from this committment and work. In turn the principles of the strike have demonstrated the clear oppressiveness of higher education.

The duration of the strike, the strike strategy, as well as the organization and flexibility of the strike came from the perspectives and politics of a continuously developing programmatic approach to making basic changes in this country. In no way do I imply or contend that mistakes were not made during this strike. However, it is a fact that for the first time in this country: 1) a working class institution of the largest higher educational system in the world was brought to its knees and held there for four and a half months - Hayakawa or no Hayakawa; 2) Third World people defined principles and demands concerning their needs; 3) Third World people established and maintained leadership of the strike that was recognized and accepted by large numbers of white people; 4) college professors organized and acted as members of the working class; 5) a coalition of Third World people in their communities and young Third World people in the elite institutions of higher education was formed: 6) a coalition between Third World people and a workers union striking Standard Oil in Richmond was made. These events did not occur because of a sham - they occurred because people understood the necessity of these actions and coalitions. The experiences of their daily committment and work among oppressed Third World people taught this necessity.

Since the end of the strike the work has increased far beyond anything that it was before and during the strike. We are actively working not only to implement the demands but to extend our work more and more into our communities in defense of our people and our supporters. In the law courts specifically we are concerned about the 700 persons arrested during the strike. We have been able to find lawyers

and provide a tremendous amount of assistance in an attempt to protect our people, but we need more people and more money. I know too well that these are the same old pleas, but it has been a long struggle and it's going to take more time, more people and more money. I can only ask you that if you supported the strike, agreed with its principles and/or understand the rights of people to be liberated not just in their souls, hearts and minds but in their material needs as well, then give to yourself the opportunity to continue to develop your involvement. We need you and your money (if you have any) to protect our people in the courts in order to exhaust another alternative and push ourselves into another direction. The work is ours and the money is needed to get the tools necessary for defending our people.

Hasta la victoria siempre,

/Signed/ Roger T. Alvarado

Make checks payable to:

San Francisco State Legal Defense Fund

Mail to:

Third World Liberation Front
546 Fillmore Street
San Francisco, California 94117

Circulated
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

SELDEN TESTIMONY

We include a reproduction of excerpts from the excellent statement made by AFT President, David Selden, before the House Special Subcommittee on Education on March 21st.

The hearings held under the direction of Edith Green, Representative from Oregon, were for the purpose of receiving testimony concerning college student unrest and possible strengthening of the punitive sections already outlined in the Higher Education Act of 1965 as amended in Section 504 in 1968.

Section 504 provides for denial for a period of two years federal aid or assistance to any student convicted of a crime or involved "in the use of force, disruption, or the seizure of property under control of any institution of higher education."

Whereas:AFT President David Selden testified before the House Special Committee: "we are opposed to those provisions of Section 504 which single out for punitive action students who receive federal assistance by authorizing colleges to withhold such assistance from students who engage in activities which tend to disrupt the operation of a college or a university. We support the U. S. Supreme Court decisions which affirm the rights of students to engage in peaceful protest on school property as well as at other locations.[1]

"It is the position of the American Federation of Teachers that the objectionable features of Paragraph 504 should be repealed for the following reasons:

"(1) The legislation is an unwarranted interference in local affairs by the federal government. It does not provide for flexible enforcement by local officials in the light of local conditions.

"(2) Our colleges and universities do need major changes. College administrations and trustees, in some instances backed by reactionary state administrations, have been resistant to change through the normal process of petition. By their inaction they invite unrest and disruption. Often the only legitimate way to advocate needed change is through protest activity.

"(3) There are no guarantees of due process for individuals who may be hurt by this legislation. The Chairman has stated her support for amendments seeking to guarantee fair treatment. However, it would be difficult to design proper machinery without cumbersome administrative procedures. Inevitably the provision justifies and encourages surveillance of the activities of individual students and student organizations. It attempts to create an enforcement mechanism which, in order to justify its existence must find wrongdoing.

"(4) The legislation is discriminatory on a class and racial basis. A high proportion of students receiving federal assistance in proportion to those enrolled are non-white and many are poor. This law would wreck a harsh penalty on such students, while the rich remain outside its scope.

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[1]February 1969 - Case #21 Oct. 1968 Term, Tanker vs. Des Moines Independent School District.
March 1969 - Case # 901 Oct. 1968 Term, Barker vs. Hardway.

Motion to commend President for his testimony concerning the Higher Education Act of 1968 . . . regarding the rights of student protest . . .

Therefore, be it resolved, that Local 189 AFT commend President Dave Selden for his testimony before the House Special Subcommittee on Education regarding the rights of students.

Adopted
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

LABOR PARTICIPATION IN THE ARTS

Whereas, the AFL-CIO has established a pilot program in Buffalo, New York City, Louisville and Minneapolis for Labor participation in the Arts, and

Whereas, cultural improvement of trade unionists is an important goal for labor educators,

Therefore, be it resolved, that Local #189 AFT supports this program and urges its members in the four pilot areas to aid this program through their participation and through urging their unionist students to enroll in this program.

Copies of this resolution to be sent to the Director of AFL-CIO Community Services, the presidents of the four city central bodies, the three State Federation presidents, the four coordinators of the Labor and the Arts Programs, and the four Community Services departments in the areas involved.

Submitted by:

Keith D. Knauss
May 15, 1969

Adopted
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

LABOR EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

May 16, 1969

Mr. Bill Kemsley
Chairman, International Affairs Committee
Labor Relations and Research Center
111 Draper Hall
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Dear Bill:

I have completed - insofar as responses permit - a survey of labor education centers throughout the United States and Puerto Rico concerning their activities in the area of:

(1) Programs concerned with United States foreign policy or with the foreign policies of other countries.

(2) Programs concerned with labor education or workers' problems outside the United States.

A totoal of 22 universities responded out of 28 queried.

It would be my interpretation of your desires and the desires of other members of the committee, as expressed at our meeting in Washington November 22, that this survey fulfills my responsibilities to the committee in the absence of further direction.

In other words, we have merely assembled certain facts and made no effort to interpret them or form conclusions from them. Perhaps the committee will want to examine the results of the survey and then decide what further action, if any, it wishes to take.

I am enclosing one hundred copies of survey results for such distribution as you may wish to make.

Coridally,

/Signed/ Roger V. Snow, Jr.

Roger V. Snow Jr.
Coordinator
Bureau of Labor Education
University of Maine
Portland, Maine 04103

RVS/1
Enclosures

LOCAL 189, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Questionnaire Results

(28 sent out; 22 returned)

1. Have you conducted, do you conduct, or do you plan to conduct any programs for employee groups which deal in any major way with United States foreign policy or with the foreign policies of other countries?

Yes 12 No 10

American University - co-sponsored several "labor" credit programs with the School for International Service; used standard texts and special material.

University of California at Los Angeles - held a conference in April on Worldwide Survey of Labor Programs and Problems; each of the summer schools includes at least one session on foreign policy.

University of Colorado - sessions that are part of monthly series of 2-1/2 hour programs of a "Labor Leaders" Seminar primarily for full-time union staff people; stimulated considerable interest; used a variety of books, pamphlets, articles.

Cornell University (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations) - special programs in the New York City area of 5 sessions in 1966 on foreign policy; 6 sessions in 1966-67 on the defense program; high degree of interest; used articles by instructor, Congressional documents, 2 paperbacks.

Harvard Trade Union Program - material covered in course on "International Labor Affairs"; evaluated very favorably by students; uses mimeographed materials.

University of Illinois - Division of University Extension has had a program on "Labor's Stake in World Affairs and Trade".

Indiana University - one-session programs, such as speaker on Russia at graduation banquet, dinner meeting on Cuba; hopes to add "graduate course" on foreign affairs to Union Leadership Programs now conducted in 4 cities; two 1-1/2 day seminars on foreign policy in mid '60's; successful but grant expired.

University of Iowa - union sessions on foreign policy and the war; not very successful.

University of Michigan - evening program in CWA week-long leadership school, which includes foreign policy among subjects; foreign policy also discussed in Labor School; successful considering limited discussion - participants interested and active in discussion.

University of Minnesota - Annual Labor and World Affairs Forum, co-sponsored by Minnesota Trade Union Council for Histradrut - entire program deals with Mideast problems, American foreign policy in relation to these problems and foreign policy implications related to war in Vietnam; extremely successful; materials developed by University of Minnesota World Affairs Center and those obtained through connection with Histradrut.

Questionnaire Results - 2

Pennsylvania State University - in 1956, a one-week Steelworkers Institute on International Affairs; discontinued because students felt this was too much time to devote to a "distant" topic.

West Virginia University - planned program under Title I of Higher Education Act to trace labor's involvement in U. S. foreign policy; cancelled due to personnel changes.

- -

2. Have you conducted, do you conduct or plan to conduct any programs for workers' groups which deal with labor education or workers' problems outside the United States?

Yes 8 No 14

American University - held a special short course on European-American Unions - a Comparison; canceled due to lack of students; others under discussion for the future; a contemplated special course in the fall of 1968 given up primarily due to a cutback in government agency (AID).

University of Colorado - 3-credit course, "The Role of Labor in the 20th Century", dealing with the labor movement in the U. S. and other parts of the world, both "developed" and "developing"; successful and continuing.

Harvard Trade Union Program - special sessions to compare worker education techniques because of overseas students in each session; very successful; use research of individual students plus class discussion and comparison.

University of Minnesota - several of the long-term courses in the Union Leadership Academy and Basic Labor School have included sessions on workers' problems outside the U. S.

University of Missouri - as the opportunity arises, foreign trade union problems and labor education outside the U. S. will be programmed.

Pennsylvania State University - has conducted such programs in the past but not at present and not planned for the future.

University of Puerto Rico - in 1959 held a one-month program conducted by entire teaching staff of Institute for 50 workers in El Salvador from the trade union organization; courses have also been conducted for trade union leaders from Bolivia, staff members have taught courses in British Guiana and Jamaica; discontinued because graduates ready to offer the courses in their own countries and because of policy changes in one of the sponsoring agencies. Latin American Leadership Program - included History of the Labor Movement, Collective Bargaining and Labor Relations, Union Organization and Administration, Labor Union Journalism and Public Relations, Labor Legislation, Labor Economics, Educational Methods and Techniques; Occupational Medicine and Safety, Cooperativism; programs highly rated.

University of Wisconsin - occasional general session meetings on the introductory level in international labor problems for U. S. workers.

Questionnaire Results - 3

Additional Comments included the following:

One University "would be glad to do more work in this field if more union leaders felt that what happens in other parts of the world also affects their life and their future."

"This area was rehased many times before and I see no useful or constructive purpose to retalk it."

". . . in the matter of international affairs, the AFL-CIO has been extremely aggressive and in a sense has pre-empted this field for itself, leaving scraps to universities."

"Since AFL-CIO policies (on foreign policy) are usually more reactionary than those of the State Department, it's a good area to stay out of."

Presented
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATORS

A proposal to create professional standards for those entering the field of community leadership training.

This proposal would place Local 189, AFT, AFL-CIO, in the role of a professional association which certifies community educators. Local 189 is the logical organization for such an undertaking because it is a union of persons who are devoting their lives to leadership training of low income individuals.

The proposal would aid the Model Cities and Community Action Programs which should be looking for skilled, competent individuals to conduct leadership training programs in their target areas. Too often, "trainers" are political patronage appointees with little or no training in the field. A training program of community educators would materially improve governmental antipoverty programs.

The Plumber's Union has an apprenticeship program which, when successfully completed means certification in the plumbing trade. The American Medical Association certifies doctors. Certainly, a teacher's association must do the same thing if the teaching profession is to gain any respect.

THE TRAINING PROGRAM

There would be an experimental program in a community where Local 189 has strength. A Local 189 committee would draw up the first program which may last anywhere from ten weeks to four months, evening classes. Successful completion would lead to certification.

Students might well include those already working in government programs, leaders of the poor, university students, private citizens who wish to enter the field.

After several pilot programs, each one presumably getting better by learning from past mistakes, the entire program would be ready to package and distribute to the rest of the country.

Such a course would probably include: parliamentary procedure, public speaking, community services, consumer counselling, community organization and mobilization techniques, ethics, basic sociology and political science, labor and ethnic group history, newsletter writing.

Received to circulate
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

Submitted by:

William Abbott

LABOR AND ETHNIC STUDIES

A proposal to integrate labor studies into
a general ethnic studies program.

Most universities, and certainly most high schools, do not have any labor studies worthy of the name. The working class and the poor are nonexistent as far as most institutions of learning are concerned. If any "labor" is taught at all, it is usually taught by a management oriented professor of Business Administration. The average student has no way of studying labor even if he wanted to.

Because of the drive for centers of ethnic studies on college campuses, labor has the best opportunity in its entire history of gaining a major foothold in academia.

A one year Labor and Ethnic Studies Project would include the following:

1. Meeting with civil rights leaders, students, faculty members and administrators of selected universities to determine how a labor studies program would fit into the general concept of ethnic studies.

   There is a distinct labor subculture. "Labor" is also a social and economic class.

2. A coordinator would meet with a committee from Local 189 to draw up a program based on a report of the talks with the abovementioned individuals.

3. A selected university would be asked to cooperate in launching this pilot program in its general ethnic studies center.

4. The program would include working with the entire ethnic studies problem in light of labor education's past work in using the university to train persons who do not have high school diplomas.

   Local 189 can help the university administration meet black and third world demands by drawing up a program based on labor education's practical experience in working with low income individuals.

   Labor educators are the only people who have really had experience in conducting programs for people without high school degrees and who need to study their own heritage and subculture. This experience should be put to use.

- -

Submitted by:

William Abbott

Received to circulate
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

TRAINING EDUCATION REPRESENTATIVES IN THE GHETTO

A proposal to train educational representatives for work in the ghetto.

In Washington, D. C. and its surrounding area Local 189, AFT, AFL-CIO has almost 70 members.

This is to propose a one year experimental program under the direction of Local 189 to train persons raised in the ghetto in the skills of an education representative similar to union education representatives.

What the poor need is leadership development. They need men to instruct them and guide them who have a variety of skills. Such skills would include teaching classes in parliamentary procedure, public speaking, and consumer counselling. The Education Rep. must know how to run a mimeograph machine and how to put out a newsletter and special leaflets. He must know the social and health agencies in order to set up a community services training program. He has to know organizational and collective bargaining techniques.

Only labor educators are skilled in training such individuals. And Local 189 is the only professional association concerned with the field of training low income leaders. Local 189, by making the selection of the trainees, could begin to establish some professional standards and would keep education out of politics, something which is next to impossible in a government program.

THE PROGRAM OUTLINE

Local 189 would select ten potential education representatives. While there would be a director or coordinator of the program, a member of the local would adopt one of the trainees and give him personal counselling throughout the year.

The program would begin with a weekend seminar with the trainees and their Local 189 counsellors. Key figures in government and private antipoverty programs would come in for purposes of discussion as well as some critics.

The representatives would be assigned to existing projects of CAP, Model Cities, church or other programs. They would, therefore, work in the field. Periodically, however, they would reassemble for reflection and actual training. They would be receiving content and skill instruction by attending a special once-a-week evening class conducted by the coordinator. If their assigned activities do not fill the bill they might branch out into their own activities which they may consider more meaningful.

Received to circulate
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

Submitted by:

William Abbott

ORGANIZED PROFESSIONALS AGAINST POVERTY

"The white middle class. That's where the power is and that's where the decisions will be made for the next decade or longer. I've spent my life organizing the poor, but now I'm going to start organizing the middle class."

- Saul Alinsky

A proposal to:

1. Establish an organization of professionals which would provide a community resources pool and a coordinating agency for a full mobilization of anti-poverty efforts.

2. The publication of a community resources directory which would list labor, business, church, government, student, and other private antipoverty efforts.

3. A community trainers' bureau with Local 189 members as the nucleus.

4. A community action newsletter.

5. Publication of a community action handbook.

The organization would redefine the expression "community action", making it broader in scope. Presumably, a non-governmental organization would be able to say things and do things which an agency connected with a governmental unit would not be able to do.

The Problem: There is no real coordination in antipoverty efforts. Each group had its own kingdom and often goes its own way. In Hawaii of 1969, there were five different departments, programs or groups of individuals engaged in antipoverty work, each group entirely independent of each other. This was at the University. The Model Cities Program had a leadership training program, so did the Community Action Program. A liberal Democratic Party group also had its program. The Inter-Faith Urban Council had its program which covered the same field. This is not to mention VISTA and the manpower programs which went their independent ways. Hawaii is not unique. This goes on all over the country. Not only is there a great waste of time and money in duplications of effort, but power struggles take place among the little kingdoms which drain off energies which could be better used fighting poverty.

Received to circulate
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

Submitted by:

William Abbott

THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

A proposal to conduct a training program leading to specific community action.

The purpose is to integrate labor educators, or union staffmen interested in adult education, with an equal number of selected leaders of the poor. The group would total no more than forty.

The group would first gather at a weekend seminar where they would study community organization. They would develop their own tentative interest areas and would divide into groups representing those interests. Examples: welfare recipients, community union, tenant's union, drop out rehabilitation, ethnic studies in the schools, transportation.

Each unit would work on its own project for a month. The entire group would then reassemble for a weekend where it would reasses itself in light of its undertakings. They would spend a day on community mobilization techniques. There will be some drop outs and the group may want to bring in some church community actionists, government antipoverty workers, social workers or other individuals it trusts. Disruptionists must be taboo.

Work is then continued on the original project or there may be some new directions at this point. Flexibility is a must.

In six week's time there should be another weekend session with the entire group. Each action group will report and ask for advice from the other groups. Content education should include collective bargaining training. How do you bargain with the power structure?

This will probably be an extremely sensitive session. The poor may decide it wants its own caucus. The middle class professionals usually do some serious group soul searching, asking themselves if they are really cut out for this kind of activity. They may well decide they are only useful in a supportive role. At this moment of truth, the roles will be more clear-cut; the poor will have to lead and the middle class will have to work out means of supporting them.

The end of the course should result in a permanent coordinating organization which coordinates the various units operating in the community and which is empowered to mobilize the groups behind an issue whenever the occasion demands.

THE HAWAIIAN PROGRAM

This proposal is based on an actual program conducted by the Labor-Management Education Program at the University of Hawaii. It had a Title I grant. The course was written up in the Nation and Progressive magazines.

Although largely a success, the experience showed a full time coordinator could have made it more successful. Everyone was on a volunteer, after hours basis, and much more could have been done with full time staff.

Received to circulate
May 20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pa.

Submitted by:

William Abbott

LOCAL 189, AFT

C-O-P-Y
June 30, 1969

Mr. Walter Davis
Director of Education, AFL-CIO

Mrs. Lois Gray, Chairman
University Labor Education Association

Dear Walter and Lois:

This letter is to briefly summarize the deliberations of Local 189 as concerns plans for the 1970 and other future labor education meetings.

First, it was the feeling that the meetings should be held in the third week in May. This was after most people had completed their classes and before the summer school rush.

Second, It is proposed that the 1970 meeting be held in Minneapolis, the 1971 meeting be held in St. Louis, and that the 1972 meeting be held on the East Coast, as close to the former location of the Brookwood Labor College as possible.

1972 will be the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Brookwood College Local 189. We are in the process of setting up a special committee to develop meaningful plans to celebrate this important event. We would hope that this event would provide an opportunity to recognize many of the pioneers in the field, take stock of how far we have come, and look to the future.

Lastly, we would prefer to have our L 189 meeting on the day before the respective or joint ULEA and AFL-CIO Meetings. Our program would probably involve a full day conference program, with L 189 meeting during the evening.

I and the other officers are anxious to play a meaningful role in the various aspects of planning for these future meetings. While attendance by any one person in L 189 is often difficult, we can appoint a person to sit in on any meetings, if we are forewarned.

I personally will be East for the ILPA Convention in Atlantic City in September 28 - October 1. I and the other Officers will be participating in the Winter Meeting of L 189 in Washington, D. C. on the proposed date November 21 - 23.

If plans go well, Owen Tapper, Joan Suarez and I will be meeting in late August or early September. Possibly by that time plans will have jelled sufficiently for us to react to specifics.

Under any circumstances, we are available on the phone, or physically to work out questions or problems.

Thanking you very much for your consideration and with best regards, I remain

Sincerely and fraternally,

(Signed)

Stan Rosen
President, Local 189 AFT

CC: Tapper, Suarez

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

July 31, 1969

TO: ALL MEMBERS OF LOCAL 189

Fraternal greetings:

Enclosed is your ballot for the 1969 annual election of officers, regional executive board members and AFT Convention delegates. Please mark the ballots and return them no later than August 14, 1969 to the following address:

Dennis W. Muehl
189 Elections Committee
1659 W. Market
Akron, Ohio 44313

After you have completed your voting selections, place the ballots in the "BALLOT ENVELOPE" and seal it. Then place the "BALLOT ENVELOPE" in the "MAILING ENVELOPE FOR OFFICIAL BALLOT."

Write your name and address (legibly) on the outside of the mailing envelope. No ballot may be accepted or counted unless the envelope is identified. Do not place any identification on the "BALLOT ENVELOPE."

Fraternally,

Owen A. Tapper

Owen A. Tapper
Financial Secretary

NOTE: If you wish to identify any of the candidates, consult the attached sheets -- as required by Wells Keddie.

All members are eligible to vote for executive board members in all seven (7) regions.

OAT/jt

Enclosures

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

OFFICIAL BALLOT

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Stanley Rosen

_____ _____

TREASURER -- Vote for (1)

_____ Owen Tapper

_____ _____

VICE-PRESIDENTS -- Vote for four (4)

_____ Anne Green

_____ Prince Moon

_____ Ernie Weiss

_____ Wells Keddie

_____ Irv Rosenstein

_____ Stuart Brock

_____ Steve Remsen

_____ _____

RECORDING SECRETARY -- Vote for (1)

_____ Joan Suarez

_____ _____

DELEGATES TO THE AFT CONVENTION
Vote for four (4)

_____ Stanley Rosen

_____ James Wolfe

_____ Emory Via

_____ Joan Suarez

_____ Pete Gregan

_____ Roger Rines

_____ Steve Remsen

_____ Lee Balliet

_____ _____

_____ _____

7/31/69
OAT/jt

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

OFFICIAL BALLOT

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

NORTHEAST -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Bill Kemsley

_____ _____

POTOMAC -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Jim Robinson

_____ Stephen Cook

_____ Chris Piluras

_____ Harry Kranz

_____ Jim Williams

_____ _____

SOUTHEAST -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Emory Via

_____ _____

PACIFIC -- Vote for (1)

_____ Oliver McMillan

_____ _____

GREAT LAKES -- Vote for (1)

_____ Paula Paley

_____ _____

MIDWEST -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Keith Knauss

_____ _____

MOUNTAIN -- Vote for one (1)

_____ Norm Weintraub

_____ _____

7/31/69
OAT/jt

BALLOT ENVELOPE

- Place your marked ballot in this envelope.
- Seal it.
- Do not write on this envelope.
- Place this envelope in "Mailing Envelope for Official Ballot."
- Write your name on the Mailing Envelope.
- Mail within time limits specified for this election.

LOCAL 189, AFT

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

YOU MUST WRITE YOUR NAME HERE
FOR YOUR BALLOT TO BE COUNTED

AFT 189

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

DENNIS W. MUEHL, CHR.
L. 189 ELECTIONS COMM.
1659 W. MARKET STREET
AKRON, OHIO 44313

MAILING ENVELOPE FOR
OFFICIAL BALLOT

STATEMENTS OF CANDIDATES

OFFICE: PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: STANLEY ROSEN

STATEMENT: 1. My present position is Co-ordinator of the Chicago Labor Education Program of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois. This position entails work in the area of Program and Conference development, program administration, promotional activities, teaching and materials development.

My major area of concern is the development of a full scale labor education program in the Chicago Metropolitan area. I do however, participate in various conferences and classes in Champaign and in other areas of the state periodically.

2. The role of Local 189 should be:
   A. To work co-operatively with all agencies working in the field of workers education.
   B. To bring together all labor educators as individuals providing a vehicle for them to make a distinct and where appropriate a different contribution to the field.
   C. To build, through committees and activities a labor education movement in the United States.
   D. To provide opportunities for labor educators below the position of Director to participate more meaningfully in the field.
   E. To provide a link to the Teacher Movement and to the general labor movement by participation in the affairs of AFT.
   F. To develop procedures and approaches which serve to protect and enhance the job rights, wages and working conditions of labor educators.
   G. To provide a place where diverse and controversial views of consequence to labor educators can be aired and evaluated.

3. I propose to carry out this program by (1) strengthening the regional structure of the Local and by enhancing the role of the Regional Vice-Presidents, (2) by developing Executive Board policies which speak to the problems facing labor education in the U. S., (3) by co-operating with all other labor education agencies, (4) by strengthening the committees and Chapters of Local 189, (5) by continuing to strive for improved membership meetings and educational conferences.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: ANNE GREEN

STATEMENT: Current position: Education Associate, International Chemical Workers Union.
Past Labor Education Experience: CWA Materials Project
Education: MA, University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations

Within Local 189, discussion and presentation of ideas on content and methods of Labor Education are readily available to every labor educator. For an inexperienced person, this forum atmosphere is an invaluable source

of knowledge. This important function is performed uniquely by 189 without operating within a series of constraints imposed by non-educational interests. Obviously 189 should strive to inform all persons involved in labor education, whether inexperienced or experienced, of the local's availability, in order to continue successfully in this function. One method of reaching interested persons is the 189 internship. Although the present internship program should be re-examined as to its value to the intern as well as to 189, hopefully, the intern program will continue in some manner.

A major issue that confronts 189 members today concerns the local's position on its responsibilities as a bargaining agent for its constituency. Clearly, under the present administrative structure this function cannot be easily accomplished. However, as 189 is a labor union and in order to protect its present bargaining unit committments, 189 should be prepared to act as a bargaining agent when called upon. At the last local meeting it became evident that the International body will aid 189 in the exercise of its responsibilities in this area. With this assistance and with membership support, 189 should attempt to develop an administrative procedure which will facilitate the bargaining function.

If elected to the position of 189 Vice President-at-large, I will strive to encourage 189 to develop a structure consistent with its primary function as a forum as well as exploring, and if necessary, implementing a functional collective bargaining program.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: PRINCE MOON

STATEMENT: For the past two years I have been a staff member of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan and Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

The duties of this position were to coordinate the labor programs, teach classes in the Worker's Basic Study Program and handle the various administrative duties.

Also, during that period, I taught classes for the Michigan State University Labor Program and University of Wisconsin School for Workers, Madison Campus.

I resigned from Wayne State University in October, 1968 to accept the post of Education Director for Region 1-E, UAW. The responsibility of this position is to coordinate educational classes, programs, seminars and conferences for 31 Local Unions which represents more than 74,060 members.

It is my opinion that the role of Local 189 should be to decide whether we want to be an association or a union. If 189 is to be a union, then we should set a sound regional structure to project our planning to include Collective Bargaining.

I am aware of the problems that the Local would face in bargaining with Universities and other agencies. I am also equally aware that Unions have survived against overwhelming odds in the past. However, with some imagination and innovation we can accomplish goals that in the past were imaginary.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: ERNIE WEISS

STATEMENT: None submitted.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: WELLS KEDDIE

STATEMENT: I believe the fundamental job of labor educators to be re-forging of the links between the labor movement and what has come to be known as The Movement, i.e., that somewhat amorphous grouping around efforts to end racism, stop the war and restructure society along egalitarian lines. To the extent that Local 189 can open and keep open channels of communication between The Movement and organized labor, it fullfills one of its basic functions. A second basic task of Local 189 is its development as an organization which can in fact independently assert itself in protecting the interests of its members; as I see it, this implies collective bargaining efforts, operation of employment pools, and struggles to maintain the civil liberties of its members at all times. I pledge myself to work for those two basic functions and to oppose all moves in the opposite direction.

Biographical Sketch: Ph.D., economics; research director, Department of Labor Studies, Penn State U.; faculty adviser to and member of Students for a Democratic Society; member, New University Conference; former member, United Auto Workers and Teamsters; member of AFT since 1959, and of 189 since 1965; currently chairman of 189 Constitution and By-Laws Changes Committee.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: IRV ROSENSTEIN

STATEMENT: None submitted.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: STUART BROCK

STATEMENT: None submitted

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: STEVE REMSEN

STATEMENT: None submitted

OFFICE: RECORDING SECRETARY

CANDIDATE: JOAN SUAREZ

STATEMENT: During the past two years, Joan Suarez has continued as Regional Education Director for the Southwest Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with headquarters in St. Louis. The job includes editing the Regional newspaper and running a retiree program in addition to the usual bread and butter activities of a union labor educator.

Mrs. Suarez believes that Local 189 has a role to play in development of the field of labor education, through program initiation and discussion and through exposing newcomers to the field to both program and philosophy. She also believes that Local 189 has a collective bargaining role and that policies to obtain that goal should be continually reviewed, revised and pushed forward.

Toward these ends, she would like to see the Local 189 Intern Program continued in some fashion, regional labor education conferences planned and executed on a regular basis, and pledges to work toward these ends.

OFFICE: TREASURER

CANDIDATE: OWEN TAPPER

STATEMENT: Currently Assistant Director for Education, Institute for Labor Studies, West Virginia University. Formerly with School for Workers, The University of Wisconsin.

Bargaining, for the most part, for university and union labor educators (as a separate unit) is impractical. It is impractical because we lack sufficient power. Local 189 should devote its efforts to developing alternatives, i.e., job referral systems, salary surveys--even arbitration of grievances where and if possible.

Local 189, apparently, needs to be the organization that has a major responsibility for educating (liberally) labor educators. The other two existing organizations are more policy conscious--which is fine. But it does leave labor educators without a sense of "what's happening" in the world. In this respect, Local 189 already does more than the other two organizations.

The proposal, already approved, for regional--and real--education conferences for labor educators (and their natural allies) is a good one and should be implemented.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD--NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: BILL KEMSLEY

STATEMENT: Since June 1, 1967, I have been directing the OEO Trade Union Leadership Training Program for New England. Supported by the National AFL-CIO and the New England AFL-CIO Council, the program is operated out of the University of Massachusetts Labor Relations and Research Center under the direction of Professor Ben Seligman.

The program has three emphases, (1) To inform the trainees of the causes and results of poverty and to examine some of the methods of eliminating it, (2) To examine the potentials of community action, (3) and,

helping each trainee develop a social concern, a compassion and an understanding of his fellow being.

In addition, I am serving on the Vermont State Labor Relations Board, as a Trustee of the Vermont-New York City Youth Project, as a member of the Vermont State OEO Advisory Committee and as a consultant on group educational travel.

Local 189 should act as a collective bargaining agent for its members whenever possible and as an exchange for materials, methods, experiences and theories.

One danger lies in the possibility that Local 189 will be used to help build phony fences around union education in the name of "professional standards" thus placing the practicing of it off limits to those who do not meet these so-called standards.

It would be interesting to review just how many "education" programs have developed practitioners from the ranks of their unions.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: JIM ROBINSON

STATEMENT: I returned to labor education as director of the new Virginia Polytechnic Institute program. Most of my time has involved problems inherent in a new program, particularly one in the South.

Over the years, I have come to perceive the value and appreciate the promise of Local 189. I feel that university and union labor educators share similar problems. Each must contend with administrators who may not fully appreciate labor education. In each instance, their job security is less stable than that of others in the organization. Although their efforts may not be appreciated always, they continue in the knowledge that it is worthwhile.

Local 189 has a valuable role as a union. In universities, its representatives must strive to convince the administration of the need for labor education in a manner of which other organizations are incapable. It can focus attention of all unions on university labor education problems. In unions, Local 189 can perform traditional bargaining and grievance functions when the members desire. It can provide a mechanism for coordination of union educational activities.

Finally, Local 189 should continue its historic evolution as representative of those engaged in new types of activity designed to broaden adult education horizons. Organization of OEO workers is a start. It should expand to include persons in Jobs Corps and similar efforts.

Local 189 should not be merely a vehicle for university educators to get a union card. It should not attempt to be a quasi-professional society. And it should not be merely an annual forum for renewal of old acquaintances.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: STEPHEN L. COOK

STATEMENT: Recent Labor Education Activities; 1966-67, Labor Education Specialist at the University of Missouri. Served as Local 189's Midwest Regional Executive Board Member. 1967-68, Assistant Director of the OEO funded eleven state Appalachian Trade Unionists Leadership Training Project.

West Virginia University. Worked intensively with state and local central body officers and members in an attempt to activate labor in the war on poverty. 1968-Present, Assistant Professor and Coordinator of the Union Leadership Academy, Institute for Labor Studies and Manpower Development, West Virginia University. Primarily responsible for the planning, staffing and implementation of the joint union-university long-term advanced program to train officers and members for more effective leadership at all levels in the labor movement. Editor of Local 189's Labor Education Viewpoints, Fall 1968. I have actively served on various 189 committees.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: CHRIS PILURAS

STATEMENT: Have been working as a labor educator for the past four years for the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. Have planned, programmed and conducted education programs for members, stewards, officers and full-time staff. Have prepared teaching outlines, bulletins and manuals for workers' education. The sessions covered subjects such as: steward training, collective bargaining, organizing and political techniques.

Since Local 189 is not set up to effectively represent its members on grievances and negotiate agreements, it should concentrate its efforts in the following areas: (1) Expand and improve methods of labor education and reach out to get into the main stream of continuing adult education; (2) Actively support the AFT in organizing the elementary and secondary school teachers and university instructors. For the organization of school teachers is the first step in reaching the young and giving them an understanding of the principles of unionism; (3) Participate more fully in politics. Our members should become political activists in their communities. In addition, labor educators should design programs to provide local union leaders with the tools for practical participation in the local political process.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: HARRY KRANZ

STATEMENT: Harry Kranz is Coordinator of Technical Assistance for the U. S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration, United States Training and Employment Service. His activities include planning and execution of programs and contracts to train manpower staffs at Federal, State and local levels. Last year, Mr. Kranz spent six months in Mississippi, directing the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in the 18-county Mississippi Delta which trained and placed 2,000 unemployed persons in jobs. Prior to joining the Federal government in 1961, Kranz was Legislative and Public Relations Director for ten years with the New Jersey State CIO; an Assistant to UAW President Walter P. Reuther for three years; and Deputy Director of the Foreign Trade Union Training Program at American University for two years. He has been a member of Local 189 for more than a decade. He was previously a member for 13 years of ANG, and is now also a member of AFGE, Labor Lodge. "I support the present major directions of Local 189, but would like to see more emphasis on programs to reach youth--on and off campus."

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: JIM WILLIAMS

STATEMENT: Presently serving as Assistant Director of Research and Information of the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, which does research, education, human rights and political action stuff on behalf of its 30,000 members. Previously was Director of Research and Publications, West Virginia AFL-CIO. Also taught courses in Union Administration for the Union Leadership Academy.

I think Local 189 must take a tough-minded, pragmatic approach towards improving the quality and quantity of labor education in the U. S. by working with the main organs of labor education within the U. S., and by seeking to add content to their programs.

Local 189 should also press its goal of improving the wages, hours and working conditions of its members through developing new bargaining units both in the trade union and university shops.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - SOUTHEAST

CANDIDATE: EMORY VIA

STATEMENT: Currently Director of Labor Programs, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Formerly (for nine years) a professor of Labor Education at the School for Workers, The University of Wisconsin.

Emory Via also was the Field Program Director at Roosevelt University for a number of years. And, what's more, was the Field Program Leader of the Georgia Workers Education Service and was also the Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Labor Education Service Association.

He now holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

He feels that Local 189 should be more pragmatic and should strive to expand labor education in the Southeast so that by 1972 it dominates the local (and other segments).

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - PACIFIC

CANDIDATE: OLIVER MCMILLAN

STATEMENT: None submitted.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - GREAT LAKES

CANDIDATE: PAULA PALEY

STATEMENT: None submitted.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - MIDWEST

CANDIDATE: KEITH KNAUSS

STATEMENT: I received a B. A. degree in Labor Management Relations from the Pennsylvania State University in June 1967 and after spending the last three months at P.S.U. as an assistant to the Labor Studies Department, I entered graduate school in Industrial Relations at the University of Minnesota as a Research Assistant in the Labor Education Service. At Minnesota I have been doing work in such areas as: materials development; research; long-term studies course planning, teaching and evaluation; conference planning, teaching and total coordination; and professional service activities (including election as Midwest Region executive board member). On December 16, 1968, I was appointed as a Labor Intern and, with the completion of the M.A. degree close at hand, received an appointment as a full-time Instructor January 1, 1969.

Local #189 should plan and act upon the creation of more regional conferences for its members, as well as the development of regional union training conferences using the resources abailable from universities and unions in the various regions. Also needed are practical analyses, plans and actions as to: collective bargaining for more #189 members; our relationship with ULEA and AFL-CIO; recruitment of ad-hoc and part-time labor educators; and the development of an effective steward system. Further support for the membership committee as well as increased use of Viewpoints and the Newsletter as professional information sources should be forthcoming.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - MOUNTAIN

CANDIDATE: NORMAN A. WEINTRAUB

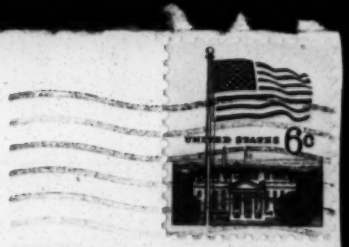
STATEMENT: During the last two years I have been Assistant Research Director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union and a member of Local 189, AFT. My previous associations include the Allied Industrial Workers, the AFL-CIO research Department and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

My main job activities include the preparation of detailed economic and financial analyses of the oil and chemical industries and leading companies in many industries. I have also kept close tabs on oil imports, chemical tariffs and the repeal of the American Selling Price on benzensid chemicals and general economic conditions.

Before the office employees of the O.C.A.W. established a picket line on July 22, 1968, which I refused to cross, I did a fair amount of traveling and had assignments in labor education. Since August 1, 1968 I have not received any such assignments from the O.C.A.W. Only four staff personnel based in Denver refused to cross the legal picket line--all Directors crossed.

Assistant Research Director-OCAW, A member OCAW Local 2-477, Shop Steward (Dist. #2) International Reps Comm. Union, Member- Local #189, A.F.T.

AKRON, OH
PM
1 AUG 21
1969



Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

PRINCE E. MOON

UAW EDUCATION STAFF
(H) - 313- 824-2676

WELLS H. KEDDIE

PENN STATE LABOR EDUCATION STAFF
(O) 814-865-5425

ANNE C. GREEN

ICWU EDUCATION STAFF
(H) 216-434-4612

AFT 189 VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

ARE ASKING FOR YOUR VOTE

ARE WORKING LABOR EDUCATORS

OUR PLATFORMS ENCLOSED WITH YOUR BALLOT SPEAK FOR US

WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WITH YOU BEFORE YOU CAST YOUR BALLOT

GIVE THEM A RING

VOTE! for MOON, KEDDIE, & GREEN

Vote for:

Moon
Keddie
Green

Return Ballots By Aug. 14

OPEIU 17

189
LOCAL NUMBER

Workers Education
NAME OF LOCAL

AFT

Via, Emory
PRINT LAST NAME OF DELEGATE FIRST

5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
STREET CITY STATE ZIP

CREDENTIAL

American Federation of Teachers

affiliated with AFL-CIO

We certify that the person herein named was duly elected, according to the provisions of the AFT and Local Constitutions.

a delegate ..... ☒ an alternate ..... ☐

to the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, which convenes in the Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana 70140, August 18, 1969, 9:30 a.m.

Given under our hands and seal this 1st day of August, 1969

Stanley Rozen, President
Fin.

(seal)

Owen A. Tapper, Secretary

→ This COPY to be presented **by the delegate** to the Chairman of the Credentials' Committee at the Convention.

33

In order for delegates to be seated, the AFT Constitution requires:

1. The credentials of elected delegates and alternates must be in the National Office **by Registered or Certified Mail, before August 3, 1969.**
2. A certified list of elected delegates and alternates must be sent to the National Office **by Registered or Certified Mail, before August 3, 1969.**
3. The per capita dues of your Local, through June, 1969, must be in the National Office before **August 3, 1969.**
4. A copy of your Local's Constitution **must be** on file at the National Office.

THE AFT CONSTITUTION AND THE LANDRUM-GRIFFIN ACT requires each AFT Local to observe the following election procedure for AFT delegates:

1. There must be a reasonable and uniform nomination procedure open to all members.
2. A notice of election shall be **mailed** to each member at least 15 days prior to the election.
3. The election must be held by secret ballot.
4. Election records, including ballots, must be retained.

NOTE: YOU MUST SUBMIT YOUR CREDENTIALS BEFORE 3 P.M. TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1969, IN ORDER TO VOTE IN THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1969.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

1012 14th Street, N. W. / Washington, D. C. 20005 / 202—737-6141

DAVID SELDEN
PRESIDENT

April 3, 1969

STANLEY ROSEN PRES.
401 SANDBURG ST 0169
PARK FOREST IL 60466

CONVENTION CREDENTIALS

8

Estimated Vote

Your named delegate to the Convention and alternates and information on the Meeting Place, Hotel Accommodations, Credentials, etc. are in New Orleans, Louisiana, Hotel, beginning Monday, August 18, 1969. Your card is to your local president.

Also included are the credentials for alternates which local should make use in designating delegates and alternates.

NOTE: Refer to Paragraph [illegible] of the Convention Call to determine the number of delegates to which your local is entitled. We have estimated below the votes for your local as of March 15, 1969. We have sent enough credential cards for your delegation and additional cards for alternates. The vote may change if your local buys per capita for additional members between now and May 30, 1969.

Convention Call

Your Convention Call contains vital information and a tentative program. Please read carefully the section entitled "Credentials" and save it for future reference.

YOUR DELEGATES CANNOT BE SEATED UNLESS THE FOLLOWING CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS ARE FULFILLED:

1. Official Delegate Lists, the Official Alternate List, and Credential Cards are sent by registered or certified mail (forms enclosed) to the National Office as soon as possible, but in no case later than August 3, 1969. Preparation of the Roll Call and efficient convention arrangements depend upon early receipt of credentials. Caution: Send blue cards to National Office — Bring pink cards with you to the convention.

2. Per capita through June 30, 1969, must be paid before August 3, 1969.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Credential blanks and certified lists will be turned over to the Credentials Committee at the convention. Only those delegates will be seated whose names appear on these official lists. Any challenges or appeals will be turned over to Attorney Ligtenberg, National AFT Counsel, who will make recommendations with strict constitutional interpretation to the AFT Executive Council. YOU MUST SUBMIT YOUR CREDENTIALS BEFORE THREE P. M. ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1969 IN ORDER TO VOTE IN THE ELECTION OF AFT DELEGATES TO THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1969.

Hotel Reservations

Make your hotel reservations immediately to be assured of a room at the special rate.

Reservations Manager
Roosevelt Hotel
123 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70140

Single Rooms - $13.00
Double Rooms - $16.00
Twin Rooms - - $21.00
Roll-Away Beds - $ 3.00
Suites - $42.00 up

Delegate Election Requirements

The AFT Constitution was amended in 1966 to conform to the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act. The following is a summary of the items required by the Constitution that most directly affect the election of your AFT convention delegates:

A. Each member must have reasonable opportunity to be nominated.

B. Mailed notice of election must be sent 15 days in advance to each member announcing date and place of election.

C. Election must be held by secret ballot.

D. Results must be announced and records, including ballots, kept.

E. Election of proxies is no longer permitted.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Convention Committees

Enclosed are convention committee assignment cards. Delegates will indicate their first, second, and third choices of committees on these cards. The Executive Council will be guided by these selections in its assignment of delegates to the committees. Please return the cards with your credentials to the National Office. In returning cards promptly with your credentials, you will assist greatly the work of compiling the lists of convention committee assignments, and you will also eliminate time and cost of sending individual cards directly to delegates.

IMPORTANT CONVENTION

Your local should be represented at this convention. A number of important items which will affect the AFT for years to come will be decided. They include the following:

1. Election of delegates to AFL-CIO Convention.

2. Proposed amendments to the AFT constitution.

3. Policy resolutions affecting almost every phase of our activity.

We will be looking forward to seeing you in New Orleans, Louisiana in August.

If there is any way that we can provide additional convention information in the meantime, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

My very good wishes.

Fraternally,

David Selden

DAVID SELDEN
President

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT
580 Spruce Street
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE ORGANIZATION OF STAFF IN LABOR EDUCATION

Emory F Via
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ULEA + AFT
May 5, 6, 7 89
Columbus, Ohio
AFT 189 1st day

Minutes- Executive Officers

Sept. 15, 1969

The Executive officers, Stan Rosen, Owen Tapper and Joan Suarez, met in St. Louis on September 15, 1969.

The following items were discussed:

- Local union election results and submission of biographical sketches as required by amendment to by-laws.

- Relationship with AFL-CIO and ULEA for coming year:

It was decided to recommend that Local 189 position be to push for a joint "galaxy" worker education conference with ULEA, AFL-CIO international union education departments, and non-AFL-CIO (independent, ALA, etc.) groups as alternative to possibility that AFL-CIO will ~~xxxx~~ hold no Education Directors meeting in 1970 on national basis.

It was decided to recommend that Local 189 set a date and place with ULEA for Spring meeting. We suggest third week in May in Minneapolis.

- Local 189 Labor Education Internship. Joan reported on progress with Intern Esposito. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~Recommends continuing on same basis for another year; explore possibility of AFT intern in worker education; explore Educational and Professional Development Training Act (HEW), etc. for monies to fund expansion of program; recommend expand mailing list to all universities, state colleges, jr. colleges, all unions. Estimated cost of 1969 Intern: $1273.65.

- Fall meeting - Nov.21-22-23, Washington, D.C.

Committees: Constituiton & By-Laws - Paula Paley
Resolutions - Wells Keddie
Membership - Ann Green

~~Nominations~~ -

Nominations - Chris Piluras
Ray McDonald-Chairman
Jackie Kienzle

Physical Arrangements - Stu Brock

Executive Board tomeet at 1:00 p.m., Friday ,November 21st (includes sandwiches and coffee); Program possibilities: Politics,1970; ALA; Labor Colleges; Rogin Report; Labor & Youth; Dave Selden; Folk Singing.

Tenative agenda: Friday-7-10 p.m. Business Session
Saturday - 9-12 Noon - Business Session
Noon - Selden with Lunch
2:30 - 5:30 - Program
5:30 - Cash bar
Sunday - 9:00 - Breakfast - Program
12:00 - Adjourn

Business: Internship, Regional Conferences, Chapter Debelopment, Resolutions, Constitutions & By-Laws, Discussion of Finances interms of Money and Membership.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez,
Recording Secretary

AFT 189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

Make folder for Nov. 21-22

September 20, 1969

TO: The Local 189, AFT, Executive Board

FROM: Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

RE: Executive Board Meeting

The Executive Board of Local 189 will meet at the Manger-Hamilton Hotel, 14th and K Street N. W., Washington, D. C. The Board will meet at 1:00 P.M. on Friday, November 21, 1969. See the Events Board for the exact room. Coffee and sandwiches will be served. Lot's of business to discuss.

The Annual Winter Meeting dates are November 21, 22, 23, 1969 in D. C. at the Manger-Hamilton.

Meeting notice will follow to all members.

OAT/jt

Foundation
AFT - expansion
Contact w/ other AFT affiliates

Labor Ed.
Part of Units

Non-Union
Labor Ed.
Start Construction

EXECUTIVE BOARD
Local 189, AFT

Please check your listing below for correctness and completeness. If any changes are necessary, make them and return this form soon to the Financial Secretary--580 Spruce St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26506.

OFFICERS

President

✓ Stanley Rosen, 401 Sandburg St., Park Forest, Ill. 60466.
Phone: Office (312) 663-2623, Home (312) 747-2820

Vice Presidents

✓ Stuart Brock, AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: Office (202) 293-5000, Home (301) 942-9366

✓ Anne C. Green, - Sewer 134 Oakdale Ave., Akron, Ohio 44302
Phone: Office ((216) 867-2444, Home (216) 434-4612

✓ Wells Keddie, 157 Burrowes North, University Park, Pa. 16802
Phone: Office (814) 865-5425

Prince E. Moon, 8222 Joy Rd., Detroit, Mich. 48204
Phone: Office (313) 926-5451, Home (313) 824-2676

Recording Secretary

✓ Joan Suarez, 535 Clemens Dr., Florissant, Mo. 63033
Phone: Office (314) 241-0018, Home (314) 838-8118

Financial Secretary

✓ Owen Tapper, 580 Spruce St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26506
Phone: Office (304) 293-3323, Home (304) 292-2351

REGIONAL BOARD MEMBERS

Potomac

✓ Stephen Cook, 580 Spruce St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26506
Phone: Office (304) 293-3323, Home (304) 296-7100

Northeast

Bill Kemsley, Missing Link Rd., Rt. 1, Box 92, Bellows Falls, Vt. 05101
Phone: Office (802) 463-5662, Home (413) 549-0352

Midwest

Executive Board to appoint

Great Lakes

✓Paula Paley, 568 Ashland Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215
Phone: Office (313) 926-5000, Home (313) 823-5313

South

✓ Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Phone: Office (404) 522-8764, Home (404) 378-0340

Mountain

Norman Weintraub, 1063 Milky Way, Denver, Colo. 80321
Phone: Office (303) 266-0811, Home (303) 428-2695

Far West

Chart Oliver McMillan, 1622 N. Lombard, Portland, Ore. 97217
Phone: Office (503) 285-5281, Home (503) 645-2672

CHAPTER CHAIRMEN

IUE

✓ Ruth Wiencek, Drum Point, Lusby, Md. 20657
Phone: Office (202) 296-1200, Home (301) 326-3302

Minnesota

✓ Martin Duffy, 2318 Cedarwood Ridge, Minnetonka Village, Minn. 55343
Phone: Office (612) 373-4110, Home (612) 544-3443

West Virginia

Wendell Drake, 115 Riverview Dr., St. Albans, W. Va. 25177
Phone: Office (304) 343-7608, Home (304) 722-3512

Chicago

To Be Chosen

Washington, D. C.

Ray W. MacDonald, 815 - 16th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: Office (202) 293-5000, Home (202) 462-0907

Roger Rines — Ualk —

OAT/jt
9/20/69

AFT 189

LABOR EDUCATION NEWS

Newsletter of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
401 Sandburg Street, Park Forest, Illinois 60466
Member - Teacher Labor Press Association
Member - International Labor Press Association

Editor
Stan Rosen

Vol. II September, 1969

IN THIS ISSUE

Local 189 Election Returns
People, Places and Things
Labor Intern on the Job at TWUA
ICFTU News
Book Review

Announcement of Fall Meeting - Official Notice

The Fall Meeting of L 189 AFT will be held in Washington, D.C. on Friday, November 21, Saturday, November 22 and Sunday, November 23.

As has been the practice in past years, the meeting will combine a discussion of L 189 Business and a stimulating and provocative educational program.

Details on the program will be sent to you in a special mailing shortly.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Resolutions: Please direct resolutions to Joan Suarez, Recording Secretary, 535 Clemens Drive, Florissant, Missouri 63033.

Constitution and By-Laws: All suggested changes in the L 189 Constitution should be sent to Joan Suarez.

All materials received will be referred to the appropriate committees for their consideration.

Chapter Reports: All Chapter Chairmen are asked to send a brief written report to the attention of the Officers. Such a report will be discussed at the Fall meeting.

Committee Reports: All committee chairmen are urged to prepare a brief report, summarizing present activities and proposed programs. Time will be allotted at the Fall meeting for reports and discussion as requested.

Put November 21-23 on your calendar
ATTEND THE FALL MEETING .....

AFT LOCAL 189 ELECTION RESULTS

144 Ballot envelopes received
8 Void Ballots - postmarked after August 14, 1969
1 Void Ballot - voter's name not on mailing envelope
9 Void Ballots
135 Ballot envelopes opened and counted

PRESIDENT	VOTES
Stanley Rosen	119
Al Shanker	2
Dick Sams	1
Ray MacDonald	1

VICE PRESIDENTS (4 offices)	
Prince Moon	95
Anne Green	94
Stuart Brock	78
Wells Keddie	76
Steve Remsen	44
Irv Rosenstein	39
Ernie Weiss	25
Eugene Brook	2
Ray MacDonald	1
Frank Lyons	1
Steve Cook	1
Harvey L. Friedman	1

RECORDING SECRETARY	
Joan Suarez	123

TREASURER	
Owen Tapper	124
Al Shanker	2

DELEGATES TO THE AFT CONVENTION (4)	
Stanley Rosen	116
Joan Suarez	98
James Wolfe	84
Emory Via	78
Lee Balliet	42
Steve Remsen	35
Pete Gregan	21
Roger Rines	17
Owen Tapper	1
Homer Kincaid	1
John R. MacKenzie	1
Prince Moon	1
Wells Keddie	1
John Schmidman	1

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD	VOTES
(Northeast)	
Bill Kemsley	107
Irv Rosenstein	1
(Potomac)	
Steve Cook	33
Jim Williams	27
Chris Piluras	19
Jim Robinson	16
Harry Kranz	16
(Southeast)	
Emory Via	104
(Pacific)	
Oliver McMillan	91
Frank Fuller	1
(Great Lakes)	
Paula Paley	94
Eugene Brook	2
Irv Brotslaw	1
(Midwest)	
Keith Knauss	91
Pete Gregan	1
Frank Lyons	1
(Mountain)	
Norm Weintraub	94
Abe Lincoln	1
Al Wickman	1

CERTIFIED BY:

Dennis Muehl, Chairman
Allen Morrison
Lawrence J. Ahern

9/2/69

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

News Summary - the new publication of the Federal Trade Commission, reports on recent cases heard by the FTC, Washington, D.C. 20580 ... Gary Deane photo featured in January, 1969 Edition of Midwest Regional News - Gary shown lecturing on Voting records of Congressmen - Newsletter edited by Joyce Miller and Tom Herriman is a snappy job ... "Corporate Profits and the Wage Gap" by Ray MacDonald, No. 11 in the LID off-print series. "Labor Breakthrough in the Southern Classroom-University of Virginia" is a report on the LID sponsored labor institute in Virginia in 1968 ... Many L 189's participated. For copy write to LID, 112 E. 19th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10003 ... Lou Lerman has a weekly column in the Union Advocate in Minneapolis...Column entitled, "On Human Relations" ... Arbitration Conference held March 29 at the University of Missouri participants included Jack Flagler, Anthony Sinicroppi, and George Boyle ... Two recent week long Institutes on Arbitration at the University of Illinois were planned by Otto Pragan and University staff ... The New Jersey Labor Herald recently sponsored a successful "Hospital and Pension Seminar" ... Militancy stamps are the newest thing. Like Christmas seals, you can use them all year ... they cost $1.00 per sheet per hundred and can be obtained through Owen Tapper ... Let's keep them contributions coming in ... Workers Education is a major activity of Central Labor bodies in Michigan. "Washtenaw Labor Expands Education" is the title of an article in the Mich AFL-CIO News ... classes are co-sponsored by UAW Educational Department and are part of the Wayne State Basic Workers study program ... Gerald Lingle, researcher for NYSSILR, is conducting a comprehensive wage and salary survey of persons in universities, unions - When available, we will summarize results ... Another survey being conducted by Loyola of Chicago. Hopefully these surveys will be made available so as to be useful in "Negotiations" ... Anita Kupperman, assistant Ed Director at the RCIA ... Mr. William Tolman has been appointed Director of the newly established Labor Education Program at the University of Kentucky ... Henry Lake column entitled Labor Education in Kentucky in December, 1968 edition of the Kentucky Labor News ... "Fascism - It Can Happen Here Says U of Michigan Economists" is a featured article in the November-December Edition of the Butcher Workmen. The article quotes the study as saying "Both Organized Labor and university scholars - two potentially dissident groups - also have joined the system as "Junior Partners". "Organized labor has found that its immediate interests lie in cooperation with big business and in support of the imperialist ventures of government. Agree or disagree, the article presents a provocative analysis. The final paragraph of the article states, "We do not know how these matters will ultimately be handled, but we do know that there is a growing opposition to freedom of dissent".

Betty Ziff, Education Director Local 6 Hotel and Restaurant Workers featured in a photo story entitled, "New Delegates Attending Classes" in the Feb 69 Hotel, Motel and Club Voice ... For publications and tapes of A. J. Muste contact War Resisters League, 5 Beekman St., NY 10038 for info ... On January 28 some 1200 persons were on hand for a meeting of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights celebrating their 20th anniversary - participating was Andrew Biemiller. For $5.00 a year you can receive their legislative bulletin and they can use your money ... Simulation Games for the Social Studies Classroom - 56 pages available for $1.00 from Foreign Policy Association, 345 E. 46th St., NY, NY 10017 - Interesting possibilities for labor educators.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Roger Snow recently elected Secretary of the ULEA International Affairs Committee ... Jim Wolfe sent along a photo of an eminent labor hippie William Sylvis. Jim authored an article on Sylvis in the Moulders International Journal, July 69 - 110th anniversary edition ... Received in the mail from Brendon Sexton, a copy of the Citizenship - Education Handbook - Materials are in a handy format and cover Consumer Affairs, Environment, Automation, The Problems of the Poor ... short and to the point ... Brendon in print in the May-June 69 issue of Dissent, article entitled, "Middle Class" - Workers and the New Politics. Available in off-print form from League For Industrial Democracy - 25¢ a copy ... Conference on "1969 PUBLIC Employee Fringe Benefits", Sept. 28-Oct. 1, sponsored by The National Foundation of Health and Welfare Plans, Inc. - write PO Box 898, Elm Grove, Wisconsin 53122 for additional information ... Galaxy Conference of Adult Education Organizations to be held in Washington, D.C. Dec. 6-11. For info - write AEA, 1225 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

"IMPACT", a new publication, is written by hard digging investigating writers. It reports on government programs. Sub $6.00 per year. New Community Press, Inc. 3210 Grace Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 ... Lew Carliner, presently Professor of Labor Studies at Rutgers University, shown teaching in the Dist. 37 AFSCME Leadership Training School held at Tammiment June 9-12. July Public Employee Press ... Robert H. Coates, new Director of the Labor Education programs of the Philadelphia Board of Education, succeeding Irv Rosenstein who has taken a new position as a Civil Rights Compliance Official with the Philadelphia Board ... You can now become a member of Urban America - for information write 1717 Mass Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ... Received in the mail a brochure from the National Council to Repeal the Draft, 201 Mass Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Sent to members of Trade Union Sane, endorsed by Emil Mazey, Frank Rosenblum ... "The Will to Survive" by Antony Dunbar, distributed by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303 - a moving document.

... The new address of the ILO Office is 666 11th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001, 202-638-5656 ... "The Relevance of Privat Sector Experience to Public Sector Collective Bargaining" recently published by IMLR Rutgers ... July 69 Solidarity includes 4 page summary on the AIA entitled, "AIA - The Emphasis is on Action" ... "Psychological Cinema Register" is the name of a catalog of films in the Behavorial Sciences distributed by Audio Visual Services, Penn State U, University Park, Pa. 16802 ... Received from Bill Kemsley, "A Leaflet Kit for Trade Unions" - leaflets to be used to develop interest in community action ... A comprehensive analysis of the Union Leadership Academy in Penn State Research Report no. 1. "The Impact of the Union Leadership Academy Upon the Behavior and Attitudes of Union Members", by Wells H. Keddie and Richard E. Ryan ... Community Action Training - A handbook for Trainers received from N.J. Community Action Training Institute, PO Box 4078, Trenton, N.J. 08610 ... Glenn Parker was appointed Director of the Institute recently ... Ford Motor Company recently agreed to include the Associate Degree Program in Labor studies developed by the UAW with various Detroit area Jr. Colleges, for Tuition refund. Info received from Carroll Hutton ...

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Jack Flagler participated in a recent conference of the U Federation of Postal Clerks in Minn, moderating a session on, "Modern Labor-Management Relations." Over 400 delegates attended ... Jacob Schlitt has been named Director of the Newly created Mi-Atlantic Field Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He will supervise the Commission's Program in the states of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia and D.C. His office will be 1405 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. ... The Teamsters Union has recently established the Teamsters Labor Institute in Florida - its aim - to train the 3500 Teamsters Union Officials in Effective Trade Union Techniques. The program will get under way in the Fall of 1969 ... Received in the mail a copy of Wildcat, PO Box 9117, Chicago, Ill 60690. "Exciting" reading ... In the same vein the Movement, sub $2.50 per year - 330 Grove St. San Francisco, Calif. 94102 ... Penn State recently conducted a Time Study School. Participants included Dick Humphreys and Freda Rozen, L 189 members ... "Trends in Labor Education" by Fred K. Hoehler, Jr. in Spring Quarter Edition of the Newsletter of the School of LIR at Michigan State U ... Fred is now Director of the recently established AFL-CIO Center for Labor Studies ... Norman C. Johnson, Director of the Labor Institute, Southern Illinois U, recently administered a conference on "Safety and Health" ... Current popular films available in 16mm. Get catalog from Columbia Cinenatheque, 711 Fifth Ave., NY 10022. Films like Dr. Strangelove, To Sir With Love, etc ... Duane Beeler recently returned from a study trip to the Soviet Union.

Irv Brotslaw, Fred Sherman and Frank Lyons participated in recent orientation program for Plumber apprentices at University of Wisconsin. Written up in May 1969 UA Journal ... Revised edition of "Important Events in Labor History" available from Supt. of Documents, 25¢ per copy ... new "Stewards Manual" produced by the Moulders Union. "Collective Negotiation in Public Employment - Which Way" ... edited by Bill Rentfro - proceedings of recent conference available from CLEAR, University of Colorado, Boulder 80302 ... "Unions and the Generational Gap", a study conducted by the University of Wisconsin - interesting reading ... a hip management approach to youth, write for Vol 27 - No 1 Edition of the Kaiser Aluminum News, entitled Children of Change, to PR Dept., Kaiser Center 866, Oakland, California 94604 ... Brochure received from Public Personnel Association, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637 describing extensive publication list ... Lots of info on C.B. in the public employee area ... Jim Noe shown in recent edition of Electrical Workers Journal, addressing first of a series of Grass Roots Meetings ... Arbitration News informational newsletter of the American Arbitration Association, 140 W. 51st St., N.Y. 10020 ... April edition reports on "Center for Dispute Settlement. California UE Locals have recently participated in a series of labor education programs ... Received from Don Slaiman, "Equal Apprenticeship Opportunities - the nature of the issue and the NY Experience", by Ray Marshall and Vernon Briggs ... a useful 57 page pamphlet ... George Boyle and Bob Repas recently participated in a C.B. Preparation Conference conducted for the Missouri Council of Painters at the University of Missouri.

Washington Tapes, Doubleday & Co., Inc., School and Library Division, Garden City LI 11530, offers tapes on economics, art ... "Officer Training Program - Oversubscribed", is the title of article in April-May, Butcher Workman. Program staff included Helmuth Kern and Frank McCallister ... Richard Estep, New Director of Education for the Pulp and Paper Union recently co-ordinated the first Arbitration Institute Sponsored by the Union ... Joan Suarez shown in May 15 Advance, chairing a session featuring Cong Richard Bolling. Part of continuing series of ACWA Legislative Conferences ... AFL-CIO Publication "Adjusting to Automation" now available for use ... UE Guide to Automation and the New Technology, available from UE, 11 E. 51st St., NY 10022.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Milton Zatinsky has been appointed Assistant Director of Program Development of Operation Connection - a national Interfaith Coalition of Religious Leaders working on Urban Crisis Problems, 1120 Conn Ave., N.W. Rm. 860, Washington, D.C. ... Bob McMillam, formerly with the UA is presently working with the United Farmworkers in California. He was married last May 3. Congratulations ... John Schmidman is author of British Unions and Economic Planning, a monograph to be published by Penn State Studies this Fall ... Bob Sass recent graduate Ph'd from Cornell teaching this year at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus. His wife also recently gave birth to a son - Congrats ... Lois Gray recently served as an Advisor in the establishment of the Barbados Labor College. She is also on the Public Affairs committee of the YWCA and on the Board of Directors of Skill Advancement, Inc. ... Recent Conference on ILO was held at Temple University May 8-9-10 to celebrate a half century of ILO activities ... a photo copy from the East African Standard published in Nairobi features a story and photo entitled, "New Training Section to Aid Kenya Printers". This program is being headed by Carl Schlesinger. The center is a combined training program in printing techniques and trade unionism. Carl is a Printing Education Technical Advisor ... Thomas V. Miller is presently a Country Program Director for AIFLD in Chile ... A letter received from Eleanor Coit commending Steve Cook for the last issue of Viewpoints and filling in some fine points and detail concerning the white Collar Workshops conducted by the ALES. She notes also that all the files of the ALES are presently at Cornell NYILR Library... New Brochure describing the A Philip Randolph Institute available from 260 Park Ave. S, NY 10010 ... Photo of Roger Rines featured on the front page of the Kentucky Labor News. Story dealing with a class sponsored by the Labor Education Center at Kentucky in Union Administration. Roger is Assistant Project Director for Leadership Training.

Anne Green presently working as Assistant Director of Education, ICWU. New Director of Education is A. J. Thomas ... Ernie Weiss shown in April 69 Edition of Paperworker officiating over one of the many recent officer and staff training programs he has conducted and taught ... Harry Graham recently participated in training program for URW Dist 4 Officers held at U of Iowa ... Recent meetings between IUE and UE signal a new period of cooperation in bargaining with GE and Westinghouse ... Louis Levine has recently been appointed Chairman of the Israel Histadrut Associates ... Herb Levine shown in recent photo in Shalom, Histadrut Publication...Herb co-ordinated a conference on How Labor Relations Affect Government employees in the U.S. and Israel at Rutgers ... Christopher News Notes "The Hard Core Unemployed" informative leaflet, 12 E. 48th St., NY 10017... John Kilhefner recently was sent to Ethiopia as an advisor to the African-American Labor Center. He will be responsible for the development of a labor education center outside Addis Abbaba ... John was previously on the staff of the Labor-Management Rehabilitation Project at Rutgers University ... Photo of Ted Ruhig family - wife, son and daughter - bedecked in Hawaiian garb received. He notes that Hawaii has a strong Democratic party ... Recent seminar conducted by the Laborers Union at Loyola U in New Orleans dealt with organizing techniques ... Otto Pragan shown in photo taken at recent Arbitration Institutes held at the U of Illinois last Spring. The Laborer, March 69.....

ICFTU EDUCATION NEWS by BILL KEMSLEY

ICFTU staff seminar in Brussels, March 24 - April 4, centering around "Trade Union Education in Africa" came up with a list of suggestions for ICFTU. Organized by Marcelle Dehareng, ICFTU Education Officer, the seminar heard talks by ICFTU Gen. Secy. Harm Buiter and Asst. Gen. Secy. Morris Paladino. ...14 top union leaders from Antigua, Ceylon, Ghana, Guyana, India, Kenya, Nigeria, St. Vincent, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda visited ICFTU H.Q. for a full day briefing on ICFTU activities April 14. They had participated Jan. 6 to April 11 in the 33rd Ind. Rel. course sponsored by the British gov't.....The Tu Adv. Comm. to the Org. for Econ. Coop. & Dev. has urged OECD to hold an international tri-partite conference on problems of continuous education and training during working life..... The Inter. Fed. of Plantation, Agricultural & Allied Workers, (IFPAAW), recently concluded a seminar for 45 agricultural workers on the island of Sulawesi, Indonesia. Subjects included admin. and finance, organiz. technics, co-op development, plant protection, animal and poultry husbandry. This follows the pattern set in Latin America as IFPAAW works with peasant groups in low-income areas. (Sulawesi's some 3 million families have an average income of about $60.) .....With the cooperation of ORIT, the Ecuador Confed. of Free TU's (CEOSL) conducted a seminar in Quito for 40 Ecuadorian unionists. Topics included studies of TU participation in economic and social progress and the economic integration of Latin America .....

Attended by 36 unionists from ICFTU affiliates in Cameroon, Ghana, Gambia, Liberia, Nigeria & Sierra Leone, the ICFTU's first four-week African regional course was held in Sierra Leone with the cooperation of the S. L. Workers Ed. Assoc. G. Muwonge, ICFTU, directed the course assisted by Reuben Mwilu, former ICFTU African College director who heads the Adult Studies Centre in Kikuya, Kenya .....A 5-day course attended by 37 women leaders of 10 affiliates of the United Labour Congress of Nigeria & sponsored by the Inter. Fed. of Petroleum, Chemical & Allied Workers (IFPCAW) was held in Lagos. The seminar was addressed by Miss Barbro E. Wilen, ILO Programme Officer ..... An important educational programme attended by 26 unionists was held at ICFTU Inter-American TU Institute at Cuernavaca, Mexico, July 16 - Aug. 20 and organized jointly by ORIT & the Inter-Amer. Development Bank.

The Gen. Assembly of the ICFTU's Inter Labour Film Institute (ILFI) met in Brussels, July 3, & decided to step up activities next year. Its new Bd. of Dir. include Pres. Georges Debunne (Belgium); VPs John F. Simonds (Can.) & Thage G. Peterson (Sweden); Treas. L. Spillemaeckers (Belgium); & Secy. Harm Buiter (ICFTU Gen. Sec.). They will meet in January to plan the next Inter. Labour Film Festival ..... The ICFTU Asian College in Delhi, under the direction of Vijendra Kabra, has mapped out a course of activities for this Fall including - 2 week seminar for Asian women & young workers in Hong Kong and two national courses in South Korea & Taiwan all during late September - 6 week international course on Coll. Barg. in Asian Countries will be held in Bombay beginning Oct. 2 (Ghandi Centenary Day) - 2 week seminar in indust. rel. laws in various countries will take place in Malaysia. The College is 17 years old ..... The Barbados Workers' Union has opened a labor college in its building in Bridgetown under the direction of Mrs. Evelyn Greaves. BWU Gen. Secy. Senator Frank Wolcott was feature speaker at the opening.

ICFTU EDUCATION NEWS

Three 2-week courses held in Ethopia (Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa & Asmara) were directed by Lennart Kinstrom, ICGTU Rep., aided by Gillies Otieno, ICFTU instructor. Starting on May 9 the courses were jointly sponsored by ICFTU & the Confed. of Ethopian Labour Unions ------ The ICFTU cooperated with the Ghana TUC in a course for GTUC activists ------

------16 members of the Rhodesian Gemstone & Jewelry Workers' Union & the So. Rhodesian Engineering & Metal Workers' Union participated in a seminar co-sponsored by the ICFTU & the IMF on May 17 & 18 in Salisbury, Rhodesia. Wm. Lawrence, ICFTU Rep., headed up the seminar.

TUC & BBC Collaborate on TV

British shop stewards are to get their own television series in the autumn. The first ever TV series tailor-made to help shop stewards in their job of promoting higher pay and better working conditions for trade union members, the course of ten weekly half-hour programmes was worked out by the British Broadcasting Corporation in close collaboration with the Trade Union Congress, which had provided four of its own productivity handbooks for use as a supplement to the series. The programmes will concentrate on productivity bargaining - explaining what it is, how it differs from traditional forms of bargaining, and how it can affect relationships between the steward, the members, the union and the management - and will not simply be a studio production: the cameras will move out on location to a factory where productivity bargaining is actually under way. Announcing the television series, Victor Feather, TUC Acting General Secretary, called it a revolutionary development, probably the first of its kind in the world.

ESPOSITO CHOSEN FOR LABOR INTERN

NEW YORK (July 11)---The 1969 Labor Education Internship has been awarded to Robert G. Esposito of Waukesha, Wisconsin, according to Joan Suarez, Chairman of the Internship Committee of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers. In its fifth year, the Labor Education Internship, which carries with it an $800 scholarship, is a program designed to interest trade unionists and college students in the field of labor education through a ten-week field tour of union and university trade union education programs. This year Intern Esposito will be co-sponsored by the Textile Workers Union of America. Under the direction of TWUA Education Director Steve Remsen, the Intern will help to plan and teach in a number of regional education programs for Textile Workers in the areas of local union administration, basic education, community participation and political education. Intern Esposito will also spend a portion of his time in Washington, D.C. where he will be briefed on the workings of the federal government and a number of international trade union education programs.

Esposito, who is a member of the Utility Workers Union of America and vice-president of his local union, is 25 years old, married with two sons ages two and four. He has been a member of Local 412, since 1964. During the past several years he has participated in a number of labor education programs sponsored by the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO at the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Local 189, AFT, the local union sponsoring the Internship, is a nation-wide local union whose members work in both union and university labor education programs.

AFT 189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

October 15, 1969

TO: 189 Executive Board Members

RE: Executive Board Actions on Motions

Motion #1 - Executive Board Procedure - Adopted

Motion: That the Executive Board authorize the President to follow the following procedure for Executive Board Meetings recognizing that it is extremely difficult for the Board, as a body, to meet together with regularity.

1. MEETING--The President will schedule Executive Board meetings whenever possible and 12 Executive Board members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

2. MOTIONS WHEN A MEETING IS NOT POSSIBLE--When it is not possible to obtain a quorum, motions may be adopted in the following manner:

   a. Members of the Board may submit motions to the President for action by the Board
   b. The President will call a meeting of members of the Executive Board for the purpose of discussing motions or other business which may be required. Members of the Board shall be present to consider and discuss the motion.
   c. A summary of the discussion and the views of those present is then mailed to members of the Board along with the motion in mail ballot form.
   d. The result of the vote and the comments of members of the Board is then sent to the members of the Board before action on the motion is considered final.

VOTING "YES": Keddie, Wiencek, Duffy, Suarez, Drake, Via, Weintraub, Moon, Cook, Rosen, McMillan, Green, Tapper, Kemsley (14)

VOTING "NO": None

NOT VOTING: Paley, Brock, MacDonald, Mikrut. (4)

Comments: Should the motion mean that a mail ballot will be taken even though a quorum is present - I vote "NO". I'd like to see this motion made just a little bit clearer. Assuming the above is not correct, I vote "yes".

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Local 189, AFT

OFFICERS

President

Stanley Rosen, 401 Sandburg St., Park Forest, Ill. 60466
Phone: Office (312) 663-2623, Home (312) 747-2820

Vice Presidents

Stuart Brock, AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: Office (202) 293-5150, Home (301) 942-9366

Anne C. Green, 134 Oakdale Ave., Akron, Ohio 44302
Phone: Office (216) 867-2444, Home (216) 434-4612

Wells Keddie, 157 Burrowes North, University Park, Pa. 16802
Phone: Office (814) 865-5425

Prince E. Moon, 8222 Joy Rd., Detroit, Mich. 48204
Phone: Office (313) 926-5451, Home (313) 824-2676

Recording Secretary

Joan Suarez, 535 Clemens Dr., Florissant, Mo. 63033
Phone: Office (314) 241-0018, Home (314) 838-8118

Financial Secretary

Owen Tapper, 580 Spruce St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26506
Phone: Office (304) 293-3323, Home (304) 292-2351

REGIONAL BOARD MEMBERS

Potomac

Stephen Cook, 580 Spruce St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26506
Phone: Office (304) 293-3323, Home (304) 296-7100

Northeast

Bill Kemsley, Missing Link Rd., Rt. 1, Box 92, Bellows Falls, Vt. 05101
Phone: Office (413) 549-0352, Home (802) 463-3681

Midwest

John J. Mikrut, Jr., 301 Whitten Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 65201. Phone: Office (314) 449-9171, Home (314) 445-7379

Great Lakes

Paula Paley, 568 Ashland Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215
Phone: Office (313) 926-5000, Home (313) 823-5313

South

Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St. N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Phone: Office (404) 522-8764, Home (404) 378-0340

Mountain

Norman Weintraub, 1063 Milky Way, Denver, Colo. 80321
Phone: Office (303) 266-0811, Home (303) 428-2695

Far West

Oliver McMillan, 1622 N. Lombard, Portland, Ore. 97217
Phone: Office (503) 285-5281, Home (503) 645-2672

CHAPTER CHAIRMEN

IUE

Ruth Weincek, Drum Point, Lusby, Md. 20657
Phone: Office (202) 296-1200, Home (301) 326-3302

Minnesota

Martin Duffy, 2318 Cedarwood Ridge, Minnetonka Village, Minn. 55343
Phone: Office (612) 373-4110, Home (612) 544-3443

West Virginia

Wendell Drake, 115 Riverview Dr., St. Albans, W. Va. 25177
Phone: Office (304) 343-7608, Home (304) 722-3512

Chicago

To be chosen

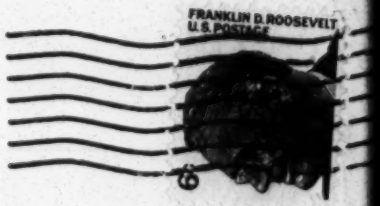
Washington, D. C.

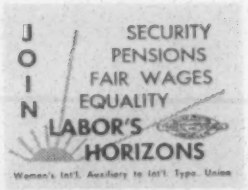
Ray W. MacDonald, 815 - 16th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: Office (202) 293-5171, Home (202) 462-0907

CMF/jt
10/15/69

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT
580 Spruce Street
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

THE ORGANIZATION OF STAFF IN LABOR EDUCATION





Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

AFT Meeting

October 28, 1969

Miss Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Via:

This will acknowledge receipt of your advance registration for the Washington meeting of Local 189, November 21-23, 1969.

☐ Check received

We are holding the following room reservation for you at the Hamilton Hotel.

☒ Single ☐ Double

Fraternally,

Stuart P. Brock

Stuart P. Brock
Chairman
Arrangements Committee

SPB/dc
opeiu #2 afl-cio

Resolved

TO Senate Finance Committee

that in its search for tax reform that

the Senate of the United States.

I.B.T. LABOR INSTITUTE, INC.
214 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131

October 29, 1969

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for your letter and the excellent materials that followed. Right now we are very gingerly feeling our way through a program, but we want very much to involve you as we progress.

You were right -- our program is a national one but there will undoubtedly be regional programs later on. Let's sit down in Washington for some further discussions.

Bill did not attend AFT 189 meeting after all. E.F.V.

Sincerely,

Bill

Bill Goode
Director

BG:dg

AFT - 1969 mtg

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

November 13, 1969

TO: Members, AFT Local 189

FROM: Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

Your attention is directed toward the following items:

1. Currently, Local 189 members have contributed $852.69 to AFT's Militancy Fund. Based on AFT's 160,000 members, each member's share is $6.25. Our local's share (and goal) is $1735. We are nearing the half-way point. For those of you who have not yet made a contribution, a form is enclosed.

2. Larry Ahern (ICWU) writes that they are seeking to fill two positions which are currently open. They want an Industrial Engineer type who could service locals from Akron. The person would also be expected to prepare materials for local committees as well as some teaching.

   The second position calls for a person who could assist in ICWU's collective bargaining program. The person would work in council coordination, prepare contract proposals and do actual bargaining. Knowledge of pensions and insurance would be helpful -- but not necessary.

   Salaries are open to negotiation. If interested, contact Larry at 1659 W. Market, Akron, Ohio 44313.

3. Final reminder -- The annual winter meeting of Local 189 occurs in D.C. on November 21, 22 and 23, 1969. Looks like a good turnout. A tentative program is enclosed.

OAT/dn
Enclosure

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
WINTER MEETING
November 21-23, 1969
MANGER-HAMILTON HOTEL
14th & K Streets, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

November 21

7:00 to 10:00 P.M.	Registration Business Meeting - Reports Committee assignments

November 22

9:00 to 10:30 A.M.	Business Meeting - Reports Resolutions, Constitutional Amendments
10:30 to 12:00 Noon	After the Rachlin-Rogin Report -- What? Wells Keddie, Moderator -- Marge Rachlin Larry Rogin
12:00 to 2:00 P.M.	Lunch Speaker: Dave Selden, AFT President
2:00 to 4:30 P.M.	Youth Looks at Organized Labor Lee Balliet, Moderator
4:30 P.M.	What's Going on in ALA Joan Suarez, Moderator Speaker: Wiley A. Branton, Director, Community and Social Action Division, ALA
5:30 P.M. or So	Cash bar for awhile

November 23

9:00 A.M.	Breakfast Labor Colleges - 1969 Speakers: An AFL-CIO Representative Bill Goode - IBT Brandan Sexton - UAW Unfinished Business
12:00 Noon	End of Conference

Send 189 Constitutional Amendments to: Joan Suarez (314) 838-8118
535 Clemens Drive
Florissant, Mo. 63033

Send Resolutions to: Wells Keddie (814) 865-5425
157 Burrowes Bldg. No.
University Park, Pa. 16802

Or bring them to the meeting!

Registration fee -- $8.50. Make check payable to Local 189, AFT.

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

AFT 189

WINTER MEETING

MANAGER-HAMILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.
NOVEMBER 21, 22, 23, 1969

IN D.C. 189 MEMBERS:

- HEARD ROGIN AND RACHLIN ON LABOR EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE
- HEARD SELDEN ON THE AFT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL REFORM
- HAD A SESSION ON: "YOUTH LOOKS AT LABOR"
- HEARD ABOUT ALA AND SOCIAL ACTION
- RENEWED THE LABOR INTERN PROGRAM
- LOOKED AT LABOR COLLEGES
- APPROVED THE SPRING MEETING DATES: MAY 7, 8 AND 9 IN COLUMBUS, OHIO
- DISCUSSED RESOLUTIONS ON WAR, THE MOVEMENT, GE STRIKE, ETC. -- SEE ATTACHMENTS
- PASSED TWO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

AFT AFT

MINUTES

LOCAL 189, AFT, WINTER MEETING
November 21-22-23, 1969

MANGER-HAMILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

The meeting was called to order at 8:00 p.m. Friday evening by President Stanley Rosen in the Conservative Room of the Manger-Hamilton Hotel in Washington, D. C. Members introduced themselves and accepted the minutes of the last meeting as printed.

Roll call of officers found Stan Rosen, Owen Tapper, Stuart Brock, Anne Green, Wells Keddie, Joan Suarez, Steve Cook, John Mikrut, Paula Paley, Emory F. Via, Ruth Weincek and Martin Duffy present. Seven officers were absent.

TREASURERS REPORT

Financial Secretary Owen Tapper presented an Income, Membership and Expense comparison for 1967, 1968 and 1969. (See Attachment 1.) He also reported that at present the General Fund totals in the neighborhood of $4600 and the Defense Fund stands at about $2300. Our total contribution to the AFT Militancy Fund stands at $853. Motion made and seconded to approve the report with John Schmidman commenting that this was the second most clear report ever given by Tapper. Passed.

President Rosen reviewed the agenda with the membership. Recording Secretary Joan Suarez summarized the minutes of the Executive Board meeting which just preceded the membership meeting. Summary approved.

EXECUTIVE BOARD RECOMMENDATIONS ACTED UPON

Project COSPIRO

Motion by Chris Pilurns, seconded by Roger Rines that Local 189 take on "Project COSPIRO," that is exploring the formation of a Council of Staff, Professional and International Representatives Organizations. Passed with approval of committee appointed by the president: Wells Keddie, Ruth Weincek, Stuart Brock, Anne Green, Paula Paley, Joan Suarez, and John Mikrut.

Militancy Fund

Motion by Wells Keddie, second by Anne Green to send $25.00 to the AFT Militancy Fund in lieu of sending a delegate to the Shanker Testimonial Dinner. Passed with one unrecorded "no" vote and one unrecorded "abstention."

Internship

Action on Internship Committee recommendations tabled until Saturday. President Rosen announced that Barbara Fifield has volunteered to edit the newsletter; expenditure authorization for the next two editions given.

Spring Meeting

Motion by Joan Suarez to table discussion of the Spring Meeting until Sunday morning, seconded by Ruth Weincek. Passed.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

On an amendment to the Local 189 Constitution and By-Laws, submitted prior to the meeting in writing by John Schmidman, to make certain changes in Article IV, Officers, Section 3 and the same change in Article V, Executive Board, Section 2 B):

PRESENT LANGUAGE: Article IV, Section 3. "Voting on the nominations shall be by secret mail ballot. In the instance of a contest for an office, at the time of nomination, each candidate must submit a brief biographical sketch and a 'platform' statement of no more than 200 words designed to acquaint the membership with his position on current union issues . . ."

PROPOSED LANGUAGE: Article IV, Section 3. "Voting on nominations shall be by secret mail ballot. In the instance of a contest for an office, at the time of nomination, each candidate is encouraged to submit a brief biographical sketch . . ."

PRESENT LANGUAGE: Article V, Section 2 B): "Members wishing to accept nomination shall do so in writing to the recording secretary before the annual meeting. Each candidate must submit a brief biographical sketch . . ."

PROPOSED LANGUAGE: Article V, Section 2 B): "Members wishing to accept nomination shall do so in writing to the recording secretary before the annual meeting. Each

candidate is encouraged to submit a brief biographical sketch . . ."

Schmidman argued that if a statement is required of all candidates then write-in candidates are eliminated and he questions the legality as well as the desirability of such elimination.

Motion by Anne Green, second by Alan Morrison that the proposed amendment be submitted to referendum vote. Passed.

Amendment to AFT Constitution

On motion by Paula Paley, second by John Schmidman, a proposed amendment to the AFT Constitution broadening the non-discrimination section of the article defining AFT membership eligibility will be submitted to the AFT convention for consideration. (See Attachment 2.)

BACK TO EXECUTIVE BOARD RECOMMENDATIONS . . .

Saving Money

Recommendation to sponsor jointly with ULEA a cocktail party at the Spring meeting with authorization to spend up to $400 was amended by Jack Blackburn and John Schmidman to authorize Local 189 to spend an amount equal with the ULEA. The amendment was withdrawn. Wells Keddie suggested a cash bar with script for guests. Emory Via thought Well's suggestion might be workable with a little thought. Motion on $400 authorization defeated.

Wells Keddie moved that Local 189 explore the idea of a joint cocktail party with ULEA, said party to be on a cash bar basis with some provision made for guests with authorization to spend not more than $100 of Local 189 money. Anne Green seconded. Passed

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

President Rosen announced the appointment of Ray MacDonald, Chris Piluras and Jackie Kienzle to the Nominating Committee for the Spring Meeting. MacDonald will act as chairman.

A committee to begin planning our 50th Anniversary celebration, to be held in 1972 somewhere near the location of the Brookwood Labor College where Local 189 was orignally

formed, will consist of Ruth Weincek and Oliver Peterson as co-chairmen. Mark Starr will also serve on the committee along with any other volunteers.

LABOR EDUCATION HISTORY COMMITTEE

Chairman of the Labor Education History Committee, Oliver Peterson reports they are beginning to interview ex-Brookwood staff and students. A more full report will be given on Saturday. (See Attachment 2-A.)

RESOLUTIONS

A resolution on POLITICAL PARTY REFORM was referred back to a sub-committee for clarification.

Strikers at G.E.

A resolution on the G.E. Strike was amended to increase a contribution from Local 189's Defense Fund to the strikers from $200 to $300 and passed unanimously. (See Attachment 3.)

Labor Today

A resolution endorsing Labor Today a new, independent publication, was tabled until Saturday.

Esperanto Conference

A resolution on Esperanto, designating a volunteer observer at the World Esperanto Congress in Vienna in 1970 and a representative to serve on the trade union section of the reception committee for the 57th World Esperanto Congress in Portland, Oregon in 1972, was passed. Mark Starr was designated as the 1970 volunteer observer. (See Attachment 4.)

Liberation

A resolution on WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS WORKERS, UNION MEMBERS AND LABOR EDUCATORS was passed, but not without derisive comment. (See Attachment 5.)

Labor Movement and the Movement

A resolution on THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND "THE MOVEMENT" calling for the two groups to put aside their differences and begin "a dialogue with the express purpose of finding

areas of agreement for common action against the major social ills of our day." Passed. (See Attachment 6.)

The meeting was adjourned at 10:30 p.m. with instructions to reconvene at 9:00 a.m. on Saturday.

* * *

Local 189 resumed its deliberations at 9:30 a.m. on Saturday.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Viewpoints Chairman John Schmidman said he had ten articles waiting to go to press and promised we would be in print by Christmas.

Oliver Peterson, chairman of the Labor Education History Committee, told the meeting that his committee was working on an annotated bibliography on U. S. Labor Education history up to 1960. He said the committee would begin taping its first oral history that very evening. Suggestion was made to seek foundation funds to enable the committee to really do a job.

RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

REform the Political Conventions

A resolution on POLITICAL PARTY CONVENTION REFORM, as revised by a sub-committee assigned Friday, endorsing reforms being made inside the Democratic Party convention that elected delegates will represent equal numbers of Democratic voters and that appointed delegates shall bear a reasonable resemblance to the ethnic make-up of the population, passed. (See Attachment 7.)

Vietnam

A resolution on the WAR IN VIETNAM urging the Executive Boards of the AFT and the AFL-CIO to call upon the President of the United States demanding that he order an immediate end to the war in Vietnam and that he bring the American troops home now was passed. (See Attachment 8.)

The Chicago Conspiracy

A resolution on THE "CONSPIRACY" TRIAL OF THE "CHICAGO EIGHT," condemning the

conduct of the trial, but going one step further to say that "the use of the conspiracy doctrine to suppress dissent is itself a subversion of justice," was passed as amended. (See Attachment 9.)

Ernest Mandel

A resolution on the EXCLUSION OF ERNEST MANDEL, a noted European Marxist scholar, from the U. S., which says in part "we find the arbitrary action (of the State Dept.) of prohibiting scholars, writers, artists and other individuals from visiting this country because of their ideas or associations unjustified and intolerable . . .", was passed. (See Attachment 10.)

Labor Today

The resolution endorsing a new independent publication, Labor Today, was brought forward again for consideration. Motion by John Schmidman to amend resolution by adding a donation of $25. Passed. (See Attachment 11.)

EMPLOYEES AT TEXTILE ASK LOCAL 189 TO BE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING REPRESENTATIVE

Acting on behalf of the TWUA professional employees, Steve Remsen presented a request for Local 189, AFT, to represent a professional unit of 17 supervisory and non-supervisory employees in matters of collective bargaining with their employer, the Textile Workers Union of America.

Motion by Steve Remsen, seconded by Jack Blackburn and Wells Keddie that Local 189 reaffirm its collective bargaining position and agree to represent the TWUA professional employees unit. A suggestion by Charles Davis that Local 189 attempt to recruit a three-man committee to give support to the professional unit was incorporated in the motion. Motion passed. Abstentions recorded: Jim Williams, Larry Rogin, Owen Tapper.

"AFTER THE RACHLIN-ROGIN REPORT---WHAT?" - A PANEL PRESENTATION

As called for by the program, the meeting was interrupted at 10:30 a.m. for the first in a series of panel and program presentations to be held during the weekend meeting.

The first panel presentation dealt with the recently published "Rachlin-Rogin Report," an up-to-date compendium of labor education in the United States. Authors

Larry Rogin and Marge Rachlin talked about their impressions of labor education in the 1960's as gathered during the preparation of their report. Panel moderator Wells Keddie directed the question and answer session which followed. The session was taped with the idea that a more comprehensive report of the panel would be published in Viewpoints.

The meeting was adjourned for lunch.

* * * * * * *

AFT PRESIDENT DAVE SELDEN IS AFTER-LUNCHEON SPEAKER

AFT President Dave Selden, a former member of Local 189, used as a theme for his talk "Teacher Unity Through Merger."

He said that one of his campaign planks while running for president of the AFT had been merger with the non-supervisory members of the National Education Association. He explained that merger was an immediate necessity if the teaching "profession" is to continue to be in the vanguard of social reform. "Teaching is a trade," Selden said, "but because of the potential impact of schools upon society, the AFT has always been more than a narrow 'bread and butter' union." If the AFT is to reach its full potential for social reform, Selden feels there must be unity with NEA members.

Selden said some AFT members feel that the union should just continue to organize, giving the job of organizing such priority that the reason for organizing--that is carrying out policy and program--is forgotten.

A lively question and answer session followed Selden's remarks, including questions about AFT development of Afro-American teaching materials, AFT's relationship with the AFL-CIO and more on NEA-AFT merger.

Good information--We appreciate Brother Selden's presentation.

* * * * * * * *

Following lunch, the meeting reconvened for a second panel presentation inaccurately titled:

"YOUTH LOOKS AT LABOR"

Bob Esposito, Local 189 1969 Labor Intern, Jeremy Brecker, past West Coast

coordinator for S.D.S., and Marilyn Webb, the Women's Liberation Movement were panel participants. Lee Balliet acted as moderator.

Esposito

Esposito's role was to describe the reaction of the "young" worker to his union when, as in the case of his own local union, the union often does not respond to the needs of the younger and newer employee-member. He related how he joined the union as a matter of course under a union security agreement; how his own interest and activity in the union began only after his shop steward and other union officers neglected to process a grievance for him; how he found others in the local union had experienced the same problem, how he became steward after his steward was promoted to management; how new, young leadership won office in his local only to discover that the apathy of the former officers was reflected in the apathy his international officers; how his local union finally disaffiliated from the international while he was on internship.

Brecker

Brecker's presentation dealt with an analysis of the New Left (or The Movement's) attitudes toward the labor movement, and vice versa, and the need he sees for overcoming each others prejudices in order to join hands for social reform.

Calling attention first to the similarities between the labor movement and the "Movement", Brecker pointed out that both groups believed in human dignity and a society based upon cooperation, and that both groups were involved in challenging the power structure, corporate in the case of the labor movement and the rest of the establishment in the case of the "Movement."

He said that the "Movement" and the labor movement, however, do not see these similarities for the most part. Instead the "Movement" sees the labor movement as a bureaucracy rather than a social movement, and charges that the labor movement is, too often, no longer willing to fight for its membership. It (The Movement) sees the labor movement as a protector of the status quo, and as part of the "establishement." The "Movement" reinforces this belief by pointing to what it considers to be the essentially

conservative political role of the labor movement, particularly in its support of past and present Administrations' Vietnam policies and the extent to which the labor movement provides for "white privilege." He cited several other examples. In turn the labor movement, in its bill of particulars against the "Movement," charges the new left with irresponsibility and giving no responsible thought to the needs and desires of ordinary people.

Brecker predicted, however, an intensive period of strikes for the future which will result in a change in the relationships between the labor movement and the "Movement." He claimed that the attitudes of workers toward the "Movement" will change as they come against governmental interference in their strikes. He said that perhaps the labor movement will remember its earlier history of conflict with the "establishment" as well as the corporate structure.

Webb

The third panel member, Marilyn Webb addressed herself to the "racist-sexist system" which she says is responsible for discrimination against women today just as it is responsible for discrimination against minority groups. Currently working with Womens Liberation in their Washington, D. C. Abortion Counselling program, she described the treatment of women who must undergo therapeutic abortions in our "male-dominated hospitals." She described, too, how the picketing of one hospital because of such treatment led to a discussion with hospital employees which may result in their unionization.

Marilyn questioned whether the labor movement, which she says has tolerated not only pay discrepancies between black and white, but between men and women as well, even when the job responsibilities and educational backgrounds have been the same, wants to play any kind of role in the liberation of women.

Again a lively discussion session followed. It was of especial interest to witness the "sexist system" in operation during the discussion as well as during Marilyn's presentation.

ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION HAS THREE-PRONG PROGRAM

Following a short break, Local 189 reconvened to hear Wiley Branton, Executive Director of the Alliance for Labor Action, Community and Social Action Division.

Branton said his program was one of three currently being pursued by the A. L.A. He explained that the UAW and the IBT met and agreed in principle to form the A.L.A. in July 1968. The following year was spent in discussion between the two unions, leading to the founding convention in May, 1969.

Those discussions, Branton said, led to the setting up of three divisions of A.L.A. The first division, headed by Bill Geneovese from the IBT, is concerning itself with organizing the unorganized with the greatest emphasis being placed on workers who are on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, those who have been ignored by most of the labor movement up to now, e.g. migratory workers, domestics, common laborers. The first campaign has been opened in Atlanta, Georgia.

The second division, headed by Bishop Crothers will concern itself with campus and church activities. The first emphasis will be on getting young people involved in the labor movement.

The third division is the Community and Social Action Division which has as its chief responsibility presently the distribution of financial grants to community projects throughout the country that have been unable to get government or foundation funds to either begin or continue their undertakings. Branton described a number of the projects, listing as a major undertaking the new Civic Alliance for Housing in St. Louis. He said his division eventually hopes to have a small staff to provide some technical assistance as well as money.

At the end of the discussion session following Branton's presentation, the meeting was adjourned until 9:00 a.m. Sunday morning.

* * * * * * * * * *

Local 189 reconvened Sunday morning following a group breakfast.

LABOR INTERN REPORT

Local 189 Labor Intern for 1969, Robert G. Esposito summarized his written report which has been submitted earlier. (Esposito's full, written report will be published in the next issue of Viewpoints.) He urged the local to continue its internship program, saying that he believed the next intern should be assigned to a single institution just as he had been during the summer of 1969 but that whatever institution was chosen should have a full-grown education program and that some exposure to other programs and institutions should be built into the program.

President Rosen directed that a commendation for Steve Remsen, who directed the intern during his internship (the intern was assigned to the Textile Workers Union of America), and Joan Suarez, chairman of Intern Committee, should be entered in the minutes. So be it.

Motion by Joan Suarez that the internship program be continued for another year, once again assigning the intern to a single institution, and that a survey be made for the Spring meeting as to the possibilities of establishing an Intern Program on a full-time basis. Second by Russ Allen. Motion passed. Bill Elkuss suggested that Unions and Universities be surveyed as to job openings before setting up a full-time internship program.

President Rosen took this opportunity to extend appreciation to Lee Stanley and Stuart Brock for making meeting arrangements.

LABOR COLLEGE TREND EXAMINED

The conclusion of the weekend meeting was a panel presentation by Harry Lee, representing the new Teamster staff training school recently opened in Miami, Florida, and Oscar Paskal, representing the UAW Leadership Studies Center. An AFL-CIO representative was unable to be present.

Each described the curriculum and goals of their respective training centers. In addition Oscar Paskal described the UAW's plans for a Family Education Center at Black Lake, Michigan, which is already partially constructed.

SOME ADDITIONAL BUSINESS

A few items of business remained following the panel presentation. President Rosen called for approval of the Spring meeting dates and place: May 7-8-9, Columbus, Ohio. Motion made, seconded and passed.

Motion by Wells Keddie that we hold the Winter 1970 meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. Seconded. Amended to recommend Atlanta site to the Executive Board for consideration. Motion defeated. Executive Board is to choose next location. Mark Brown recommended that at future meetings programs be planned to give "both sides" an opportunity to be heard. He said he had in mind specifically the program in Philadelphis to which a representative of DRUM had been invited to speak.

Job Clearinghouse Report

Jackie Kienzle, Clearinghouse chairman, reported that individuals seeking jobs were continuing to submit resumes to the Clearinghouse but that unions and universities had fallen down on the job and had not been informing the Clearinghouse when a job opening occurred.

Jim Williams suggested that employers be circulated from time to time to find out if there were openings. Jake Schlitt recommended we let new institutions, such as the IBT School, know that the Job Clearinghouse exists. President Rosen thanked Jackie for her report and work.

President Rosen made a plea to all members to become as willing to undertake an assignment as they are to suggest an idea or program.

Motion by Stuart Brock that any unfinished business be submitted to the Executive Board for action. Seconded and passed.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez, Recording Secretary

The report of the Committee on Membership - together with forms and letters - is enclosed as Attachments 12, 13, and 14.

JS/jt
1/19/70

Attachment 1

SUMMARY

Income, Paid Membership, Expenses 1967, 1968, 1969

DUES INCOME			OTHER INCOME[1]			TOTAL INCOME		
1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969	1967	1968	1969
$ 9,203.80	$10,352.10	$11,104.30	$625.50	$1103.69	$960.55	$ 9,829.30	$11,455.70	$12,064.85
						TOTAL EXPENSES[3]		
						$ 8,121.22	$10,743.14	$10,853.10

AVERAGE PAID MONTHLY MEMBERSHIP

	1967	1968	1969
Regular[2]	214	224	230
AFT	36	16	18
Student	27	19	24
	277	259	272

[1]Includes contributions to Militancy Fund, GE Strikers, Winter Meeting receipts, etc.

[2]Includes the IUE, STANDARD, Collective Bargaining Discount and Retired Categories.

[3]Note that expenses differ slightly from the Annual Financial Reprot. This is caused when checks issued are not cashed and are subsequently cancelled and the amount is deducted from expenses. This causes differences in the expenditure and bank balance columns.

Report accepted 11/21/69, Washington, D. C.

Attachment 2

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE
Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers

Article III, MEMBERSHIP, Section 8

PRESENT SECTION

Section 8. No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist, shall be admitted to membership.

PROPOSED SECTION

Section 8. No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, religious faith, or political activities, affiliations or beliefs.

For submission by Local 189 for consideration of the next AFT convention.

Approved by Local 189 Executive Board, 11/21/69
Adopted by membership,
WAshington, D. C. 11/22/69

ATTACHMENT 2-A

Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

November 21, 1969

Committee on
History of Labor Education in the United States

Early this year the Committee set as its immediate task the development of an annotated bibliography on U.S. labor education history up to 1960. In May the membership of Local 189 was circularized with an appeal for assistance in the project and some members reproduced the original appeal for use in a still wider circle.

It was emphasized that the listing would be limited to analytical surveys and reports, covering labor education as a whole and including specific projects and programs. It would not include items such as teaching materials and detailed records of operations.

Members were informed also of the Committee's interest in having the names of leaders in labor education for oral history interviews.

The response to the May appeal has not been overwhelming but it has been gratifying and the Committee is now going over the material submitted, identifying items of possible value for our present purpose and seeking annotations where they have not been supplied. This must, of course, be done where the material is available and involves recruitment of volunteers at various places.

Additional responses to the May appeal would be appreciated, together with suggestions of still more contacts. Press Associates is publicizing the project and Labor History has been asked to carry an announcement.

The Committee joins the officers of 189 in requesting all possible assistance in preparations for the 1972 anniversary observance of the founding of Brookwood Local 189. Brookwood veterans should be involved in every way possible and the Committee is interviewing some of them as a starter in its oral history activity. We need all the contacts we can get with Brookwood staff and students.

Oliver A. Peterson, Chairman
7714 - 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012
291-8443

Attachment 3

RESOLUTION ON THE G.E. STRIKE

Worker Education Local 189 supports fully the workers now on strike against the General Electric Company. We condemn the persistent refusal of G.E. to engage in meaningful collective bargaining.

We see a victory for these strikers as essential to stop an obvious drive by management to significantly weaken the trade union movement in the United States.

Members of Local 189 are hereby asked to become involved whenever possible in developing community support for this strike.

Local 189, as a token of its support, hereby donates $300 from the Defense Fund to the strike committees made up of the cooperating unions conducting the strike.

Local 189 members are also asked to individually contribute $3.00 each to the strike fund on a voluntary basis.

Send contributions to :

Local 189, AFT
580 Spruce St.
Morgantown, W. Va. 26506

Make checks payable to: "Local 189, AFT"

Adopted
Washington, D. C.
11/22/69

Attachment 4

ESPERANTO

WHEREAS: Instant world-wide communication, which has been made technically possible by Telestar and other satellite systems, is in fact handicapped by the multiplicity of languages into which messages must be translated and

WHEREAS the adoption of any given national tongue as an international auxiliary language would be difficult because of nationalistic jealousies among older countries and anti-colonial prejudices among newer nations, thus making the adoption of a constructed language such as Esperanto a more likely solution, and

WHEREAS Labor's concern with the international language problem has been indicated in various ways (e.g., an Esperanto edition of the I.C.F.T.U.'s basic pamphlet published this year; a 1966 petition to the United Nations asking it to urge its member nations to further the use of Esperanto which had extensive labor support, including, in the United States, signatures of many Local 189 members; a feature article on Esperanto circulated by Press Associates, Inc., within the last few weeks; a semi-centennial celebration by the Esperanto organization of European railway workers this summer); THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED: That this meeting of Local 189, for the purpose of informed world-wide solidarity, recommend to its members and to the labor programs they administer, the study and practical use of Esperanto as an international language. AND BE IT FURTHER

RESOLVED That Local 189 designate a volunteer observer at the World Esperanto Congress at Vienna in 1970, to make direct contact with the labor workers' education groups there and report later to Local 189 AND BE IT FURTHER

RESOLVED that Local 189 nominate a representative to serve on the trade union section of the reception committee for the 57th World Esperanto Congress which meets in Portland, Ore. in 1972.

Submitted by Mark Starr
(3940 47th St., Long Island City, N. Y.11104)

Adopted: Washington, D. C.
11/21/69

Attachment 5

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS WORKERS, UNION MEMBERS AND LABOR EDUCATORS

There is evidence at every hand that so-called "male supremacist" attitudes towards women predominate among union members and labor educators. Much of this evidence shows up in the unconscious, unthinking mode of thought which relegates women to the status of second class (or worse) citizenship in such matters as employment preference, promotions, opportunities for union leadership positions, and involvement in the field of labor education itself.

Workers Education Local 189 hereby resolves that its members should begin to attack this problem in at least two dimensions:

(1) Within their own ranks, every effort should be made to initiate discussions on this subject on a serious level, with a view towards eradicating the last vestiges of these attitudes from both the organization and from the field of labor education.

(2) Programs designed to raise the issue in an instructive and constructive way should be undertaken as a high priority item in future labor education efforts at all levels.

Adopted

11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 6

RESOLUTION ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND "THE MOVEMENT"

The nation confronts more and more ineptly a number of increasingly urgent problems: To name but a few of them--ending the Vietnam war and making sure no more such wars are fought in our name; eliminating racism in all its aspects from our society; acting in a meaningful manner, instead of superficially, to stop the steady destruction of our natural resources through water and air pollution and other gross attacks upon the natural ecology; developing a truly relevant educational system for all citizens; and ending the special privileges of the rich, especially in such areas as support through taxation by the various levels of government.

The labor movement of the United States is one of the few sources of resistance to this continuing ineptitude in the face of tremendous social problems. That amorphous grouping of anti-war forces, civil rights activists, and student militants now known generally as The Movement is another. At present, however, differences of style and method have acted to keep the labor movement and The Movement at best in an "arms-length" relationship and at worst in an internecine war.

Workers Education Local 189 believes that the time has come for both the labor movement and The Movement to put aside their differences and join forces. Without this cooperation, it seems likely that most of the urgent problems listed above will simply get worse instead of being solved.

Therefore, Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, calls upon the labor movement and The Movement--leaders and members alike, at all levels--to begin immediately, in every way possible, a dialogue with the express purpose of finding areas of agreement, for common action against the major social ills of our day. Members of Local 189, in their capacities as labor education workers, are asked to assume a special responsibility in this regard, making themselves available for consultation with both groups and promoting at every opportunity the growth of this dialogue.

It is also resolved that copies of this resolution be given the widest possible circulation in the press, specifically including the press of the labor movement and The Movement. Members are authorized to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure this wide circulation, including submitting copies to newspapers, radio and television stations, and magazines to which they might have access.

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 7

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PARTY CONVENTION REFORM

Workers Education Local 189, AFT, welcomes the moves that are being made in the Democratic Party to reform the delegate selection method and the composition of the 1972 Convention. We call upon the Republican Party to come to grips with this same problem in their organization.

There are many reforms needed to make the Convention method of nominating a president really representative of the members of that political party. To date, two reforms have been announced by the Democratic Party and we endorse them.

These two reforms deal with a method of assuring that elected delegates will have voting weight in Democratic councils commensurate with the weight of Democratic voters who voted for Democratic candidates during the previous election, and that appointed delegates shall bear a reasonable resemblance to the make-up of the population.

We call upon the committee working on reform to continue its work and to come forth with even more meaningful proposals.

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 8

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, hereby expresses its continuing and growing distress over the American presence in Vietnam.

With this statement, we call upon the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers and the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO to issue a call upon the President of the United States demanding that he order an immediate end to the war in Vietnam and that he bring the American troops now there home at once.

We also call upon all labor educators, whether members of Local 189 or not, to take prompt action to insure the fullest possible discussion within the labor movement of the reasons for ending the war and bringing the troops home now.

It is also resolved that this statement be given the widest possible circulation in the press, with copies sent to the President of the United States, to the AFT officers and Executive Board, to the next AFT Convention for consideration, to the officers and Executive Board of the AFL-CIO, to all of the major wire services, to television networks, nationally-known newspapers, and to The American Teacher and the AFL-CIO News. Local 189 members are authorized to circulate this statement among press outlets in their own localities.

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 9

RESOLUTION ON THE "CONSPIRACY" TRIAL OF THE "CHICAGO EIGHT"

By all accounts, whether in the commercial or so-called "movement" press, the trial of eight persons on conspiracy charges arising out of the 1968 "police riot" at the Democratic Convention in Chicago is a complete travesty of justice.

The use of the conspiracy doctrine to suppress dissent is itself a subversion of justice. The conduct of the trial has blended the farcical with the unjust in a way that insures that the defendants can never receive even an approximation of a fair trial.

The most glaring instance of injustice in this trial has been the denial of counsel of his choice to Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party. Prevented from postponing the trial itself until his counsel could be present, Bobby Seale repeatedly attempted to act as his own counsel, a right afforded a defendant as a matter of course in most courts of law in this nation. As a result of his attempts, he was literally bound and gagged upon orders of the judge and forced to sit thus in front of the jury trying to evaluate the evidence. Finally, Bobby Seale was sentenced to four years imprisonment for contempt of court and separated from the current trial.

The members of Workers Education Local 189, deeply concerned that this trial is not only violating the civil liberties of the defendants but is also likely to set a pattern for the repression of dissent in the future, hereby asks that due process be immediately instituted for all of these defendants, particularly Bobby Seale, and that the many criticisms of the trial judge's conduct publicly made by lawyers groups be taken into account in making this move towards real justice.

Workers Education Local 189 also calls upon the Executive Boards of the American Federation of Teachers, the AFL-CIO and the ALA to call publicly for the restoration of due process to the defendants at once and for a full airing of the charges concerning the conduct of the trial to date.

This resolution shall be given the fullest possible circulation in the news media, with copies also sent directly to the defendants in the Chicago trial.

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 10

RESOLUTION

EXCLUSION OF ERNEST MANDEL FROM THE U.S.

Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, protests the exclusion of the noted European Marxist scholar, Ernest Mandel, from the Stanford University conference of October 17-18, where he was to debate with Professor John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard.

Local 189 asks Secretary of State William Rogers to rescind the ban upon Mandel's entry and to permit him to fulfill the academic and other speaking engagements scheduled here in late November and early December.

We find the arbitrary action of prohibiting scholars, writers, artists and other individuals from visiting this country because of their ideas or associations unjustified and intolerable on numerous grounds. Among them in this case is the infringement of our right to hear in person as well as to read what a scholar of Mr. Mandel's qualifications has to say.

We urge an end to a policy that the New York Times, among others, has condemned as "a vestige of the restrictive era of the 1950's."

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Secretary of State and to Ernest Mandel, c/o the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1003, New York, N. Y., 10010, and to representative news media.

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 11

RESOLUTION ON "LABOR TODAY"

Workers Education Local 189, AFT, commends the editors and publishers of the new journal Labor Today for the high quality and the breadth of its coverage of labor movement affairs.

Local 189 recommends that its members subscribe to, write for and promote Labor Today. In keeping with this recommendation, Local 189 offers a token donation of $25.00 to help with the continuing publication of this journal.

If any member wishes to subscribe or make inquiry, write to:

LABOR TODAY
Room 600
343 S. Dearborn
Chicago, Ill. 60604

Adopted
11/22/69
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 12

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE REPORT

TO: Stan Rosen, President

FROM: Anne C. Green, Chairman, Membership Committee

The basic program of the membership committee will be as outlined by Brother Keith Knauss, former chairman who is now serving in the armed forces.

The first step to "get off the ground" will be contacting individuals presently in the labor education field and not members, inquiring whether they would like to join. Keith's original letter (attached) is fine for this purpose except modifying the first paragraph appropriately. The first problem is finding names and addresses. If any present 189 member has such names they should be forwarded to the chairman. The letter may serve as the original contact or a follow-up, of a somewhat official nature, on the all important personal contact a 189 member has made.

The second step should be another letter, perhaps answering specific questions of the prospective member, but necessarily enclosing a membership blank and a copy of the Newsletter and Viewpoints.

The second segment of the membership program should be investigating why members have left 189. Also a part of this could be investigating why new members have joined. Again, letters will have to be mailed out to each of these people requesting such information.

Summary: WHAT IS NEEDED

From 189: Stationery and money for postage

From 189 Members: Names and addresses of prospective members.

cc:Joan Suarez

Attachment 13

LETTER TO PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS

Dear

As the Midwest Region member of the Executive Board, I would like to ascertain whether or not you are interested in participating in Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Local #189 is the organization of staff in labor education. We conduct projects to advance education in the labor movement, encourage collective bargaining by professionals, and support trade unionism in public education through our affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers.

The objectives of our organization are to bring workers education personnel together for their mutual benefit and to strengthen workers education through collective bargaining and through protecting and advancing the technical and economic statndards of its personnel.

Our methods and activities for accomplishing these objectives are:

1. Semi-annual meetings of the entire membership at which ideals and ideas about labor education are exchanged freely.

2. Salary surveys to keep abreast of the economic interests of our members.

3. Two newsletter-type publications, the Labor Education VIEWPOINTS and the 189 NEWSLETTER.

4. The labor education internship which provides promising students of labor education with a two-month practicum in various areas of the discipline.

5. The Directory of Labor Education which includes a complete listing of union and university labor education departments, the addresses of all local members, and the Local's constitution.

6. Various conferences dealing with a wide scope of issues.

7. Participating in collective bargaining.

8. Special projects.

9. Mailings to members from various allied organizations

Perhaps the most inportant aspect of membership in Local #189, American Federation of Teachers, is the free exchange of ideas, policies, and programs between and among our many members. The enclosed publications should give you an idea of the nature of our organization.

Your participation is encouraged and desired, and I would appreciate knowing if you have any interest in joining our organization. Please feel free to keep all of the materials enclosed, whatever your decision may be.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Keith D. Knauss, Executive Board Member
Midwest Region, Local #189
American Federation of Teachers

KDK:sjh

Enclosures

Attachment 14

LETTER TO FORMER MEMBERS

Dear _____

As Membership Committee Chairman of AFT Local 189, I understand that you have discontinued your membership in our local. We would appreciate your answering the following questions and returning this to: Miss Anne C. Green
134 Oakdale Ave.
Akron, Ohio 44302

This information is important for us to know how to better serve the membership
Thank you.

1. I left Local 189 because:

_____ left the field of labor education

_____ dues were too high

_____ never was able to attend a meeting

_____ did not think 189 was helpful to me as a labor educator

_____ just forgot to pay my dues

COMMENTS: _____

_____

_____

2. I would rejoin if:

_____ Local 189 would lower its dues

_____Local 189 were my collective bargaining agent

_____ Local 189 did not become active in bargaining for its members

COMMENTS: _____

_____

_____

3. Any further information or comments which would be helpful to us.

_____

_____

_____

AFT 189

AFT

ANNOUNCES

LOCAL 189

ITS **WINTER MEETING**

IN D.C.

MANGER-HAMILTON HOTEL
14TH AND K STREET NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
PHONE (202) 347-2580

NOVEMBER 21, 22, & 23, 1969

TENTATIVE PROGRAM ENCLOSED

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
WINTER MEETING
NOVEMBER 21-23, 1969
MANGER-HAMILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

November 21

7:00 to 10:00 PM	Registration Business Meeting - Reports Committee assignments

November 22

9:00 to 10:30 AM	Business Meeting - Reports Resolutions, Constitutional Amendments
10:30 to 12:00 Noon	After the Rachlin-Rogin Report -- What? Wells Keddie, Moderator -- Marge Rachlin, Larry Rogin
12:00 to 2:00 PM	Lunch Speaker: Dave Selden, AFT President
2:00 to 4:30 PM	Youth Looks at Organized Labor Lee Balliet, Moderator
4:30 PM	What's Going on in ALA Joan Suarez, Moderator
5:30 PM or so	Cash bar for a while

November 23

9:00 AM	Breakfast Labor Colleges - 1969: Speakers
12:00 Noon	End of Conference

Send Resolutions to:

Joan Suarez (314) 838-8118
535 Clemens Drive
Florissant, Mo. 63033

Send 189 Constitutional Amendments to:

Wells Keddie (814) 865-5425
157 Burrowes Bldg No.
University Park, Pa. 16802

File

Minutes of the Executive Board

Local 189, AFT

Friday, November 21, 1969
Manger-Hamilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

WE ASSEMBLE

The Winter Executive Board meeting of Local 189, AFT, was called to order at 1:07 p.m. somewhere in the Manger-Hamilton Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Executive Board members and guests present during the course of the meeting were Stan Rosen, Owen Tapper, Joan Suarez, Wells Keddie, Ruth Weincek, Stuart Brock, John Mikrut, Stephen Cook, Roger Rines, Emory F. Via, Anne Green, Paula Paley, Martin Duffy, Chris Piluras and Lee Balliet.

Motion by Owen Tapper, seconded by Joan Suarez to confirm appointment of John Mikrut to Executive Board replacing Keith Knauss who has been drafted by "Uncle Sam." Passed.

NEW CHAPTERS

Motion by Owen Tapper, seconded by Joan Suarez to give Executive Board approval for establishing a Missouri Chapter of Local 189. Procedure for setting up chapter reviewed. Motion passed. (See Attachment 1.)

Motion by Joan Suarez, seconded by Emory Via to approve a Kentucky Chapter of Local 189. Passed. (See Attachment 2.)

BARGAINING UNIT

President Stanley Rosen informed Board of request on part of the professional staff of the Textile Workers Union of America--17 people, supervisory and non-supervisory--for Local 189 to represent them in collective bargaining with their employer. President Rosen said he had spoken to Jim Mundy of the AFT to determine whether AFT could provide support. Full discussion followed with agreement to bring issue to membership for decision.

Stuart Brock moved that Ruth Weincek's suggestion of exploring the possibilities of forming a "Council of Staff, Professional and International Representatives Organizations," to be otherwise known as "COSPIRO," be recommended to the regular meeting as a Local 189 project. Seconded by Wells Keddie. Passed with Emory Via abstaining.

President Rosen named Wells Keddie chairman of "Project COSPIRO." Other committee members are Ruth Weincek, Stuart Brock, Anne Green, Paula Paley, Joan Suarez, and John Mikrut. Committee was instructed to compile a list of staff and field unions, independent and affiliated, to be followed by a meeting of representatives of interested groups to talk about mutual problems, etc., pending approval at membership meeting.

IRRELEVANCE

(At this point an ovation greeted the news that the Haynesworth nomination to the Supreme Court had been defeated by a ten vote margin.)

LABOR TODAY

President Rosen called to the attention of the Executive Board the new publication called "Labor Today." He suggested a resolution commending its editors and urging members to subscribe.

GALAXY

The "galaxy" conference sponsored by the National Adult Education Association to be held in Washington, D. C. December 12-15 was discussed. The Board agreed to send a delegate to attend the Workshop for Labor Educators. Ruth Weincek moved, Martin Duffy seconded that Stuart Brock be named delegate. Passed

WELLS

Resolutions Chairman Wells Keddie made a preliminary report, announced the Resolutions Committee would meet at 5:00 p.m.

TOO MUCH FOR A DINNER

Communication announcing the Albert Shanker Testimonial Dinner at $25 per plate was read and discussed. Motion by Wells Keddie, second by Owen Tapper to recommend a $25.00 donation to the AFT Militancy Fund since we are unable to have a delegate present at the dinner. Recording Secretary to send letter, pending approval.

SPRING LABOR EDUCATION MEETING

President Rosen reported on his meeting with University Labor Education Association Steering Committee Chairman Lois Gray in regard to the Spring meeting. The ULEA has chosen May 7-8-9 as the dates. Location is to be Columbus, Ohio with Ohio State University hosting. The ULEA has agreed the meeting should be opened to delegates from all University programs, unions and community groups.

Motion by Suarez to recommend accepting date and place. Seconded by Roger Rines. Passed. It was the concensus of the Executive Board that the Executive officers should meet again with ULEA officers to make program recommendations. Among those recomendations are:

* that the Spring meeting be used to begin a dialogue between labor educators, various akin community groups and today's young radicals, e.g. a panel of representatives of several young radical groups such as the Black Panthers, Patriots and Young Lords might be invited to make a presentation at the meeting;
* that Local 189 and the ULEA hold their business meetings on Thursday, May 7, allowing for a full two day conference under the general sponsorship of the ULEA;
* that Local 189 be allowed to participate in the construction of the program and that it be made relevant to the outside groups to be invited as well as to ourselves; that Local 189 and ULEA sponsor a joint cocktail party. Motion by Keddie, seconded by Suarez that Local 189 that up to $400 be made available from Local 189 treasury for this purpose.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

President Rosen appointed the following to a Nominating Committee for the 1970 election: Ray MacDonald, chairman; Chris Piluras and Jackie Kienzle. They will be polled for their acceptance.

AFT CONSTITUTION

An amendment to the AFT constitution, Article III, Section 8, proposing to liberalize the membership clause was considered for submission to the next AFT convention. Motion by Keddie, second by Suarez to recommend submission. Passed. (See attachment 3.)

NUTS

Treasurer Owen Tapper reported that over the last ten months dues have increased $400 over the same period (January to October) in 1968 and that the membership is up twenty (20) members over the same period.

INTERN

Internship Committee Chairman Joan Suarez reported the Committee recommends continuing the Internship for one more year following the same approximate format followed in 1969 as it seemed to be somewhat more successful in achieving the stated goals of the internship then in previous years, to wit: both exposure and involvement in the field of labor education for the intern. She also said the committee would recommend expanding the mailing list for recruitment to all universities, colleges, junior colleges and unions, whether or not there was an established labor education program in the institution. The committee further recommended the exploring of the expansion of the intern program through a government or private grant; and the possibility of an AFT intern in labor education. Estimated cost of the 1969 Intern: About $1200.00.

Paula Paley moved to recommend the continuance of the Internship for another year and the authorization to spend money for the project. Seconded by Anne Green. Passed.

ORGANIZATION

Membership Chairman Anne Green reported she is proceeding with the plan outlined by the former chairman Keith Knauss. She said she would report more fully at the membership meeting.

189 TO BE 50 SOON

President Rosen appointed a committee to begin planning for the 1972 "50th Anniversary" celebration of Local 189 to be held somewhere in the vicinity of Brookwood Labor College: Ruth Weincek, chairman, Mark Starr and Oliver Peterson.

NEWSLETTER

President Rosen, who has continued to edit the Local 189 newsletter, reported that it is possible to have a lithographed "newsletter" prepared for about $200 per 1000 copies. He is still looking for an editor, however. Motion by Anne Green, second by Wells Keddie that as a stop-gap measure, the president be empowered to hire an editor at a reasonable (low) fee until other arrangements can be made. Concensus.

Meeting adjourned somewhere in the neighborhood of 5:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez, Recording Secretary

Submitted for publication 1/17/70

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

ATTACHMENT 1

C O P Y

November 7, 1969

Mr. Stanley Rosen, Recording Secretary
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189
401 Sandburg Street
Park Forest, Illinois 60466

Dear Stan:

It is my pleasure to request of Local 189, AFT permission to form a Missouri Chapter of Local 189. We now have about twenty people working in the state of Missouri who belong or are eligible for membership in Local 189.

Some of us who have been interested in forming a chapter met early in October to discuss same. There were eight of us present that evening with three or four others indicating they would have been present except for a conflict in schedule. At that meeting we asked Pete Gregan (University of Missouri) to act as our temporary chairman and Mike Ryan (Local 688, Teamsters) to act as recording secretary. As the senior Executive Board member in Missouri, I was asked to write you and make our request for Chapter recognition. We also request approval to affiliate with appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

We will be anxiously waiting action of the Executive Board.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Suarcz
Regional Education Director

JS/vt
cc: Owen Tapper
Peter R. Gregan
Mike Ryan

Correspondence received 11/10/69
Executive Board recommends approval of request 11/21/69

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

ATTACHMENT 2

C O P Y

Mr. Stanley Rosen, President
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189

Dear Stan:

Several current members of Local 189 in Kentucky recently met and decided to form a chapter of Local 189. We elected temporary officers - Roger Rines, Temporary Chairman and Henry Lake, Temporary Secretary-Treasurer and adopted By-Laws subject to formal recognition and approval.

We currently have 7 or 8 members and a potential membership of 15 - 20.

Request permission to form the Chapter and affiliate with appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Roger H. Rines

Correspondence received 11/21/69
Executive Board recommends approval of request 11/21/69

AMENDMENT TO AFT CONSTITUTION

ATTACHMENT 3

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE
Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers

Article III, MEMBERSHIP, Section 8

PRESENT SECTION

Section 8. No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist, shall be admitted to membership.

PROPOSED SECTION

Section 8. No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, religious faith, or political activities, affiliations or beliefs.

For submission by Local 189 for consideration of the next AFT convention

Proposed amendment received 11/2/69.
Executive Board recommends approval 11/21/69.

AFT 189

Received by EFV 1/21/70

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

ATTACHMENT 2

COPY

Mr. Stanley Rosen, President
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189

Dear Stan:

Several current members of Local 189 in Kentucky recently met and decided to form a chapter of Local 189. We elected temporary officers - Roger Rines, Temporary Chairman and Henry Lake, Temporary Secretary-Treasurer and adopted By-Laws subject to formal recognition and approval.

We currently have 7 or 8 members and a potential membership of 15 - 20.

Request permission to form the Chapter and affiliate with appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Roger H. Rines

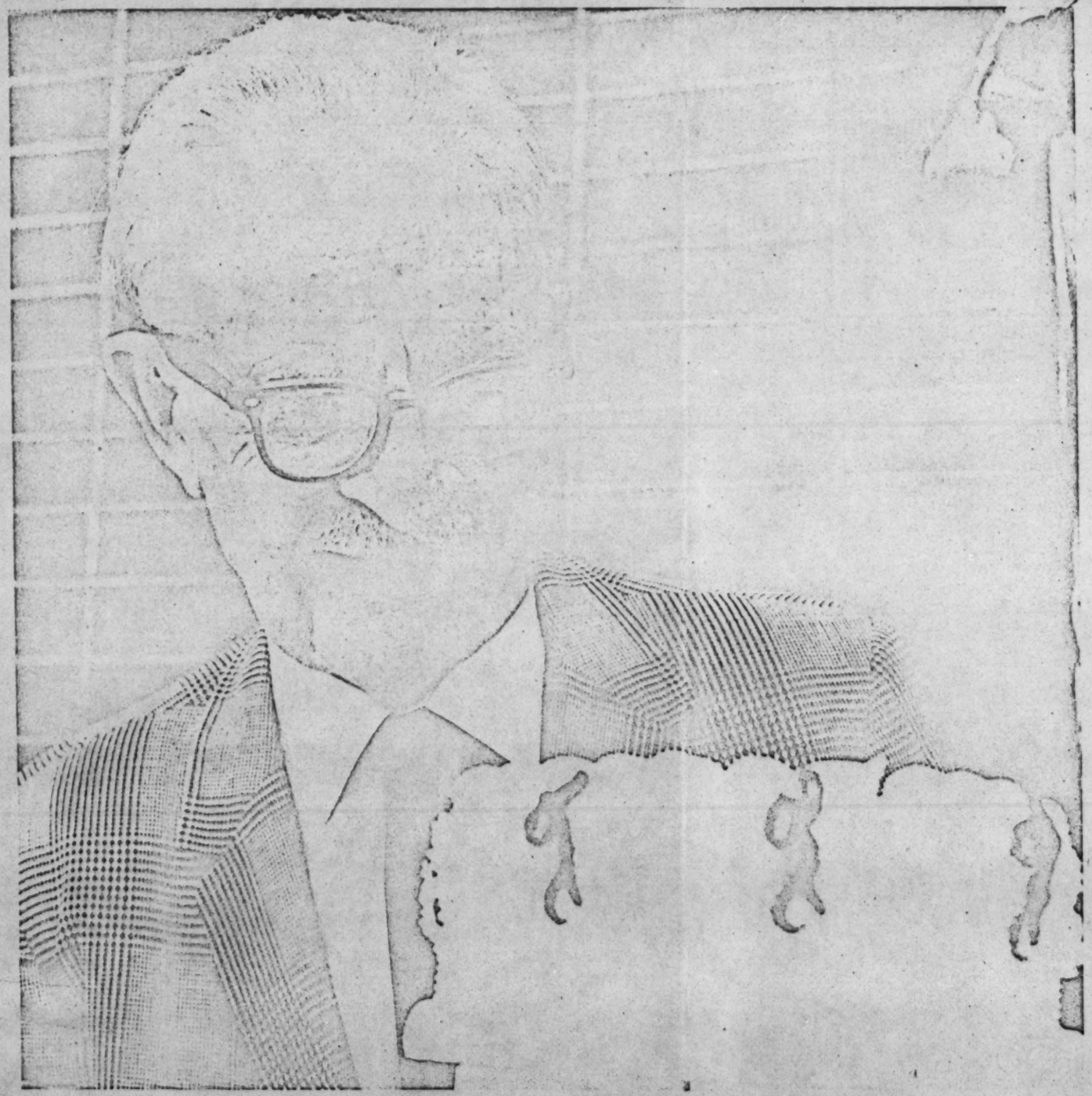
Correspondence received 11/21/69
Executive Board recommends approval of request 11/21/69

A New Chapter has been formed in your district.

Chapter Copy

Amer. Teacher 1/70

JW Rm Res



Former AFT President George Counts, now an octogenarian, marks his birthday with a cake.

BIRTHDAY

AFT helps Mobile teacher fight trumped-up charges

MOBILE, Ala.

Mrs. Joycelyn Finley, a black teacher and member of AFT Local 777 here, has recently been aquitted of charges of obstructing passageways, using profane language, and inciting a riot. Her defense was handled by her union, the majority of whose members are white, and the union attorney, Harry Seale.

It all began on Moratorium Day, when Mrs. Finley took leave (paying her substitute) to attend a special church service. The church happened to be next door to a school where, just a few days earlier, a black principal had sent a black boy home for refusal to shave off his beard.

The principal had sent the boy home under a new school-community dress policy which mandated suspension for this offense. The beard item was dictated by the principal, who told the policy committee, which didn't mind beards, that he couldn't "live with" them.

MARCH TO SCHOOL

After the Moratorium service, a group of students and adults decided to march to the school to try to reason with the principal. He threatened to have them arrested for trespassing if they didn't leave in five minutes. Mrs. Finley had not gone with the group, but had telephoned her husband to ask his advice. He told her to do what she felt was right. So she met the others coming back. She was about to return with them, when she saw the suspended student standing near the school entrance. Being a close family friend, she walked over to talk briefly with him, then returned to the church.

The next day, Mrs. Finley received a call from police, who told her that the associate superintendent of the Mobile County schools had sworn out a warrant

Former AFT President George Counts, now an octogenarian, marks his birthday

BIRTHDAY

George Counts, a lively 80

CARBONDALE, Ill.

"Old men and far travelers may lie by authority" is an old English proverb distinguished education Professor George Counts tells his students at Southern Illinois University.

Counts is a far traveler. And although he celebrated his 80th birthday Dec. 9, by no means is he marked as old by colleagues at SIU, where he teaches classes, still travels extensively, and is a widely-sought source of information, advice, and philosophies that only a man of his vast experiences can give. He remains easy-going, easily accessible, and possessor of wry wit and sense of humor.

Counts explains that in his later years he has warned his students that "old men and far travelers lie by authority."

"Then I tell them I am both," he said. "An 'old man' can say that he remembers this or that very well. And a 'far traveler' of course can say he visited this or that far-away place and knows what he is talking about. I tell students to put a question mark after everything I tell them.

"However, if any question is raised about what's inside the Soviet Union, I just tell them that in 1929 I drove my own Ford automobile 6,000 miles over that country, a large part of the time alone. And this happens to be true."

The durable Counts, born in Kansas and a lumberjack and trapper in his teens, came to SIU in 1962 after a distinguished career on faculties at Teachers College of Columbia University, Yale University, University of Washington, and the University of Chicago. He is author of 29 books on education and social affairs and so many articles he quit counting them years ago. His book, *The Challenge of Soviet Education*, won the American Library Association's Liberty and Justice Award as "the most distinguished book of 1957 on contemporary problems and affairs."

Counts' department chairman at SIU, John E. King, says Counts conceivably could be the country's greatest living professor of education.

"None is better known, quoted more often, or able to provide more relevancy to 20th-Century students than George Counts," said King, a former president of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. "He's a professor's professor."

ATTACKED BY HEARST

Counts, an education liberal back in the 1920s when he was a colleague and friend of John Dewey at Columbia University, was the object of a press attack by the late publisher William Randolph Hearst, in the 1930s because of his views. During ensuing years, Counts' progressive ideas became accepted procedure.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, he served as president of the American Federation of Teachers. In 1942-44, he was chairman of the American Labor Party and co-founder of the Liberal Party in New York. He ran for the U.S. Senate but lost.

At SIU, where his office door carries a joke placard, "All things cometh to him who waiteth—if he worketh like hell while he waiteth," Counts almost weekly receives invitations to appear at education meetings throughout the country. Some he accepts, like during April, 1968, when he appeared in Central Illinois, Ohio, Virginia, and New York City. One lecture topic was "Education and Chaos."

"Sure, education can serve any purpose—even in bringing catastrophe," he said.

Just a week before the spring, 1968, jaunt, he talked into a microphone three hours while a Cornell University representative taped his recollections and views on education and the contemporary scene in the 1930s and 1940s. A year earlier, he had recorded motives, meanings, satisfactions, and possible regrets in his life, to be used by biographers after his death. The confidential sketch was obtained for the National Society for the Study of Education.

Much of his office time is spent answering correspondence, much from educators and students wanting his views for graduate-study theses and dissertations, and for professional articles and books. They want the ideas of a man who was a pioneer a half century ago and who is able to relate to concepts taught today.

His latest published article, which appears in Phi Delta Kappan for December, is titled "Should the Teacher Always Be Neutral?" The same issue contains an article by Joseph S. Junell which begins with a George Counts quotation, and book reviews of Counts books by Chairman King and Professor Arthur E. Lean of the SIU department of educational administration and foundations. King reviews *The Prospects of American Democracy* and says it is more valuable in 1969 than in 1938, when it was written. Lean's review is of *Education and American Civilization*, published in 1952. He says he believes this book is the best of the 29 written by Counts.

church.

The next day, Mrs. Finley received a [illegible] associate superintendent of the [illegible] County schools had sworn out a warrant charging her with disturbing the peace. She went downtown and posted bond.

Having been a member of Local 777 for many years, Mrs. Finley called James E. Swilley, now the local's president and then still serving in his former capacity as grievance chairman. He promptly arranged for her to be defended by Seale, the union's attorney.

Two weeks later, when her case came to trial, the charges had been escalated to the three mentioned earlier. Seale had no difficulty in proving, through the prosecution's own witnesses, that they were false. The judge threw the case out.

BLACKS JOINING LOCAL

Although Local 777 has been integrated from its earliest days, with blacks included in the executive council over the years as vice-president, treasurer, and chairmen of several committees, the membership has been predominantly white because of widespread intimidation by black principals to force membership in the so-called "professional" associations. Now that the prompt and successful defense of Mrs. Finley has demonstrated where true protection lies, there has been a sudden surge of black members into the local.

Since her acquittal, Mrs. Finley has been harassed by the personnel division of the school system regarding her actions on Moratorium Day. It is probable, the local believes, that her continued persecution is because her husband has been active in a militant black organization which has been very critical of the school board and administration because of their illegal operation of segregated facilities. It is also probable that an effort will be made to terminate Mrs. Finley.

When asked about this, Swilley made this statement: "When that time comes, we will once more defend Mrs. Finley, and we'll win that one, too!"

Local 189, American Federation of
Teachers, AFL-CIO
Joan Suarez (314) 838-8118
535 Clemens Drive
Florissant, Missouri 63033

February 15, 1970

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LABOR EDUCATION APPRENTICESHIP OFFERED IN

TEN-WEEK INTERNSHIP

A ten-week training program, complete with an $800 scholarship and expenses, is being offered by Worker Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, to a qualified man or woman interested in a career in labor education.

Labor education is the branch of adult education that attempts to meet the educational needs of union members, particularly those active as shop stewards, officers and full-time representatives. Qualifications for work in labor education include experience with the labor movement, understanding of educational principles, and familiarity with such subjects as collective bargaining, economics, union administration, legislation and politics.

The apprenticeship program, now entering its sixth year, is especially aimed at the union member who has been active in the educational work of his union, the teacher who desires to work with adults and the graduate student in the social sciences who may have an interest in working in the labor movement as an educator

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

DATE: February 1970

TO: Local 189 Members

FROM: Joan Suarez, Chairman, Internship Committee

Enclosed are a poster and press release announcing the 1970 Labor Education Internship Program sponsored by our local union. We are, of course, interested in soliciting as many qualified applicants as possible.

Will you please post the Poster where it will get the most attention and see that the press release gets in the hands of an editor that can use it. If you know of any likely applicants, please get in touch with them.

Your cooperation will be most appreciated.

AFT 189

LABOR EDUCATION NEWS

Newsletter of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
401 Sandburg Street, Park Forest, Illinois 60466
Member - Teacher Labor Press Association
Member - International Labor Press Association

Editor
Stan Rosen

Vol. II February, 1970

BARBARA FIFIELD TO BE NEW EDITOR OF LABOR EDUCATION NEWS

Mrs. Barbara Fifield, Present Education Director of the Boston-New England Joint Board of the ILGWU will become the New Editor of Labor Education News starting with the next edition.

Mrs. Fifield was formerly Administrative Assistant to the Director of the Labor Relations and Research Center at the University of Mass. Prior to that, she was employed by the National Catholic Education Association, in D.C.

A native of Denver, Colorado, Mrs. Fifield was raised in the East, receiving her education in Mass. She attended the Iowa State University and is currently enrolled in the Industrial Relations Program at Northeastern University. She is the daughter of the former President of the University of Massachusetts.

She established and edited the "Accent University Union", the Newsletter of the Labor Relations Research Center at the University of Mass. She presently also edits "The Nor' Easter", ILGWU joint Board publication.

All information, articles and communications concerning the newsletter should be directed to her attention at the following address:

Mrs. Barbara Fifield
179 Thatcher Street
Milton, Mass. 02187

* *

IN THIS EDITION

A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT
PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS
ICFTU NEWS
CHAPTER NEWS

SIGN UP A NEW MEMBER TODAY!

OFFICIAL MEETING NOTICE

The Spring Meeting of Local 189 will be held on Wednesday, June 3, 1970 at Neil House, Columbus, Ohio...It will preceed the National Labor Education Conference to be held the evening of June 3 and June 4...Details will follow...Send all resolutions or amendments to the Constitution to Joan Suarez, rec. Sec., 535 Clemens Drive, Florissant, Mo.63033. ...They will be passed on to the Committee Chairmen.

A Word from the President

Action Between Meetings

The L189 Executive Board has approved procedures which make it possible for us to act on resolutions and the other business between meetings. If you have an issue or matter that you would like to have discussed, send a copy to one of the Officers of L 189. It will then be circulated to all Executive Board members, with a mail vote, if it is pressing.

The Executive Board and the Officers appreciate your comments, suggestions and criticisms.

New Missouri Chapter - Other Chapter Reports

We are pleased to announce the formation of a 23 member chapter in Missouri. This includes some old members and many new members. Peter Gregan is the Chairman and Mike Ryan of the Teamsters Sec Tres.

Chicago Chapter will meet February 23 to elect officers and hear a talk on "Youth and Labor" by Carl Shier - UAW.

Membership Campaign Beginning - We need your help

Anne Greene, Chairman of the Membership Committee, is developing materials for a three pronged membership building campaign. First, by asking members to "recruit a member". Second, by asking Regional Vice Presidents to conduct a campaign amongst the members and with the Chapters in their area and third, through a general mailing to potential members from Anne.

You can help by sending names of potential members to Anne and pitching in when she has her materials prepared. Also, active committee members are welcomed. Write Anne Green at 134 Oakdale Avenue, Akron, Ohio 44302.

ULEA on the Move

Two recent meetings of ULEA, Eastern ULEA in Morgantown and Midwest ULEA in Bloomington, Illinois exemplified a movement towards a more organized and more meaningful ULEA.

The National Labor Education Conference on June 3-4 in Columbus, under the leadership ULEA, will serve to bring together all persons with an interest in workers education for an exchange of ideas. This will be followed by a full day ULEA meeting on June 5. Improved communications with ULEA have made it possible for your Officers to play a constructive and meaningful role in the planning process.

I hope that all members will attend the L 189 Meeting and Program that will preceed the meeting, beginning at noon on Wednesday, June 3, and will assist in the recruitment for the National Labor Education Conference.

Poem, from Steel Labor by Cong Charles Joelson

There is more challenge in each square block of city slum
Than all the galaxy.
Between brother and brother, more awful distance.
Than any long boulevard of lonely space.

It will be written that in 1969, primitive man canned himself
And catapulted through the void,
While hunger, hate and sickness stalked his earth.
Choosing not to try for Heaven, just the moon.

The old gnarled black man, sitting in the seamy summer of
Seventh Street amidst its broken glass,
Is wiser than the scientists at Houston.
He knows what vistas cry to be explored.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Carroll Hutton was recently promoted to the post of Administrative Assistant to the Vice President Pat Greathouse. A news release in the Mich AFL-CIO News noted that "Hutton will bring to his new post a wealth of experience gained from 20 years of activity on behalf of the International Union and his seven years of participation in the affairs of Local 662 in Anderson, Ind. He has been UAW Director of Education since 1960...Short piece by Bill Abbott in March, 1969 Progressive entitled, "The Brown People Talk Back"...Lawrence J. Ahearn recently appointed Director of Collective Bargaining for the ICWU...The University of Pennsylvania Press, 3933 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104, offers many interesting publications, particularly a Research Report series, 6 listings on the "Negro and Auto Industry, Hotel Industry", etc....8 pages in the April 10 IUE News Reports on the Seminar conducted by the IUE Social Action Dept. at Rutgers U. Herb Levine participated...The April 18, 1969 edition of the Government Standard features a four page article on the AFGE Education Program and Publications. Art Kane is Director of Education...May 69 edition of the IAM Education Bulletin deals with Legislation, Politics and You. Part of a continuing series. A New Bibliography dealing with Consumer Education prepared by the President's Committee on Consumer Interests available from Supt. of Documents, Title, The Consumer Education Bibliography...Bill Kemsley recently appointed by John Edelman to the National Advisory Board of the National Council of Senior Citizens. He recently addressed a number of Unitarian Churches on "Social Tensions Today"...Membership Brochure received from the American Library Association, 50 E. Huron St., Chicago, Illinois 60611. AIA has a special committee for Library Services for members...The Monthly Labor Review - BLS has snapped up its format - looks to be more readible...Have you seen MANPOWER Magazine. Sub $7.50 per year - Supt. of Documents.

John J. Mikrut recently joined the labor Education Staff at the University of Missouri...Letter received from N. Bhartya, Regional Director of Workers Education, DIP, Shivajinagar, Poona 16 India. Many of you may remember him from last year's D.C. L 189 meeting. He is interested in establishing an International Brotherhood of Labor Educators...Letter from Haines Turner received describing PBL Film, "Defense and Domestic Needs - Contest for Tomorrow". Available from Film services, Indiana U, Audio Visual Center, Bloomington, Indiana 47401... Film 77 minutes - raises key issues as to priorities...Jerry Robinson, Reviews Collective Bargaining - The Power to Destroy in the next issues of the Quarterly Review of Economics.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Harry Kranz presently Co-ordinator of Technical Assistance, Bureau of Work Training Programs, US Dept. of Labor, Washington...Wells Keddie presently Executive Secretary of the Union Leadership Academy...recently presented a paper, "Lost in the Wilderness", at the 10th Annual Seminar on Adult Education Research in Toronto...Dale Brickner reports he is editing proceedings from recent conference on "Labor's Public Image". He ran for Monroe County Democratic Chairman last year and lost. Reporting, he notes, "We just completed a two week staff program with the Indiana State District of the Laborers. The Union has negotiated a 2¢ per hour per man contribution to a trust fund for vocational training and upgrading. Part of the fund is earmarked for union "Executive" training...A possible source for financing of Laborers Programs with University programs - something to look into.

The University of California, Center for Labor Research and Education, is conducting a special program to "Train minority unionists for leadership"...The project is funded by a $173,000 Ford Foundation Grant...Information from CLER, 2521 Channing Way, Berkeley, California...Stuart Brock shown in Nov 29 AFL-CIO News orienting students from all over the country concerning AFL-CIO and Vocational Education...If rough language scares you, pass this one up. But if not, there are some insightful articles in the December copy of the Movement. Included is a section on how "films" were used by radical activists in a California "oil strike"...and an article entitled "Changing Classes" which describes the experiences, attitudes and strategies of a person with a serious and long term objective of "changing the labor movement". Sub for The Movement is $2.50 per year, Movement Press, 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94102 ...Directory of Social Change, Communes group dating, alternative life styles, W Box 1264, Berkeley, California 94701..."Any persons who travel or use any facility of interstate commerce with intent to incite, organize, promote, encourage or participate in a riot shall be fined $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years." Anti Riot Act...Watch out on the picket lines fellows - today the conspiracy trial - tomorrow you..."Labor Management Relations in the Public Sector" title of recent conference held by the Labor Education Center, University of Kentucky, L 189 participants included, William Tolman, Director of the Kentucky Program, Roger Rines, Staff member...details on proceedings from Bill Tolman...Cornell in NYC recently sponsored a one day conference on "Developments in the Retail Industry in NYC", all unions from the retail trades participated, held Nov. 14, 1969...For $5.00 per year you can enjoy the "Chicago Journalism Review"...for the News behind the news - 5000 S. Dorchester Ave., Chicago 60615...are you interested in Survey Techniques. An informative newsletter is published by the Survey Research Lab, University of Illinois, Champaign. Sept 1969 edition includes reports on who is conducting national surveys, etc.

Received from Don Slaiman, AFL-CIO Executive Council and Convention positions on Civil Rights - available in quantity...Ammunition out in a pocket book format for Sept-Oct-Nov edition. Includes articles on Health, Education and younger workers...Brendon Sexton, Editor, Lisa Portman, Managing Editor...An ambitious and year round series of programs is sponsored by the National Foundation of Health, Welfare and Pension Plans INC, PO Box 898, Elm Grove, Wisc. 53122... Hervey Juris in print in Industrial Relations, May 69, "Union Wage Decisions" ...Fred Schmidt in same edition, "A Repair Shop for Employables"...Educational slide program developed by BRAC for use in educating committeemen.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Student-Labor cooperation is emphasized in AFSCME article, November 69 in article entitled, "Students Pitch in to Aid SCME in Illinois Strike Victory"... Bernie Seaman recently displayed an exhibition of Union cartoons at Rutgers University, sponsored by the Rutgers Labor Alumni Association...Four pages of Rutgers Fall activities received from Norm Eiger, including UIA classes in Labor and Politics, Labor's current Goals, Psychology for Union Leadership... A program to "Prepare minority group trade unionists for volunteer services as community union stewards" is also listed...For full list or info, send to Eiger directly...The UAW Family Education Center is described in a colorful pictorial brochure available from UAW...A training program for 47 HRDI Co-ordinators was held at the University of Chicago in September...Larry Rogin and Olga Corey were involved...World Law Fund Newsletter, 11 W. 42nd Street, NY 10036 lists info about teaching, about world order and new publications...The Miami Herald revealed that Lt. William Caley, Jr. of Mai Lai fame worked as a "Scab" on the strikebound Florida East Coast Railway. It figures...See Labor Dec. 13, 69 for full story. Jack London article on "Leisure Styles and Adult Education", In Fall 1969 edition of ADULT EDUCATION...Emory Bacon, Executive Director of the Federal Interagency Committee on Education...Jack London Visiting Professor in Tanzania until Sept. 1970.

Walter Davis participated in a panel sponsored by the Council of National Organizations of the AEA. The session was entitled, "Voluntary Associations and Ethnic Power Development". ...Roosevelt Labor Education Program is a co-sponsor for the "2nd Midwest Film Conference", Jan 23-25, 1970...Irwin Klass nominated to the Executive Board of the IRRA...The manual "El Manual Del Delegado, Preguntas Y Respuestas" is available in Spanish from TWUA, 99 University Pl NYC 3, NY - $7.00 per hundred copies...New Education Director for TWUA is Tony Heyes. He has been assistant Director for over 2 years. He replaces Steve Remsen who is with the Teamsters Leadership Center in Miami...George Daitsman has also joined the faculty of the Teamsters College..."Labor Education is the Key to Training Community Labor Educators" in Adult Leadership, Sept 1969 by Bill Abbott...The Adult Education Assoc. has set up a Placement service: for information contact Mr. Madison E. Weidner, Rutgers Extension, 77 Hamilton Street, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903...Washington Tapes, useful in classes, Brochure available from 5540 Conn Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20015. The minutes of the Minn-St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly never are lacking in a report from their Education Committee...Cliff Miller is Chairman - minutes are reported in the Union Advocate...The "Lens and Speaker" reviews new films available from the University of Illinois Film Library, published quarterly... Mark Starr sends along a 3 column letter that appeared in RWDSU News October 1969 concerning Union Solidarity and Esperanto". Mark will be the L 189 "Official Delegate" to the upcoming International Esperanto Conference. South Today, a digest of Southern Affairs published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council...5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia 30303...Recent ALA Advertisement called, "We take our Stand for Peace and an End to the War in Vietnam" was signed by the UAW, IBT and ICWU. Ad appeared in major American journals the day of the Oct 15 Moratorium...Southwest School of ACWA is reported on in the ADVANCE. Photos show Bill Elkuss back on the job and Milt Watson teaching. Joan Suarez taught "Union and the Industry". Mary Elkuss also was an Instructor. The title of the school was, "Crisis in the Land of Plenty"... AFSCME joins ILGWU and ACWA in offering Pocket Books to members at a discount. Available from The Union Bookstore, Suite 701, 2600 Virginia Ave., N.W. Wash DC 20037.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

The names of four educational Co-ordinators participating in the IUE Educational opportunity program are listed as Joseph O'Brien, Dist. #1, Philadelphia, Mrs. Robbie Cagnina, Dist. #3, N.J., James Sumner, Dist. #7, Memphis and Willard Hicks, Dist. #11, St. Louis...An orientation headed by Bill Gary and Herb Levine was held Sept. 25-26 in Washington, D.C...Participating were, Walter Davis, Anthony Vega, Ruth Wiencek, IUE News Oct 16 ..."Breaking Tradition-Newsmen join Moratorium" is feature front page article in Guild Reporter, Oct 24 edition...New Jersey Labor Herald article entitled "Teacher Unionist Seeks Minority Accord" deals with Al Loewenthal recently appointed Professor of Labor Studies at Rutgers University...Mr. William Bear has been named to the Staff of the Bureau of Labor Education, University of Maine. His experience includes activities in the Steelworkers. He was a participant in the "Resident Labor Education Program" at the U of Indiana in 1963. He joins Roger Snow the Director of the Program on the Staff...Participating in "Labor Seminar in Israel" were Harry Kurshenbaum, Tom Herriman. Trip July 12-Aug 1 under the sponsorship of Histadrut...Reported in Shalom Sept 1969...A reprinting of labor history classics has been done by Arno Press, affiliated with the NY Times. A list of books reprinted is available from them.

"New Approaches to the Training of Delegates to L 1199" is 2 page article in Sept 69 edition of the 1199 Drug and Hospital News...Over 200 persons attended an IUD educational conference at Eagle River, Wisconsin. Co-sponsored by the Wisconsin AFL-CIO, Irv Brotslaw participated..."Summer School a Great Success" - front page feature article on Sept 69 Glass Worker News. The School held at University of Ohio included in its faculty, Stuart Brock, C. J. Slanicka, and Robert Nelson..."Grievance Handling" was the subject of a session for 15 Shop Stewards in Malden, Missouri conducted by Jim Wolfe, Ed Director of the Moulders ...Mary Caylor sounds off against high paid union workers who do not care about their more poorly paid brethren in the service trades and who work for unions - in the Aug 26 Chicago Tribune..."New Members-New Ideas" a story in Sept 69 UAW Ammunition, dealing with recent UAW Conference aimed at the young worker. Brendon Sexton - featured in one of the photos..."Union-Management Co-operation-Is there an Agenda for Tomorrow", reprint from IRRA, 21st Annual Meeting by Sumner Rosen...A historical momento brochure entitled, "A. Philip Randolph at 80-Tributes and Recollections", available from AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department ...Federation News May 1969 includes editorial on Haymarket by Irwin Klass entitled "2nd Thoughts on the Square". It says in part, "Labor's attempts to organize received the violent reaction of those who resisted change...a contemporary observor wrote, "It has been the common technique of police to crack all heads in sight until no man was left on his feet and then announce that quiet was restored and that the strike was broken". He concludes the idea today is to "Build a society in which no one is left out"...Bill Kemsley has been appointed to the National Advisory Board of the National Council of Senior Citizens. Bill recently spoke at a few Unitarian-Universalist Churches on "Social Tensions of Today"...Printed brochure received from the Ohio State Union Leadership Program, describing their offerings and program concept...their advisory committee includes Otto Pragan and Jim Wolfe..."Movin On" a new labor history film about railroad unions recently produced by the United Transportation Union. Film can be purchased or rented from the UTU Offices in Cleveland. Write Public Relations Department...15401 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44107.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Leaflet Kit for Trade Unions, for use in recruiting Union volunteers to work in community action programs and related projects available from University of Massachusetts, OEO Trade union leadership program...UCLA is presently offering the Lucy Lang Memorial Internship for Trade Union Members Residing in southern California. Pays for 3 month internship at the Institute of Industrial Relations...Lucy Robbins Lang was an early activist in the AFL and who worked closely with Samuel Gomphers and William Green. For information contact Center for Labor Research and Education...The Research and Education Section of the Boilermakers is described in the July 69 edition of the Reporter. Photo shows Bill Kuhl, Director at this desk...Edition summarizes the structure and program of the Boilermakers...Mr. Edwin Keating of New Zealand visited several IAM Summer schools last summer. He is a lecturer at the University of Wellington... Copies of "the National Economy 1969" available from Nat Goldfinger, AFL-CIO Department of Research...Available from the American Library Assoc., "A Step by Step Plan for Improving Library Services for Labor", single copies free, 50 East Huron St., Chicago, Ill 60611...John Martin - AFSCME added to the list of members of Labor-Library Committee AEA...Jack Sessions also on the committee... a 16 page catalogue of simulation games is available from Western Publishing Company, 850 - 3rd Avenue, New York, NY 10022...Educational game on C.B. "Settle or Strike" recently developed under the direction of Hoagy Young - CWA, details from him..."The Union Organizer" available in reprint from Roosevelt University. Reprint of a Chicago Sun Times article about Harry Kurshenbaum... Recently received an interesting packet of materials on school decentralization from Local # 2 UFT, from AFT an article by Dave Selden, entitled "School Decentralization - A positive Approach", both available to interested persons - write direct to them.

For $200 it is possible to attend a Feb 15 conference sponsored by the Public Personnel Administration in Chicago, Illinois Feb 15-20, 1970. Subject, "Techniques of Negotiation". Other programs offered in March. For info and publication list contact Public Personnel Association, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago, Illinois 60637...Harvey Friedman, co-ordinated recent Firefighter School at University of Massachusetts...Stan Rosen was recently re-elected secretary of the Illinois Federation of Consumers...Bo Widerberg is filming a movie called "Joe Hill"...The film producer is known for "Elvira Madigan" and a recent Swedish labor film called "Adalen 31"...Pat Coyo Sexton recent author of nationally distributed series of articles dealing with "The Feminized Male"... U.S. Savings Bonds are rapped as a "Bad buy" for working people in an editorial in the December 69 Steel Labor...Editorial points out the small interest rate as compared to other forms of savings...Renewal Magazine, 116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois includes article, November edition, entitled "Black Capitalism a Dead End Street"...Recent Michigan State Newsletter reports that the Labor Program service conducted 93 courses - conference and institutes for over 3000 persons...Fred Hoehler, Jr. has taken a year's leave of absence to serve as director for the AFL-CIO national Labor Studies Center...Russ Allen is acting Associate Director in Hoehlers absence...Jacqueline Brophy is on sabbatical leave to study in Eastern U.S. and Europe. She has been replaced by William Savolainen on a temporary appointment...James Cesnik has been appointed ANG Director of Research and Information...this position is under the over-all direction of Ellis Baker, newly appointed to Director of Administrative Operations...IUE Women's Conference written up in IUE News, November 27, 1969.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

George Boyle and Norman Johnson participated in a one day training Institute held for Central Illinois ILGWU at the U of Southern Illinois, Carbondale... Don Stevens, Michigan AFL-CIO Director of Education has taken a year's leave of absence to serve as Project Director for the Midwest Office OEO Labor Leadership Training Program. The program will be located at University of Minnesota...Emil Starr presently at the University of Minnesota...New Community Press, 3210 Grace St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 offers a new publication "Our Brothers Keeper, Indians in White America" and several other useful publications...Ed Czarnecki published a 2 page review of research concerning Organizing and Profit Sharing Plans in the Dec 69 Monthly Labor Review. The review has a snappier format since new editor took over this year. Institute and Leadership Training Program held by Pulp Sulphite union in Wausua at the Labor Temple, was featured in photos and story in October 69 Pulp & Paper Worker. Dick Estep, Director of Education...for $25.00 per year you can receive the Washington Newsletter on Adult Education, for Sample copy write 1730 M. St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036...CWA Executive Bd Report includes 7 pages reporting on the activities of the Education Department...ILO Panorama includes useful and interesting articles, copies available from ILO, 666 11th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20001..."1199 Union Power Plus SCLC Soul Equals Victory in Charleston" - 10 page pamphlet available from L 1199 RWDSU, 709 Eighth Ave., NY 10036...AFGE held a 3 day seminar at the University of Maine Sept. 10, 11 & 12. Instructors included, Joe Lanzilli, Harvey Friedman, Roger Show and Bill Bear..."New Business Agent Representatives Gain Insight at Staff Training Institute", in Oct 69 Butcher Workman describes Meatcutter program. Staff included Helmuth Kern, Ray Dickow, Harry Alston, Frank Hurlbut, Duane Beeler, ...if you would like to rent a film like "Huey" or "Vietnam - How did we get in? How do we get out", then get film listing from American Documentary Films, 336 W. 84th Street, New York, NY 10024...Ernie Weiss was recently appointed Associate Director of Education and Research for District Council 37 AFSCME. Ernie was formerly Director of Research and Education for the Paperworkers... "Its AFGE Education Time for Local Leaders" is the title of a four page center insert in the Government Standard Oct. 3, 69 describing the expanded and growing AFGE summer school program, Art Kane Director of Education.

ULEA meeting in Eastern Region in Morgantown issued a statement urging meaningful activities to participate in the Oct 15 Morotarium. The statement read in part, "In recognition of the opportunities for labor, student and faculty diologue presented by this occasion, we urge that our fellow labor educators schedule programs during the week of October 15, which will encourage critical examination of the issues of war, peace, defense reconversion and re-ordering of national priorities." The meeting featured presentations on Long Term Programs, What are the problems that labor educators face, and a discussion of ULEA structure and function, lead by Lois Gray, President, ULEA...Some interesting statistics received from the Employee Relations Institute Graduate School of Business, the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30601. The institute, "A service/research/education facility of the U of Ga."has designed a continuous research study of unionism in Georgia. First set of info seals with organizing (NLRB statistics)...Sumner Rosen now Director of the Training Incentive Payments Center Institute of Public Administration, 55 W. 44 St., NY...Bureau of National Affairs has established a new Manpower Information Service, headed by Stanley Ruttenber, Sample information from BNA, 1231 - 25th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037.

ICFTU EDUCATION NEWS by BILL KEMSLEY

A seminar on "New Perspectives in Collective Bargaining" dealing with Coll. Barg. innovations & their implications in Italy, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain & USA took place in Paris Nov. 4-7, 1969, under the sponsorship of the OECD's Trade Union Advisory Comm....Some 45 oil & chemical workers union leaders from 8 Latin American countries participated in the 1st Inter. Seminar co-sponsored by the Inter. Fed. of Petro. & Chem. Workers (IFPCW) & the OAS, Sept. 15-26 in Lima,Peru...Over 50 delegates from 17 countries attended an inter. seminar on industrial democracy organized by the Inter. Fed. of Chem. & Gen'l. Workers (IFC & GW) in Vienna, October 27-29...23 union activists from Ceylon, Fiji, Indonesia, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines & Singapore were graduated from the 34th course of the ICFTU's Asian TU College in Delhi on Oct. 31. The course included a one-week seminar on the Ghandian approach to labour & economic problems...Top leaders of Indonesia's 20 TU federations are attending an important seminar sponsored by ICFTU in Djakarta. ICFTU Spec. Rep. Enzo Friso is directing the course & speakers include Dr. Emil Salim, Vice-Chair. of the Indo. Nat'l. Plan. Board, & ICFTU Gen. Secy. Harm Buiter.

The Trade Union Adv. Comm. of the OECD conducted a seminar on industrial democracy in Paris, Sept. 10-12 for 70 unionists from 14 countries & ITSs. It was opened by Prof. Th. Kristensen, Gen. Secy., OECD & Chas. Ford, Gen. Secy., TUAC...Force Ouvriere hosted a Seminar in Paris, Sept. 8-26, for 35 union leaders from Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Chad, Togo & the Malagasy Republic. ICFTU Gen. Secy. Harm Buiter & FO Gen. Secy. Andre Bergeron were featured speakers ...Asian agricultural unionists in Seminar - Conference, in Nuwara - Eliya, Ceylon, Aug. 25-30, agreed to work for land reform, the creation of an Asian Economic Community & a continent-wide trade union fund. The ILO assisted the IFPAAW in the affair ... 30 trade union gals from Tema, participated in a seminar conducted at the Ghana TU College, Accra, Sept. 18 & 19. The Ghana TUC ran the course which was addressed by GTUC Secy.-Gen. B. A. Bentum.

ICFTU SUPPORTS INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR by BILL KEMSLEY

The full support of the ICFTU for promoting the international education year was pledged at a conference in Paris, 20 to 23 October - which makes recommendations to Unesco on its future program. ICFTU's Ady Camusel, speaking at the 12th conference of International non-governmental organizations, linking education to development, stressed the need for giving priority in all development planning to the creation of employment and the raising of living standards. For education to have a real impact, a minimum level of development had to be achieved. To this end, she said, the ICFTU called for structural changes to be made: world commodity agreements should be concluded; manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by the developing countries should receive preferential treatment; taxes on their products should be reduced; industrial and agricultural structures should be adapted to new needs; and industrial countries should bring the volume of their net development aid up to a minimum of one percent of their gross national product.

PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Earl Kipp, Presently with Retirement and Research Dept. of the Airline Pilots Association helped organize recent 3 day Educational Seminar for ALPA in NY State...Full page story in United Rubber Worker describes recent Dist. # 4 Summer School, held under the leadership of now retired educ Director, John House...For $6.00 you can subscribe to the "Annual Materials Subscription Service of the Anti-Defamation League"...For details write Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Ave., New York, New York 10016...Educational Opportunities under Collective Bargaining Agreements: Implications for Adult Educators was a Monday, Dec. 8 panel at the Galaxy Conference in Washington, D.C. Participants included, Herb Levine, Lois Gray, Brendon Sexton, C. J. Slanicka and Walter Davis. Stuart Brock was an official observer at the Galaxie Conference for L 189... An impressive 23 page announcement for the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center is available from 1500 Mass Ave N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005...Plans call for Institutes on Staff Development, Collective Bargaining Seminar, Institute on Critical Problems in State Government, Policy issues in Civil Rights, Health Care Planning and 8 other subjects.

SRC do same

Fred Hoehler is Director of the Center, Program Co-ordinator for the Center is Larry Rogin, Otto Pragan is also on the staff. First program "Critical Problems in State Government" was reported on in the Dec 13, 69 AFL-CIO News...McCalls Magazine, October 69 edition includes two articles of worth, "Is a Women's Revolution Really Possible" - Yes and no ...and, "A Parents Guide to the Age of Revolt". Both well done...Vincent O'Brien doing membership recruiting for L 189 in NY State...A new and updated edition of Harry Fleischmans biography of Norman Thomas was published by W. W. Norton and Co on Nov. 20, 1969, which would have been Norman Thomas' 85th Birthday. Price is $6.95. Royalties will be shared between the Norman Thomas Fund and the New School for Research Norman Thomas Endowment...The November, 1969 Progressive - featured excerpts from the final chapter of the book...Thomas E. Dotson was appointed Education Director of the United Rubber Workers to succeed John House who retired this year. Dotson has a MILR from Cornell and a B.S. from the University of Kentucky. He held positions in the IUE of Steward, Executive Board members and COPE activist... Dotson recently spoke at a conference of Industrial editors at Kent State University...Don Slaiman was a featured speaker at the NY October 31 Conference of the Jewish Labor Committee...Slaiman and Norm Hill, "Urged the delegates to recognize the importance both of encouraging Black members in their unions to develop leadership skills and of dramatizing the conservative anti-union moves of the Nixon administration is making so that both groups realize that it is their common interest to fight these moves together...For social action posters, Christmas cards write for catalog from ABBEY Press, St. Meinrad, Indiana 47577... Phil Taft, presently a visiting professor at the University of Chicago was the keynote lecture speaker at a series sponsored by Local 2, UFT, Taft attacked the so-called liberal critics of organized labor. He expressed the opinion that "One should not expect the trade union to fulfill all the functions and responsibilities that belong to all of society"...Two Paducah Labor Education Classes Graduate Nov. 10" is the front page headline on the Kentucky Labor News. Classes were taught by Professor Jerry Counce...part of the expanding U of K program...Phil Garman recently flew over Rockford for several hours awaiting for a landing clearance. He was to arbitrate a grievance. By the time he arrived, the company and union had reached a settlement on their own. (New formula for the settlement of disputes?)

AFT 189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

May 1, 1970

To: Members, Local 189, AFT

From: Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

Re: Election of Regional Executive Board Members

You are hereby nominated to serve as the Executive Board Member from your region. (See map enclosed.)

If you accept this nomination, please complete the form below and return it. It must be received on or before June 2, 1970. You may also submit a 200 word (or less) statement giving biographical information and reasons for your candidacy.

The nominating committee will make its report at the annual meeting on June 3 in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Chapter Chairmen and candidates for other offices are not eligible to run for the Regional Executive Board positions.

- -

Mail to: Joan Suarez
535 Clemens Dr.
Florissant, Mo. 63033

I wish to accept nomination as an Executive Board Member from the

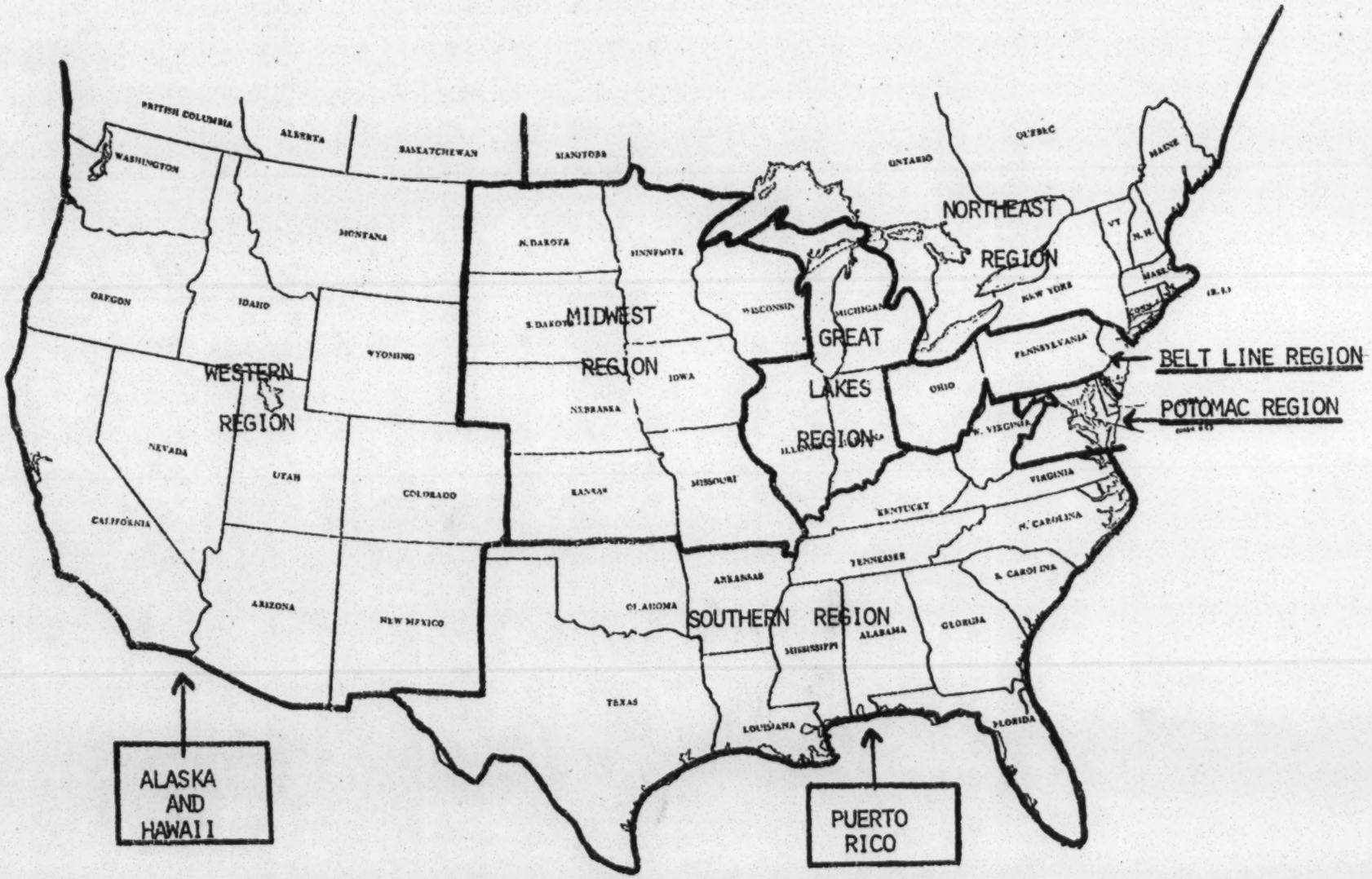
_____ Region.

_____
(Signed)

_____ Enclosed is a 200 word statement

OAT/jt

REGIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD REPRESENTATION



Regions for Executive Board Representation

I. NORTHEAST
1. Maine
2. Vermont
3. New Hampshire
4. Massachusetts
5. Connecticut
6. New York
7. Rhode Island
8. Manitoba
9. Ontario
10. Quebec

II. POTOMAC
1. Maryland
2. 1/2 Virginia (Northern)
3. Washington, D. C.
4. Delaware

III. GREAT LAKES
1. Michigan
2. Illinois
3. Indiana

IV. SOUTHERN
1. North Carolina
2. South Carolina
3. Georgia
4. Florida
5. Alabama
6. Mississippi
7. Louisiana
8. Arkansas
9. Oklahoma
10. Texas
11. Tennessee
12. Puerto Rico
13. Kentucky
14. West Virginia
15. 1/2 Virginia (Southern)

V. MIDWEST
1. Minnesota
2. Iowa
3. Missouri
4. Kansas
5. Nebraska
6. South Dakota
7. North Dakota
8. Wisconsin

VI. WESTERN
1. Montana
2. Idaho
3. Wyoming
4. New Mexico
5. Nevada
6. Colorado
7. Arizona
8. Utah
9. Alaska
10. Hawaii
11. California
12. Oregon
13. Washington
14. British Columbia
15. Alberta
16. Saskatchewan

VII. BELT LINE
1. Ohio
2. Pennsylvania
3. New Jersey

AFT 189

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
LOCAL 189, AFT

May 19-20, 1969
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Local 189 President Stanley Rosen called the Executive Board to order at 12:00 Noon at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia.

Those present were Glen Armstrong, Stuart Brock, Wendall Drake, Lee Balliet, Keith Knauss, Steve Remsen, Joan Suarez, Owen Tapper, Ruth Wiencek, Jim Wolfe, Martin Duffy and Al Wickman.

President Rosen announced the appointment of Local 189 members Dennis Muehl, Alan Morrison and Larry Ahern to the Election Committee which will supervise and count ballots in the up-coming local union election.

Meeting dates for the Fall meeting of Local 189 were announced as November 21-23, 1969. The meeting will be held in Washington, D. C.

The Board gave unanimous consent for the establishment of a state-wide chapter of Local 189 in Indiana.

Financial Secretary Owen Tapper presented a plan for the revision of Executive Board regions so as to have Executive Board regional representatives more closely represent an equal number of members in keeping with our belief in the concept of "one-man, one vote". Tapper explained that if the Board approved the revised regional plan, it would become operable next year since nominations for 1969-1970 officers had already taken place.

The Board approved the plan for revised regions as presented by Brother Tapper. Copies of the map and membership breakdown is attached.

President Rosen opened a discussion of the duties and responsibilities of Executive Board regional representatives. It was generally agreed that Board members should have the following areas of responsibility: (1) New membership recruitment, (2) Coordination of Regional Labor Education technique conferences, (3) Expansion of Job Clearinghouse, (4) Collective Bargaining responsibility where Local 189 has bargaining units, (5) Liason between the Local and University Labor Education Association and the Labor Movement.

Motion by Al Wickman and seconded by Keith Knauss that Executive officers prepare a proposal for membership consideration at the Fall Meeting detailing the duties and responsibilities of regional representatives and outlining any compensation and/or expenses necessary for their meeting to discuss this proposal. Passed.

Ruth Wiencek indicated the interest on the part of some members of the Washington, D. C. and IUE collective bargaining chapters to merge. Questions involved include who would bargain for the IUE unit, what kind of precedent would this set, is this merger possible under our present Constitution and By-Laws?

Motion by Jim Wolfe, seconded by Stuart Brock empowering the President to explore the possibility of merger with the two chapters and that possible Constitutional changes be considered for presentation at the Fall Meeting. Passed.

Dues structure change suggested by Jim Robinson to give a dues break to "ad hoc" labor education personnel was discussed. The Board came to the conclusion that to open such a loophole in the dues structure at this time would be a step backward. We are, however, sympathetic to the individual who from time to time teaches in a labor program and would like a casual relationship with Local 189. The Treasurer was given to understand that an unofficial dues break might be given when warranted.

The Board urges Local 189 members to use union personnel whenever possible to do part-time teaching.

Intern Committee Chairman Joan Suarez submitted a mini-report on the Internship, a copy of which is attached. She reported an excellent response to the 1969 Internship both in number and quality, with a strange increase in the number of Spanish-surname applicants.

President Rosen raised the question of expanding the Internship program through a Title 1 grant under the Adult Education Act. Motion by Jim Wolfe, seconded by Stuart Brock to further explore the possibility of a federal grant for an Internship program. Passed.

President Rosen read a letter from AFT President Dave Selden on AFT help in organizing. The letter indicated that AFT help would be available to Local 189 as needed, and that the AFT Militancy Fund was available for use by Local 189 in the same manner as other AFT locals use it.

President Rosen read a proposal for "Protecting Job Rights of Local 189 Members." Motion by Ruth Wiencek that President Rosen present the proposal at the membership meeting. Seconded and passed.

Lee Balliet was asked to present any AFT Constitutional amendments to the membership at the full meeting.

A resolution on the Unity of Labor Educators was assigned to Irv Rosenstein as chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

The Board acted to commend AFT President Dave Selden for his testimony before Congress on the Higher Education Act. A letter of congratulations is to be sent.

President Rosen reported that the International Affairs Committee, under the chairmanship of Bill Kemsley, was going ahead with its survey.

He also reported that Chairman of the Labor Education History Committee Oliver Peterson reported his committee is proceeding.

The resignation of Board member Joyce Miller was accepted.

The Local Chapter By-Laws Committee, appointed at the last meeting, was reactivated by President Rosen. Jim Wolfe will serve as chairman. He will develop and send out to other committee members a set of sample By-Laws, along with a proposal to help "jazz up" the local chapters. Other Committee members are Steve Remsen, Holgate Young and Jack MacKenzie.

Motion by Joan Suarez, seconded by Ruth Wiencek to endorse the work of the Haymarket Workers Memorial Committee and to contribute $25.00 to the project. The Chicago Chapter is to be the official representative of the Local to the Committee. Passed.

President Rosen reported to the Board on the meeting he, Owen Tapper and several other Board members had with AFL-CIO Education Director Walter Davis and ULEA Chairman Herb Levine. For future meetings, Davis proposed that Local 189 have their own day, the the AFL-CIO and the ULEA have one day to meet separately and one/day to meet jointly. A letter of confirmation will be sent to Walter Davis.

The Local 189 Spring meeting will be held at 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, May 20. The Board will reconvene for breakfast to finish any business left. Meeting was temporarily adjourned at 2:00 p.m.

The Executive Board reconvened on Tuesday, May 20 at 8:00 a.m. Board members present were Stan Rosen, Martin Duffy, Owen Tapper, Jim Wolfe, Keith Knauss, Steve Remsen, Irv Rosenstein and Joan Suarez.

The agenda for the full meeting in the afternoon was discussed. There followed a discussion of AFT convention delegates and the question of remuneration. The Board agreed that no remuneration is possible for Convention delegates, but that once again we should select delegates who live close to the convention site which this year is New Orleans.

President Rosen reminded the Board that Walter Davis, AFL-CIO Education Director, has asked Local 189 to submit a list of suggested meeting places for the Spring meetings over the next three years. The Board concensus was: (1970) Minneapolis, (1971) St. Louis, (1972) in the East somewhere close to Brookwood College as Local 189 will be celebrating its 50th Anniversary.

The Board discussed the possibility of a newspaper to replace the present newsletter. No decision.

Suggestions made for the Fall meeting included a discussion of chapters and their functions; and further discussion of the Regional Conference-Council idea proposed by Holgate Young at the last meeting.

The Board was adjourned at 9:00 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez
Recording Secretary

Mini-Report on Labor Education Internship
from
Committee Chairman Joan Suarez

Press releases, copies of the printed flier and letters explaining the Internship were sent to Education Departments and House Publications of International Unions with education programs and to all universities engaged in labor education.

We seem to have had some good response to our requests for free publicity. Many people reported seeing our story in a number of union publications.

Forty-five (45) requests for applications were received in time to permit the applicant to file a timely application (five (5) requests for applications were received on or after April 30) and 1969 applications were sent to twenty-one (21) 1968 applicants. A total of sixty-six (66) applications were sent out.

Thirty-one (31) completed applications were received this year. Only three applications were received from students who have had no previous affiliation with a union. Applicants with union memberships fell into the following categories: AFT - 5; Steelworkers - 3; UAW - 2; TWUA - 2; IUE - 2; Teamsters, Brewery Workers, Printing Pressmen, Musicians, URW, United Nurses (Canadian), Carpenters, IBEW, Sheetmetalworkers, Laborers, Ironworkers, RWDSU, United Textile and Utility Workers - 1, each one.

Only two applications were received from institutions desiring to undertake programming the 1969 Intern. Other institutions will be contacted after an initial selection of finalists has been selected by the Internship Committee. Other institutions will be selected based on the background and geographic location of the applicant finalists, and representatives of those institutions will be asked to sit in on the final selection of an Intern for 1969.

Internship Committee members (many invitations to serve were sent; these are the Local 189 members who replied affirmatively) are:

Martin Duffy, University of Minnesota
Marjorie Rachlin, American University
James Robinson, Virginia Polytechnic
Lee Balliet, West Virginia University
Owen Tapper, West Virginia University
Joan Suarez, Amalgamated Clothing Workers

Several Local 189 members who work for unions were asked to serve, but either never replied to the invitation or refused the assignment to the pressure of other commitments. No two people from the same institution were originally invited to participate on the committee, but fate intervened.

The Internship Committee will meet in Philadelphia during the Labor Education meetings to make their final selection of an Intern for 1969-1970.

Philadelphia, Pa.

5/8/69

OAT/ct

APPLICANTS -- 1969 LOCAL 189 LABOR EDUCATION INTERNSHIP

NAME	ADDRESS	UNION	AGE
1. ADLER, Gerald R.	2235 Wesley Evanston, Ill. 60201	AFT	39
2. BAUDHUIN, Patrick	125 Wyandotte Rd. Hoyt Lakes, Minn. 55750	AFT	36
3. BOND, Alex T., Jr.	632 E. 67th Street Chicago, Ill. 60637	USA	33
4. BRAFF, Jeffrey	3607 21st Avenue Astoria, N. Y. 11105	Student	20
5. BRUNO, Vincent J.	2824 Salina Dearborn, Mich. 48120	UAW	35
6. CLARKE, Edward J.	582 Lawrence Ave. W. Apt. 1 Toronto 19, Ontario	Teamsters	44
7. EDWARDS, John L., Jr.	320 S. Fraser Street Philadelphia, Pa. 16801	Student	22
8. FILOTEO, Ramon R.	511 Division Avenue San Antonio, Texas 78214	IUE	24
9. HARA, Walter S.	2103 4th Street, N. E. Minneapolis, Minn. 55418	Brewery Wkers	50
10. HAYNES, Glenn M.	1294 E. Altadena Drive Altadena, Calif. 91001	Prntg. Press-men	25
11. HEELOUR, George	68 Abbott Avenue Danbury, Conn. 06810	Musicians	28
12. HENDERSON, Elmira	2900 Taylor Detroit, Michigan 48206	URW	48
13. HIRSCH, Irwin	8755 S. Clydeave Chicago, Ill. 60617	AFT	47
14. HICKING, Strathern (Miss)	2162 Sherbrooke St., W. Apt. 7C, Montreal P. Q. Canada	United Nurses	31
15. HUNT, William J.	834 Dillingham Sheboygan, Wis. 53081	Carpenters	31

NAME	ADDRESS	UNION	AGE
16. KOEPPEN, Kenneth	9616 Brace Detroit, Mich. 48228	UAW	30
17. LeDUC, James H.	516 So. Jessica Avenue Sioux Falls, So. Dakota 57103	IBEW	29
18. LINDERMAN, Ralph	Route 1, Box 55 Charleroi, Pa. 15022	USA	44
19. MANCEY, Joseph	845 Davis Ave., N. W. Grand Rapids, Mich. 49504	Sheetmetal Workers	49
20. MEYER, Frederick	9903 Zenith Drive St. Louis, Missouri 63123	Laborers	22
21. NICHOLS, Edward C.	P. O. Box 494 York, So. Carolina 29745	TWUA	34
22. MOSS, Irving	6618 Almeda Ave. Far Rockaway, N. Y. 11692	AFT	48
23. PRISTAS, Robert	110 E. 18th Ave. Munhall, Pa. 15120	Ironworkers	31
24. REINA, Jose	K-14 Generalife St. Park Garden Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00926	AFT	39
25. SCREVEN, Charles	175 1st St. Apt. 11K Newark, N. J. 07107	TWUA	25
26. SIMON, Martin	232 McKinley Avenue New Haven, Conn. 06515	Student	20
27. STEPHANI, Benjamin	5753 Logan Ave, So. Minneapolis, Minn. 55419	USA	34
28. TAYLOR, Donald	806 Wisconsin Ave. Mendota, Ill. 61342	RWDSU	36
29. WEST, Patricia	202 Oak Avenue Forrest City, Ark. 72335	IUE	27
30. WIELAND, Theresa	5022 Elenora, Ist Flr. So. St. Louis, Mo. 63116	United Textile	30
31. ESPOSITO, R. G.	109 Caldwell St. Waukesha, Wisc. 53186	Utility Workers	25

J. S.
Philadelphia, Pa.
5/8/69

OAT/ct

Proposal for protecting the Job Rights of Local 189 members

Labor Educators, with a few exceptions have no job security. They are often the victims of political change in their unions or of union personnel practices of questionable justness. Many labor educators are reluctant to voice independent opinions for fear of their repercussions.

It is therefore proposed that Local 189 develop as a minimum first step, a grievance procedure to protect the job rights of each member whether he works for a union or a university.

This proposal would provide each member with a final court of appeals for unfair discharge or inadequate separation arrangements (i.e. in terms of severance pay, etc.)

The proposal calls for the establishment of a grievance procedure with an independent Review Board as the final step.

The grievance procedure would be as follows.

First Step: When a member has a grievance concerning job security or related questions, he would bring the grievance to the attention of the Local 189 Executive Board. A written statement would be required.

Step II: The Officers would attempt to negotiate the problem voluntarily with the parties involved. Officers would decide whether to take the matter further.

Step III: If no suitable agreement could be reached, the Officers would contact the American Federation of Teachers, who would provide a staff representative to take up the case on behalf of the aggrieved party.

This representative would report back his findings and recommendations to the Local 189 Executive Board.

Step IV: If no amicable solution could be arrived at the case would then be submitted to the Local 189 Independent Review Board.
This Board would be empowered to investigate both sides of the questions, hearing all arguments on both the management and union side, and rendering a judgement and a recommendation. A written report would be submitted to the Local 189 Executive Board under any circumstances.

The recommendations would not be legally binding but would carry with them a moral imperative.

The Review Board would be made up of 2-3 public persons with a knowledge of labor-management relations, but with a reputation as impartial persons.

These persons would be paid from funds from the Local 189 Defense Fund or the AFT Militancy fund where appropriate in an organizing situation.

Such a system would:
1. Tend to be Preventative
2. It would provide an accepted method for reaching an intelligent and fair decision

Such a procedure might be expanded to meet other C. B. problems in the future.

SR
Philadelphia, Pa. 5/8/69

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

HAYMARKET SQUARE WORKERS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

In the welter of myths, legends, and misconceptions that have grown up around the tragic events of May 4, 1886 at Haymarket Square in Chicago, the central issues of that occasion have been obscured and too often forgotten.

Lost from sight are profound lessons to be drawn from the real history of Haymarket. These are lessons which have important contemporary significance to public officials, social activists, civic and business leaders, labor unionists, and the general public. The lessons of Haymarket relate to the legitimacy of social protest and its tactics, to the wise and temperate use of police forces by city authorities, and to the importance of responsive attitudes and actions on the part of those in control of business and social institutions in a time of social upheaval.

To the public at large there is the further lesson that prejudices, emotional hostilities, and simple ignorance of the true situation can all too easily be manipulated by self-serving interests into overwhelming pressures for the subversion of Justice and the service of Reaction.

The Haymarket Square Workers Memorial Committee undertakes to restore the Haymarket story to its proper focus and to disseminate historically accurate and significant information which can assist today's authorities, today's activists, and a deeply troubled public to make intelligent judgments about today's problems within a pertinent historical framework.

We will point out that on May 4, 1886, there were some 65,000 Chicago workers on strike under the leadership of the predecessor organization of the American Federation of Labor. The eight-hour day was the goal of this massive strike, a part of a nation-wide campaign for a reduction in the intolerably long workday then prevalent in American industry and business.

We will point out that employers of over 35,000 Chicago workers, including those in the meat packing industry, had already granted the eight-hour demand; but less responsive leaders of business and industry refused to make any concessions to the aspirations of "the scum of Europe," a phrase then much in vogue within so-called respectable circles, referring to the immigrant slum dwellers of the city who labored in its burgeoning industries.

We will point out that the demonstrators who were in Haymarket Square on the evening of May 4, 1886 were in legitimate protest over the fatal police shootings of the previous day at the McCormick Harvester plant. Regrettable as were the deaths of the police officers at the hands of an unknown bomb-thrower in Haymarket Square, there would have been no bomb, nor would scores of workers been subsequently shot down by a revengeful police force, if the authorities had not sought unwisely and unnecessarily to disperse the protest meeting.

We will point out that the thrust of the eight-hour day struggle was blunted and diverted by the ensuing arrest, trial and execution of the Anarchist leaders who had addressed the crowd assembled in the Haymarket, and that the striking workers lost their cause, and the Anarchist orators lost their lives, in the subsequent atmosphere of hysteria whipped up by the newspapers in support of lynch law, administered under the color of legality by those who managed affairs in the Chicago of the 1880's.

Accordingly, the Haymarket Square Workers Memorial Committee undertakes in all appropriate ways to honor the memories of the Eight-Hour Day Strikers and their dead, who were like the police themselves, victims of a philosophy of resistance to change, and a policy directed to the repression of the aspirations of the poor and powerless for a share in the satisfactions of life.

In this effort we are mindful of the traditions in the struggle for truth and justice in the service of the un-privileged established by Chicagoans who have gone before us, among them the great Clarence Darrow, Jane Addams, and Governor John Peter Altgeld.

Adopted March 28, 1969

Presented to Local 189
Philadelphia, Pa.
5/19/69

OAT/ct

REGIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD REPRESENTATION

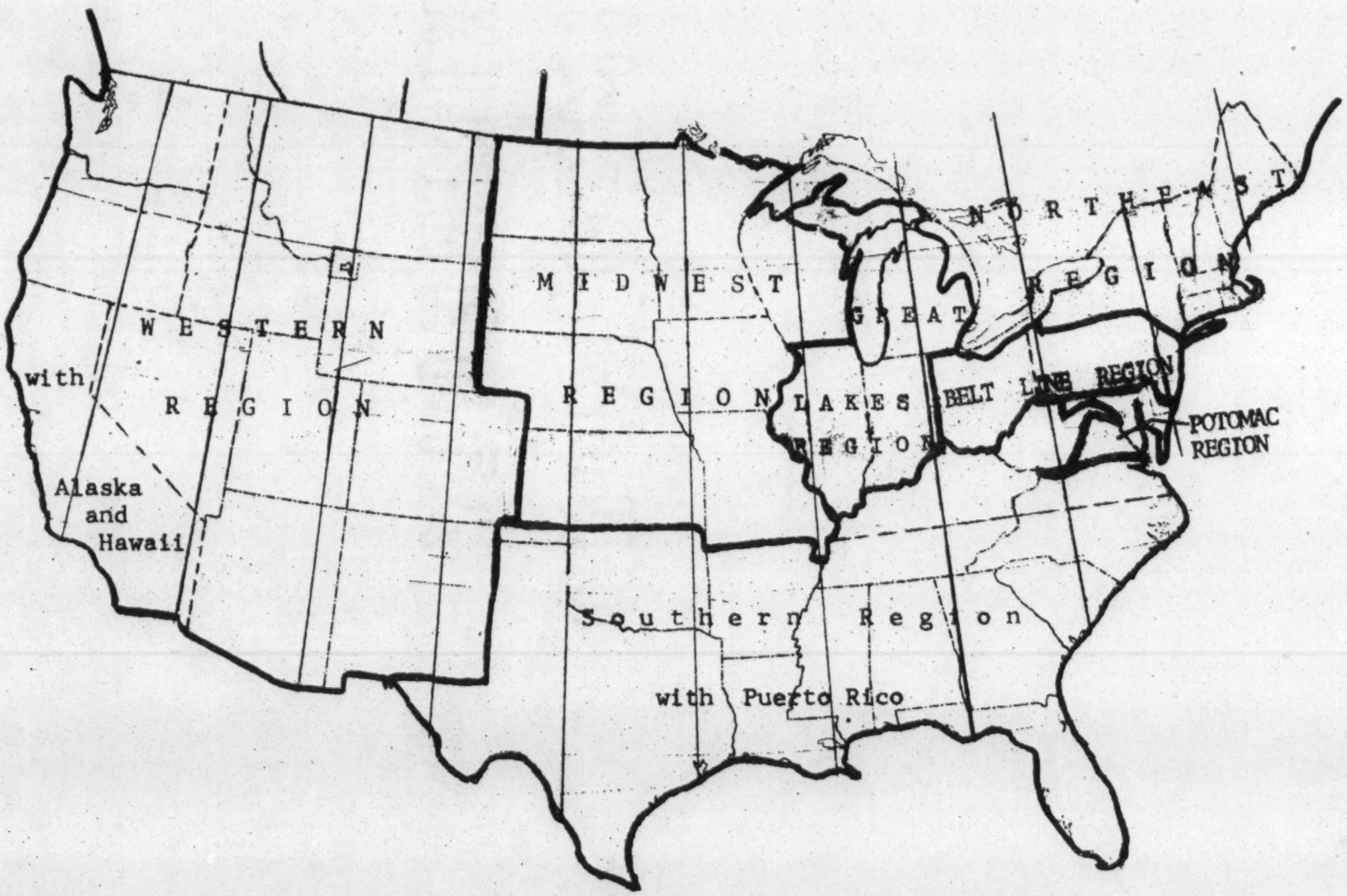


TABLE I

PROPOSED REGIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD REPRESENTATION

Existing Regions*	# of States	# of Members	Proposed Regions	# of States	# of Members
1. Northeast	9	85	1. Northeast	7 + Manitoba Ontario Quebec	56
2. Potomac	4 + D.C.	90	2. Potomac	2-1/2 + D.C.	62
3. Great Lakes	6	84	3. Great Lakes	3	51
4. Southern	11 + P.R.	6	4. Southern	13-1/2 + P.R.	39
5. Midwest	7	25	5. Midwest	8	40
6. Mountain	8	10	6. Western	13 + Brt. Col. Alberta Saskat.	35
7. Pacific	5	24	7. Belt Line	3	43
					326

*For the membership totals by Region and state see Table II
Breakdown during 2/69

TABLE II
MEMBERS BY STATE
NEW REGIONS*

1. NORTHEAST

States	# of Members
1. Maine	1
2. Vermont	1
3. New Hampshire	1
4. Massachusetts	4
5. Connecticut	8
6. New York	40
7. Rhode Island	0
8. Quebec	0
9. Manitoba	0
10. Ontario	1
Total	56

2. POTOMAC

States	# of Members
1. D. C.	31
2. Maryland	21
3. Virginia (1/2)	10
4. Delaware	0
Total	62

3. GREAT LAKES

States	# of Members
1. Michigan	19
2. Illinois	26
3. Indiana	6
Total	51

4. SOUTHERN

States	# of Members
1. Florida	1
2. South Carolina	0
3. North Carolina	1
4. Virginia (1/2)	2
5. Kentucky	5
6. Tennessee	0
7. Mississippi	0
8. Alabama	0
9. Georgia	2
10. Louisiana	0
11. Arkansas	0
12. Texas	1
13. Oklahoma	0
14. Puerto Rico	1
15. West Virginia	26
Total	39

5. MIDWEST

States	# of Members
1. Minnesota	12
2. Iowa	6
3. Missouri	6
4. Kansas	1
5. Nebraska	0
6. South Dakota	0
7. North Dakota	0
8. Wisconsin	15
Total	40

6. WESTERN

States	# of Members
1. Montana	0
2. Idaho	0
3. Wyoming	0
4. New Mexico	0
5. Nevada	0
6. Colorado	8
7. Arizona	1
8. Utah	1
9. Alaska	0
10. Hawaii	2
11. California	19
12. Oregon	2
13. Washington	1
14. British Columbia	1
15. Alberta	0
16. Saskatachewan	0
Total	35

7. BELT LINE

States	# of Members
1. Ohio	13
2. Pennsylvania	19
3. New Jersey	11
Total	43

As of 2/69

File in a Temporary Folder;
AFT 189 – June meeting

NOTICE

TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 189, AFT:

The Local 189 Executive Board begins its deliberations at 10:00 A.M. on Wednesday, June 3, 1970:

CAMPUS INN
PRESIDENTIAL SUITE
615 E. Huron at State St.
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108

Phone: (313) 769-2200

Chapter Chairmen should have short concise activity reports prepared for delivery.

All Resolutions and Amendments to the Local 189 Constitution are to be sent on to:

Joan Suarez
535 Clemens Dr.
Florissant, Mo. 63033

Phones: Home (314) 838-8118
Office (314) 241-0018

So be it!

OAT/jt
5/2/70

AFT189

EXECUTIVE BOARD MINUTES

Local 189, AFT

Campus Inn
Ann Arbor, Michigan

June 3, 1970

The Executive Board of Local 189, AFT, convened near 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, June 3, 1970, with President Stan Rosen presiding.

Board members present were Owen Tapper, Anne Green, Bill Kemsley, Emory Via, Martin Duffy, John Mikrut, Prince Moon, Steve Cook and Joan Suarez.

On motion by Duffy, seconded by Moon, $500 was appropriated to cover the expenses of John Froines, guest speaker at the Spring Meeting of Local 189 which was to begin at 1:00 p.m. this date.

On motion by Tapper, seconded by Moon, the Board agreed to informally extend a life membership in Local 189 to members who have belonged to the local for thirty or more years. It was understood that formal constitutional language would be proposed at the Winter meeting along with overall dues restructuring language.

On motion by Mikrut, seconded by Green, it was agreed to recommend to the membership a constitutional revision which would permit Chapter Chairmen to designate a representative to attend the Executive Board meeting with full voice and vote in the event a Chapter Chairman could not be present. (Language change appears in the Spring Minutes of Local 189).

Discussion of a constitutional change, submitted by John Mikrut, dealing with a special dues structure for people who work only part time in labor education, resulted in John withdrawing his proposal with the proviso that a Committee to review the entire dues structure be appointed and directed to report at the Winter Meeting of Local 189. In the interim, the Secretary-Treasurer is to continue to exercise discretion in accepting part-time members at a special dues level.

President Rosen appointed John Mikrut as chairman of the Dues Review Committee. Serving with Mikrut are Owen Tapper, Al Wickman, and Joan Suarez.

A petition by two members in Maine to form a Chapter was discussed. On motion by Emory Via, second by Suarez the petition was rejected for insufficient number of members. An amendment by Bill Kemsley that a Committee review the whole matter of Chapter organization, structure and function was accepted by the Board.

Bill Kemsley was appointed chairman of the Chapter Review Committee. Steve Cook will serve with him along with other members who Kemsley may draft.

A petition by Local 189 members in Ohio to form an Ohio Chapter was approved on motion by Suarez and second by Moon.

On motion by Suarez and second by Mikrut, the Winter Meeting for Local 189 was set for November 20-21-22 in Washington, D. C.

A report from Wells Keddie, chairman of Project COSPIRO (Council of Staff, Professional and International Representatives Organizations) was read. It recommended that an initial meeting of COSPIRO be held in the Fall, 1970.

On motion by Green and second by Cook, the report was accepted and a recommendation to the membership that the COSPIRO meeting be held in conjunction with the Winter Meeting of Local 189 was agreed upon. Mikrut was assigned to give the report on behalf of Keddie at the membership meeting.

Anne Green volunteered to handle the 1970 COPE collection at the Local 189 meeting.

A suggestion by Dorothy Oko that Local 189 designate the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations Library as our official archives, along with correspondence from the Library, was discussed. On motion by Moon and second by Tapper, it was agreed to recommend to the membership that we do as Dorothy suggested.

Owen Tapper informed us that Dorothy Oko is very ill. The Board agreed to send flowers immediately, along with a message expressing our love.

Membership chairman Ann Green made a short report, asking for guidance in carrying out the task of contacting all potential members. Joan suggested that Anne send a letter to each potential member with a copy of the letter or a notification of some sort going to the Regional Board member and/or Chapter chairman where one exists for follow-up.

Internship Committee Chairman Joan Suarez reported that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were thus far the only institution to volunteer to co-sponsor the Intern in 1970. She said that applications had not been read and asked for volunteers to read them during the next two days in Ann Arbor so that a group of finalists could be selected.

Martin Duffy offered to act as chairman with Mikrut and Green also reading applications (Lee Balliet later offered to help read also), with the Committee to convene for breakfast one morning and make their final selections.

It was agreed to make one final offer at the membership meeting for another institution besides the ACWA to make a bid for co-sponsorship. Final Intern selection would be made by June 15.

Joan Suarez reported that discussions were currently going on among members of the Missouri Chapter of Local 189 and the University of Missouri in regard to a Labor Education Techniques conference along the lines proposed some time ago by Hoagy Young.

President Rosen announced that a Rank & File Conference, spearheaded by the "Labor Today" group in Chicago, has been scheduled for Sat.-Sun., June 27-28, at the Packinghouse Labor and Community Center, 4859 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago.

Joan Suarez reported that three responses to Local 189's letter to all international unions concerning April 22 ("Earth Day") activities and Environmental Action, Inc. had been received. The ACWA sent a donation to Environmental Action, the UAW replied they were already involved and the GBBA said we should be careful not to take jobs away from their members.

The Board meeting adjourned at 1:15 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Joan Suarez, Rec. Sec'y.

OAT/ct
7/9/70

Attachment 8

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

C O P Y

June 3, 1970

Mr. Stanley Rosen, President
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189
401 Sandburg Street
Park Forest, Illinois 60466

Dear Stan:

It is my pleasure to request of Local 189, AFT permission to form a Florida Chapter of Local 189. We now have about eleven members in the state of Florida.

The Local 189 members in our state have indicated their interest in forming a Chapter and have instructed me to write you and make our request for Chapter recognition. We also request approval to affiliate with the appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Frank Lyons

Correspondence received 6/3/70
Executive Board recommends approval of request 6/3/70
Membership Approval 6/3/70

AFT 189

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

SPRING MEETING

CAMPUS INN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
JUNE 3, 1970

IN ANN ARBOR, 189 MEMBERS:

- HEARD JOHN FROINES - CONSPIRATOR
- SET WINTER MEETING DATES - NOVEMBER 20-22, 1970 IN D. C.
- HEARD REPORTS ON THE MILITANCY FUND AND VIEWPOINTS
- PASSED A RESOLUTION ON THE WAR
- NOMINATED OFFICERS FOR 1970
- ESTABLISHED TWO MORE CHAPTERS
- CHOSE LIBRARY AT NYSSILR AS 189 ARCHIVES
- HEARD ABOUT THE LOCAL'S FINANCES

AFT AFT

SPRING MEETING

Local 189, AFT, Campus Inn, Ann Arbor, Michigan
June 3, 1970

The Spring Meeting of Local 189, AFT, was called to order by President Stan Rosen at 1:30 p.m. on Wednesday, June 3, 1970 at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

President Rosen opened by announcing that our guest speaker, John Froines of the Conspiracy 7 (8) would be arriving at about 3:00 p.m. and that we would attempt to finish with our business before then.

On motion by Connie Kopelov and second by Prince Moon the minutes of the previous meeting were accepted as printed.

President Rosen announced that Local 189 member Dorothy Oko was very ill. He said the Board had taken action to send flowers and a message of love.

President Rosen asked that the membership pause for a moment of silence in the memory of two education associates, Jimmy Noe and Francis Levine, who had passed away since our last meeting.

Recording Secretary Joan Suarez summarized the minutes of the Executive Board meeting which had been held earlier in the day. They were approved as summarized.

REUTHER RESOLUTION

President Rosen called for a special order of business-- a Resolution on Walter Reuther. The resolution was read by Steve Cook and is attached. On motion by Joan Suarez, second by Jim Wolfe, the resolution was approved. Copies of the resolution will be sent to the UAW Executive Board, the ILPA, the ALA, the AFL-CIO News, etc.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

President Rosen explained the action of the Executive Board in regard to Chapters, indicating that a Committee chaired by Bill Kemsley has been instructed to bring a report to the Winter Meeting of Local 189 on Chapter organization, structure and function.

President Rosen explained the discussion at the Executive Board in regard to the Dues Structure and the Review Committee, chaired by John Mikrut, which has been directed to report to the Winter Meeting.

WINTER MEETING

The Winter Meeting of Local 189 was announced for November 20-21-22, 1970 in Washington, D. C. Suggested topics for that meeting should be directed to the Executive officers of Local 189.

LOCAL 189 CHOOSES ARCHIVES

President Rosen explained the discussion at the Executive Board meeting of Dorothy Oko's suggestion that we declare the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations Library in New York as our official archives. He said that in planning our 1970 50th Anniversary celebration of the founding of Local 189 at Brookwood Labor College many people may turn up papers and files which could be turned over to the Library.

He asked for membership approval for Executive Board action and received it.

REPORT ON TEXTILE UNIT

President Rosen reported that the professional unit at the Textile Workers in New York had apparently decided upon the Newspaper Guild, Local 2 as their bargaining agent and are now engaged in collective bargaining.

Stan said that Ruth Weincek had sent a copy of the IUE unit contract to the Textile unit and that our services had been offered. Connie Kopelov commented that the problems faced by the Textile unit in their negotiations with their employer have been profuse and that perhaps the outcome of the negotiations confronts Local 189 with the problem and the reality of attempting to represent collective bargaining units.

COMMUNICATION?

President Rosen announced that we had received a communication from AFL-CIO President George Meany in response to receiving a copy of our resolution on Vietnam.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Secretary-Treasurer Owen Tapper made the most comprehensive report of his term of office. He said that "through good stewardship" Local 189 is now in the black. On motion by Chris Piluras and second by Jim Wolfe, the Financial report was accepted, with special commendation to Owen for managing the report without a blackboard. (A copy of the report is attached.)

MILITANCY FUND AND VIEWPOINTS

John Schmidman, chairman of the Militancy Fund Committee, thanked Owen Tapper for preparing the Militancy Fund report for him and urged continued contributions. (A copy of the report is attached.) While he was on his feet, he also reported that the Summer 1969 edition of Viewpoints which has now become the Spring of 1970 Viewpoints is published and copies were available at the head table.

Schmidman said that the choice of colors had not been multitudinous and that the "proletarian" wrenches had seemed infinitely more preferable that the other two choices, one of which was obscene and the other green and gold -- or maybe he said the obscene green and gold -- in any event, one article has been received for the next edition. He urged further contributions.

On motion by Tapper, seconded by Suarez the local commended Schmidman for "finally" getting a copy of "Viewpoints" out. Schmidman was recorded as voting Nay on the question of commendation.

LOCAL 189 DIRECTORY

Owen Tapper reported that a new Directory of Local 189 would be compiled and printed in the Fall for 1970-71. He said that 1969 Directories were still available

even though now "worthless." He indicated that since publication there had been 144 changes, 72 drops, 66 adds. Someone suggested we set up a committee to promote job stability for labor educators.

PROJECT COSPIRO

John Mikrut, reporting for Wells Keddie on Project COSPIRO (Council of Staff, Professional and International Representatives Organizations) presented the Executive Board recommendation that the initial meeting of COSPIRO be held in conjunction with the Winter Meeting of Local 189. Keddie's report indicated interest in the project on the part of several trade union units. (Copy of the report is attached.)

In the discussion that followed, Ruth Wincek reviewed the reasons for beginning the project at the 1969 Winter Meeting of Local 189 and allowed as how the decision of Textile unit had little to do with the Project.

Ruth then recommended that the first exploratory meeting of COSPIRO be co-sponsored by a university labor education program in conference form. The conference could discuss the changing relationships of staff people to their organizations and some of the problems involved in dealing with unions as employers.

She said that university co-sponsorship should make such a conference or meeting more acceptable to the staff organizations that are more closely tied to their respective unions. Meanwhile mutual problems could be aired and machinery for interchange of information established.

She further suggested that Local 189, rather than the university, continue to do the recruitment of potential member organizations for such a Council.

On motion of Anne Green, second by Allan Morrison, the recommendation of the Executive Board to set the Winter meeting of Local 189 as a target date for the first meeting of COSPIRO (taking into consideration Ruth's suggestion) was approved. The present committee will continue to function between now and then.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE REPORT

Membership Chairman Anne Green reported that she has been continuing the organization work begun by Keith Knauss before his induction into the Army. She summarized the discussion of avenues of approach to potential new members at the Executive Board meeting, indicating that she would be sending letters to potential members inviting them to join Local 189. Copies of the correspondence will go to the Regional Executive Board member and/or Chapter Chairman where they exist for a personal follow-up on the invitation.

On motion by Martin Duffy, Local 189 said thanks to Pfc. Keith Knauss for his work on the Membership Committee prior to greetings from "Uncle Sam."

INTERNSHIP REPORT

Internship Committee Chairman Joan Suarez reported that thus far the only bid for co-sponsorship of the 1970 Labor Education Intern had been from the Amalgamated Clothing Wjorkers. She asked that any further bids be made in the next two days and be directed to Martin Duffy who was chairing the Intern Selection Committee.

Joan said that applications had not been read yet, but would be in the next two days by Martin Duffy, Anne Green and John Mikrut. Any other members desiring to serve on the Selection Committee should talk to Martin Duffy. (Lee Balliet volunteered to serve.)

She said that the Selection Committee would pick a group of finalists who would then be interviewed by the co-sponsoring institution, as was done in 1969. The final selection should be made by June 15.

Motion by Roger Rines, seconded by Chris Piluras, to disband the Internship Program after 1970. Motion to table until Winter Meeting made by Allen Morrison, seconded by Joan Suarez. Passed.

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

A written report of the Nominating Committee, submitted by Committee Chairman Ray MacDonald, was read. Nominations from the floor which were accepted by the nominee included Allen Morrison for recording secretary; Lee Balliet and Connie Kopelov for AFT Convention. Joan Suarez declined the Nominating Committee's nomination for Convention delegate, as she would be unable to attend the AFT Convention which is scheduled for August 16-22, 1970 in Pittsburgh.

Incomplete returns from several regions in acceptances of Regional Executive Board member positions were filled by the Executive Board making nominations.

The complete nominations are as follows:

President - Joan Suarez

Financial Secretary - Owen Tapper

Recording Secretary - Barbara Fifield
Allen Morrison

Vice-Presidents - Stuart Brock
Anne Green
Wells Keddie
(elect 4) Prince Moon

Convention Delegates - Owen Tapper
Barbara Fifield
(Elect 4 delegates; Steve Cook
4 alternates) Wells Keddie
Hyman Richman
Lee Balliet
Connie Kopelov
Anne Green

Northeast Region - Roger Snow
Gerel Rubien
Charles Davis
Sumner Rosen
Bill Kemsley
Connie Kopelov
Eleanor Coit

Midwest Region - Mike Ryan

Beltline Region - Pete Gregan

Great Lakes Region - Paul Booth

Potomac Region - Harry Kranz

Southern Region - Emory Via

Western Region - Oliver McMillan

The Nominating Committee, Ray MacDonald, Chairman, Jackie Kienzle, Jim Wolfe and Chris Piluras, were dismissed with thanks.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

On motion by Chris Piluras and second by Jim Wolfe a constitutional amendment which would permit Chapter Chairmen to designate a representative to the Executive Board in the event they could not be present was recommended by the meeting for a referendum vote.

The language on the constitutional amendment is as follows:

Article VI - City and Area Chapters

(OLD LANGUAGE)

"Section 2. Each chapter shall conduct an election for a chairman and other such officers as it deems necessary once a year. This election shall be by secret ballot at a regularly called meeting which included adequate notice of election. The chairman of each chapter shall represent the chapter as a member of the Local 189 Executive Board."

(PROPOSED LANGUAGE)

"Section 2. Each chapter shall conduct an election for a chairman and other such officers as it deems necessary once a year. This election shall be by secret ballot at a regularly called meeting which includes adequate notice of the election. The chairman of each chapter or his designated representative shall represent the chapter as a member of the Local 189 Executive Board."

RESOLUTION ON CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA

A resulution submitted by Stan Rosen for submission to the AFT Convention calling for cooperation with the Consumer Federation of America was passed on motion by Roger Rines and second by Henry Lake. (A copy of the resolution is attached.)

RESOLUTION ON INDO CHINA

On motion by Frank McCallister and seconded by Dick Parrish, Local 189 reaffirmed the resolution passed at the 1969 Winter Meeting on immediate withdrawn from Vietnam with the addtion of the words Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. The resolution with these changes is to be re-submitted to the AFT Convention and Local 189 Convention delegates are instructed to work for the passage of the resolution at the Convention. (A copy of the resolution is attached.)

ANOTHER CHAPTER PETITION

A petition by Local 189 members in Florida for permission to establish a Florida Chapter was granted on motion by Frank Lyons and second by Owen Tapper. (See attached correspondence - 8)

"RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE" ANNOUNCED

President Stan Rosen announced that under the leadership of "Labor Today" in Chicago, that a "Rank and File Conference" was being planned for Saturday and Sunday, June 27-28, at the Packinghouse Labor and Community Center, 4859 S. Wabash Ave. He urged Local 189 members to attend if possible.

"EARTH DAY" REPORT

Joan Suarez reported that Local 189's appeal to all international unions to participate in April 22 - "Earth Day" - activities had resulted in three responses from international unions. The ACWA responded with a donation for Environmental Action, Inc., the UAW responded that they were already involved and the GBBA said we should be careful not to take jobs away from their members.

She also announced that Environmental Action, Inc. is staying in business in an attempt to coordinate lobbying and citizen activities on behalf of environmental legislation. This group is sponsoring a seminar at Black Lake in July. More information on the seminar will be sent to Local 189 members shortly.

President Rosen announced that our guest speaker had arrived. The meeting adjourned for coffee prior to hearing John Froines.

A summary of John Froines' presentation will be forwarded at a later date. (A copy of Froines' bio is attached as 9).

A copy of the 1970-71 School Year Calendar will also be forwarded shortly.

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 P.M.

Fraternally submitted,

Joan Suarez
Recording Secretary

JS/jt

Attachment 1

RESOLUTION ON

Walter P. Reuther

Whereas, on May 9, 1970 the labor movement, in general, and the UAW, in particular, lost a truly great labor leader, Walter P. Reuther, in a tragic plane crash, and

Whereas, Brother Reuther served for 24 years as president of the UAW, was the last president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a former member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and a founding father of the Alliance for Labor Action, and

Whereas, Brother Reuther, for many years, served as the conscience of the labor movement, a collective bargaining innovator, and a pioneer in the field of labor education,

Therefore, be it resolved that Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers expresses its sincere sorrow at the death of a trade unionist without equal, Walter P. Reuther.

Accepted
6/3/70
Ann Arbor, Michigan

OAT/ct
7/9/70

Attachment 2

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

1969 Financial Report

Bank Balance (1/1/69)		$ 2,926.18
Income		
Dues	$11,104.30	
Winter Meeting (Nov. 1968, D.C.)	509.30	
AFT Militancy Fund Contributions	246.00	
Collection - GE Strikers	152.00	
Other	53.25	12,064.85
		$14,991.03
Expenditures		
Per Capita to AFT	$ 3,515.00	
Postage	772.58	
Duplicating and Supplies	911.83	
Intern (Scholarship & Expenses)	1,172.10	
Directory of Labor Education	778.68	
Labor Education News	288.22	
Chapter Rebates	331.75	
Contributions- GE Strikers	152.00	
- Haymarket Memorial Comm.	25.00	
- Labor Today	25.00	
- AFT Militancy Fund	276.00	
Winter Meeting Expenses	634.30	
Annual Meeting Expenses	1,092.70	
Press Ass'n. Memberships	30.00	
Defense Transfer	400.20	
Secretarial Help	123.50	
Travel Expenses	42.94	
Phone	229.62	
Miscellaneous (Bonding, Bank, Dues Refund etc.)	51.68	
		$10,853.10
Bank Balance (12/31/69)		$ 4,137.93

* * * * * * *

Defense Fund	
Balance (1/1/69)	$ 1,871.22
Deposits (1968 transfer)	400.20
Interest	37.97
	$ 2,309.39
Less Contribution (GE Strikers)	300.00
Balance (12/31/69)	$ 2,009.39

* * * * * * *

Owen A. Tapper
Financial Secretary

OAT/dn
1/12/70

Attachment 2

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
FINANCIAL REPORTS
A COMPARISON

	1967	1968	1969
Bank Balance (1/1)	$ 464.70	$ 2,172.78	$ 2,926.18
Income			
Dues	$9,203.80	$10,352.10	$11,104.30
Winter Meeting Receipts	315.50	340.50	509.30
Advertising	250.00	---	---
COPE Collection	52.00	10.00	---
GE Strikers Collection	---	---	152.00
AFT Militancy Fund	---	662.69	246.00
Farm Workers Collection	---	84.50	---
Other	8.00	6.00	53.25
TOTALS	$9,829.30	$11,455.79	$12,064.85
Expenditures			
Per Capita	$2,637.75	$ 2,731.75	$ 3,515.00
Postage	364.17	570.57	772.58
Supplies & Duplicating	856.64	967.34	911.83
Intern Program	1,698.41	1,216.65	1,172.10
Directory of Labor Education	461.62	753.00	778.68
Labor Education News	434.85	254.89	288.22
Viewpoints	---	545.08	---
Winter Meeting Expenses	274.96	399.87	634.30
Annual Meeting Expenses	162.12	570.04	1,092.70
Defense Fund Transfers	---	702.30	400.20
Chapter Rebates	287.25	427.75	331.75
Repayment of Loan	500.00	---	---
Clerical	65.00	86.00	123.50
AFT Convention	20.00	---	---
Press Ass'n. Memberships	25.00	40.00	30.00
Phone	---	102.70	229.62
Travel Expenses	---	---	42.94
Contributions:			
AFT Strikes	150.00	---	---
COPE	52.00	10.00	---
Farm Workers	---	84.50	---
AFT Militancy Fund	---	662.69	276.00
Poor Peoples Campaign	---	277.00	---
Steelworkers Strike	---	100.00	---
Kingsport Press - L.A. Examiner Strikes	---	100.00	---
Labor Today	---	---	25.00
Haymarket Memorial Comm.	---	---	25.00
G.E. Strikers	---	---	152.00
Miscellaneous (Bonding, Bank Charge, telegrams, etc.)	131.45	100.26	51.68
	$8,121.22	$10,702.39	$10,853.10
Bank Balance (12/31)	$2,172.78	$ 2,926.18	$ 4,137.93

Attachment 3

June 3, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members, Local 189, AFT

FROM: John Schmidman, Militancy fund Chairman

RE: AFT, Militancy Fund

Somewhat over two years ago, AFT initiated a campaign to raise one million dollars for a militancy fund for teachers. The purposes of the fund were to assume certain legal obligations connected with strikes by teachers and to conduct legislative campaigns in various states against restrictive laws.

On the basis of AFT's membership during 1968, each AFT member would be obligated to the extent of $6.25 to meet the million dollar goal.

On the basis of Local 189's average paid membership during 1968 (277), the local's goal was set at $1731.

To this date, approximately 125 local 189 members have contributed a total of $1139.69 to the fund. Contributions have ranged in size from $1 to $35.

Efforts to obtain contributions will continue until the Local meets its goal (or responsibilities).

JS/dn

Attachment 4

REPORT ON THE COSPIRO-CY

Acting under the mandate of the Fall, 1969, meeting of Local 189, the Committee on Staff, Professional and International Representatives (COSPIRO) of our union has contacted eleven persons identified as potentially interested in the purposes of COSPIRO. (These purposes are: first, to convene a conference for discussion purposes sometime in the Fall, 1970; and, second, to move towards the early establishment of a Council of Staff, Professional and International Representatives with the explicit goal of strengthening collective bargaining positions.) The letter sent to these individuals is included in this report as Appendix A.

Those contacted were: Al J. Zankl, President, Field Representatives Federation; John Skiffington, United Rubber Workers field staff; Robert Pollock, President, CWA Staff Union; William Gerhauser, Jr., Field Representatives Union, Insurance Workers; J. W. Sullivan, President, IAM Representatives Union; Richard Hixon, PUSH AFT Unit, ANG; Frank Martino, International Chemical Workers Representatives Union; Anthony Heyes, Textile Workers ANG Unit (does not include Heyes, but he was the contact); Charles Hughes, AFL-CIO Unit, ANG; John Powderly, United Steelworkers Education Department; Connie Kopelov, Amalgamated Clothing Workers ANG Unit.

Of this group, replies were received from: Al Zankl, Robert Pollock, William Gerhauser, and Connie Kopelov. Each of these responses was positive; excerpts from their replies have been included in this report as Appendix B.

The letters to these contacts did not go out until May 15, for reasons largely associated with the COSPIRO chairman's innate resistance to law and order. This undoubtedly is a partial explanation of why others have not yet replied.

Where do we stand?

At this moment, there is enough interest in the conference to warrant our continuing to seek replies from those we have already identified and to try to identify still more contacts in staff unions. We do not, however, have enough information or warm bodies to state definitely that a conference will be held. As the replies noted in Appendix B indicate, there have been attempts at coordination in the past which were initiated by a single individual. (There may have been others on a more organized basis; we do not know about them as a committee, however.) The chances are that if we persevere, by the time of the Fall 189 meeting we should have had the conference, provided Local 189 authorizes COSPIRO to keep struggling.

Therefore, the committee asks the Executive Board to recommend to the membership that COSPIRO continue its work, aiming at a Fall, 1970, conference of interested parties prior to the Local 189 meeting. Unless otherwise indicated by the members of COSPIRO, it is also recommended that the present personnel be continued on the committee. Further, all members of 189 are asked to forward suggested contacts to the COSPIRO chairman.

It should be noted that because of circumstances usually associated with 189 committees, this report has been prepared by the chairman and not formally approved by the rest of COSPIRO. Therefore, it should be treated as a tentative statement, subject to amendment by other committee members present at either the Executive Board or membership meetings.

COSPIRO members: Wells Keddie, Chairman
Anne Green
Stuart Brock
Ruth Wiencek
John Mikrut
Paula Paley
Joan Suarez
Stan Rosen, ex-officio

APPENDIX A

Letter sent to COSPIRO Contacts

Dear _____:

Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, last Fall became interested in getting together with representatives from the various unions which bargain on behalf of international representatives, staff professionals and office workers working with or for the labor movement. We set up a committe, of which I am chairman, to explore this possibility; in the course of such explorations your name came up.

The prupose of this letter is primarily to find out if you would be interested in a conference, probably put together by sometime next Fall, at which the problems facing those of us who work with or for the labor movement could be discussed. I am aware that there have been earlier attempts to do something like this, but at the moment we do not even have the name of any previous organizations. If you know of anyone else (organization or individuals) who is working in a similar direction, I'd very much appreciate knowing about it.

To sum up: Our committee is anxious to know these things: (1) Would you be interested in exploring the possibilities of cooperation at some level among the various unions representing those working with and for the labor movement? (2) Do you know of any other attempts, current or not, to do something similar? (3) Do you know of any other individuals or organizations our committee ought to contact?

It has taken us some time to get moving on this investigation. Consequently, I must ask a favor of you: Would you please let me hear from you as soon as possible? If you wish, please call me collect at Area Code 814, telephone 865-5425. I apologize for allowing our inefficiency to impose urgency upon you, but our local's semi-annual meeting (we are a nation-wide "local" union) come up June 3 and I should like to present a preliminary report to the members at that time.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Fraternally,

Wells Keddie
Vice President Local 189,
Chairman, Committee on Staff, Professional and International Representatives Organizations

Attachment 4

APPENDIX B

Comments from COSPIRO Contacts - Confidential, for Local 189 Internal Use

From Robert G. Pollock, President, CWA Staff Union: "The CWA Staff Union would be very interested in a meeting of the type described. . . . We have made some preliminary moves in this direction, with little success. On October 23, 1969, I wrote . . . to the Staff Unions of the Steelworkers and the Machinists, and to this day my letters remained unanswered....We have wage arbitration with CWA the last part of February and ran into an Exhibit presented by CWA*...which we were unable to verify because we have no contacts with other unions representing International Representatives. CWA had more information than we had at the arbitration hearing....Delores Lysalowski is president of Local 13 of the Office and Professional Employee International Union in St. Louis....She advises me Local 13 would be interested in a meeting of the type described in your letter."

*(The exhibit CWA prepared for the arbitration hearing is reproduced below, as part of the communication from Brother Pollock; it gives an interesting survey of salaries as of February, 1970, which has some relevance to COSPIRO activities.)

CWA STAFF WAGES
IN COMPARISON TO STAFFS OF
OTHER AFL-CIO UNIONS

UNION	SALARY	SIZE
1. IBEW	$ 9,000 to $20,000	732,822
2. Sheet Metal	17,000 to 18,000	101,667
3. IAM	17,000	814,554
4. CWA	14,630 to 16,830	347,591
5. Pressmen	15,850 to 16,700	106,403
6. Laborers	16,200	468,221
7. OPEIU	15,000	62,566
8. USA	13,040 to 14,700	941,205
9. UPP	9,000 to 14,000	124,066
10. Hotel & R.R.	12,000	300,000
11. URW	12,000	174,000
12. OCAW	11,800	146,399
13. AFL-CIO	11,700	12,737,291
14. Oper. Eng.	11,600	300,000
15. AMC&BW	10,000 to 11,500	432,000
16. ABC	9,100 to 10,920	82,903
17. Textile	8,700 to 10,000	122,230
18. IUE	9,200 to 10,000	313,189
19. ACWA	9,400	285,165
20. AFSC&ME	7,800 to 9,000	372,907
21. Insurance	8,600	23,742
22. SEIU	7,200 to 7,800	351,776

From Al Zankl, President, Field Representatives Federation:"I agree wholeheartedly with your desire of bringing representatives who work for labor organization together, as I am well aware they, too, need strength at the bargaining table. We of FRF just came out of a five month bargaining session in Washington, and as the saying goes, nothing comes easy. We in FRF are the only chartered (Directly Affiliated) group of staffers in the country; we

operate with an executive board from various areas in the U.S., namely, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Charlotte, N. C. We operate on one year agreements....We have made several attempts to have our Charter broadened from Field Representatives to a National Union or International Union. As expected, our requests have not borne fruit....The day must come when all staffers must out of necessity join ranks and assist each other when bargaining with our employers, as they are no different than any employer I deal with (but smarter)."

From William Gerhauser, Jr., Field Representatives Union, Insurance Workers (by telephone, paraphrased): Very much interested in both the expressed purpose of COSPIRO and in the conference itself. Had no further leads to give COSPIRO regarding contacts, but he will send the FRU newsletter to the chairman; the Newsletter is the principal means of communication among FRU members. He asked for a copy of the COSPIRO report when it was finished.

From Connie Kopelov, ANG unit, Amalgamated Clothing Workers (by telephone, paraphrased): Favorable to the purposes of COSPIRO and to the proposed conference. Since Connie is a Local 189 member, she will discuss this matter further with COSPIRO members at the June 3, 1970, meeting in Ann Arbor. She reports that the United Federation of Teachers (in New YOrk City) staff members have a union, with substantial benefits; she will try to make contact in that group.

Attachment 5

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189
American Federation of Teachers

1.	BAGBY, A. Virlea	Rt. 2 Huntsville, Mo. 65259	50	ACWA
2.	BARBUTO, Salvatore J.	2006 Mifflin St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19145	28	RCIA
3.	BAUDHUIN, Patrick J.	126 Wyandotte Hoyt Lakes, Minn. 55750	37	AFT
4.	BEAR, Virginia	Rt. 2, Box 86B Bath, Pa. 18014	51	ILGWU
5.	BROWN, Claude	4603 Greer Ave. St. Louis, Mo. 63115	32	IBT
6.	BRUNO, Vince	2824 Salina Dearborn, Mich. 48227	36	UAW
7.	COMONS, Allan T.	Mark Twain Detroit, Mich. 48227	45	UAW
8.	CONWELL, Richard J.	5245 Greenridge Pittsburgh, Pa. 15236	37	Pa. Tele. Guild
9.	CUCCHIARA, John	515 Benedict Ave. Tarrytown, N. Y. 10591	-	AFT
10.	DRAKE, Michael	44-837 San Benito Cir. Palm Desert, Calif. 92260	27	CWA
11.	ECERETT, Harold	2000 Ridge Dr. Alton, Ill. 62002	34	IAM
12.	FLANAGAN, John J.	637 Zephyr Ave. Erie, Pa. 16505	53	USW
13.	FREIDMAN, Barry Allan	156-07 - 71st Ave. Flushing, N. Y. 11367	19	Student
14.	GALFORD, Marvin	4603 Nomar Rd. South Charleston, W. Va. 25309	39	United Glass & Cer.
15.	GORDON, Jerome	6659 Belmar Ave. Reseda, Calif. 91335	47	ITU
16.	HARA, Walter	2103 - 4th St. N.E. Minneapolis, Minn. 55418	40	Brewery Workers
17.	HATFIELD, Gene R.	722 W. 7th St. New Albany, Ind. 47150	35	Iron Workers

18.	HEELAN, George	68 Abbott Ave. Danbury, Conn. 06810	29	Musicians
19.	HENDERSON, Elmira	2900 Taylor St. Detroit, Mich. 48206	49	URW
20.	JACOBSON, Jane	253 E. 7th St. New York, N. Y. 10021	30	AFT
21.	KITE, Addison E.	702 S. 11th St. Keokuk, Iowa 52632	45	USW
22.	KRAMER, Arlin A.	Rt. 2, Box 105A Pine Grove, Pa. 17963	41	Aluminum Workers
23.	MC NEIL, Paul J.	P. O. Box 945 Annex Sta. Providence, R. I. 02901	28	Student (Grape Boycott Org.)
24.	MOSS, Irving	66-18 Almeda Ave. Far Rockaway, N. Y. 11692	49	AFT
25.	O'BRIEN, Joseph W.	97 Indian Rd. Levittown, Pa. 19057	42	IUE
26.	OWEN, Catherine S.	1607 Lake View Ct. N.W. Haven, Fla. 33880	61	AFT
27.	PATEL, Jayant G.	155 Grove St. Apt. K-5 Elizabeth, N. J. 07202	29	IUE
28.	REED, Thomas J.	210 Pine St. Zelienople, Pa. 16063	52	USW
29.	REYNOLDS, Arthur	4305 S. 10th St. Tacoma, Wash. 98405	40	IBEW
30.	RIB, Leon	282 Bogert Rd. River Edge, N.J. 07661	35	AFT
31.	SANDBERG, Edward I.	7802 - 18th Ave. Kenosha, Wis. 53140	51	AFSCME
32.	SILVERMAN, Soretta	269 W. 11th Apt. 4A New York, N. Y. 10014	43	AFT
33.	SMITH, J. Edward	Box U-13, Univ. of Conn. Storrs, Conn. 06288	33	Student
34.	STEINBERG, Mark	1809 Minnezona Phoenix, Arix. 85016	25	AFT
35.	STUMPE, Arthur J.	1600 Bonnie Brae Dr. Huntingdon Valley, Pa. 19006	47	UAW

36. TAYLOR, Donald	Rt. 3 Mendota, Ill. 61342	37	RWDSU
37. THOMPSON, Joycelyn	1340 Fairmont N.W. Apt. 34 Washington, D. C. 20009	28	OPEIU
38. WATTS, Mary	2454 N. 22nd St. Milwaukee, Wis. 53206	49	AIW

Attachment 6

Resolution from Local 189 AFT for submission to the AFT Convention:

RESOLUTION ON CONSUMERS FEDERATION OF AMERICA

Whereas: there has always been a close and cooperative relationship between the AFT and the consumer movement in the U. S. particularly the nationwide activities of the Consumers Federation of America; and

Whereas, the grass roots strength of the consumer movement in the U.S. are the more than 45 State and Local Consumer Federations and;

Whereas, Union teachers have a direct interest in the development and survival of a vigorous and active consumer movement, particularly as it concerns consumer education activities at the primary, secondary, Junior College and College levels. By their activities they can make an active contribution to the consumer movement;

Therefore, be it resolved that this convention go on record urging full support for the activities of the Consumers Federation of America and the over 45 state and local consumers organizations and that AFT organizations on the state and local levels be asked to:

1. Urge their individual members to become active members and supporters of the consumers organizations in their state or city.

2. That AFT State Organizations and Local Unions be urged to become members of these consumer organizations so as to lend financial as well as spiritual force to their activities;

3. That AFT Locals take the load in assuring that on a state and local level that meaningful and consumer oriented consumer education programs are developed. This should include concern for the development of community education programs aimed at the economically underprivileged who suffer most for lack of consumer understanding.

4. That the AFT develop or seek to have developed, a curriculum guide on Consumer Problems, similar to those developed concerning the Grape Strike and Public Employee Unionism and that this be distributed developing curriculum in this subject area.

5. That a list of the names and addresses of State and consumer organizations be distributed to all AFT Local and state leaders along with a copy of this resolution.

Submitted by: Stan Rosen, President
Local 189, AFT

Accepted
6/3/70
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Joan Suarez, Recording Secy.
Local 189, AFT

Attachment 1.

Resolution from Local 189 AFT for submission to the AFT Convention:

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR IN INDO-CHINA

Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, hereby expresses its continuing and growing distress over the American presence in Indo-China.

With this statement, we call upon the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers and the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO to issue a call upon the President of the United States demanding that he order an immediate end to the war in Indo-China and that he bring the American troops now there home from Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia at once.

We also call upon all labor educators, whether members of Local 189 or not, to take prompt action to insure the fullest possible discussion within the labor movement of the reasons for ending the war and bringing the troops home now.

It is also resolved that this statement be given the widest possible circulation in the press, with copies sent to the President of the United States, to the AFT officers and Executive Board, to the next AFT Convention for consideration, to the officers and Executive Board of the AFL-CIO, to all of the major wire services, to television networks, nationally-known newspapers, and to The American Teacher and the AFL-CIO News. Local 189 members are authorized to circulate this statement among press outlets in their own localities.

Submitted by: Stan Rosen, President
Local 189, AFT

Joan Suarez, Recording Secretary
Local 189, AFT

Accepted - Ann Arbor, Michigan
6/3/70
Annual Spring Membership Meeting

Attachment 8

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

C O P Y

June 3, 1970

Mr. Stanley Rosen, President
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189
401 Sandburg Street
Park Forest, Illinois 60466

Dear Stan:

It is my pleasure to request of Local 189, AFT permission to form a Florida Chapter of Local 189. We now have about eleven members in the state of Florida.

The Local 189 members in our state have indicated their interest in forming a Chapter and have instructed me to write you and make our request for Chapter recognition. We also request approval to affiliate with the appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Frank Lyons

Correspondence received 6/3/70
Executive Board recommends approval of request 6/3/70
Membership Approval 6/3/70

Attachment 8

APPLICATION TO FORM CHAPTER

C O P Y

June 3, 1970

Mr. Stanley Rosen, President
American Federation of Teachers
Local 189
401 Sandburg Street
Park Forest, Illinois 60466

Dear Stan:

It is my pleasure to request of Local 189, AFT permission to form an Ohio Chapter of Local 189. We now have about twenty members of Local 189 in the state of Ohio.

The Local 189 members in Ohio have indicated their interest in forming a Chapter in this state and I have been asked to write you and make our request for Chapter recognition. We also request approval to affiliate with appropriate State and Local Central Bodies.

Sincerely,

/s/ James Wolfe

Correspondence received 6/3/70
Executive Board recommends approval of request 6/3/70
Membership Approval 6/3/70

Attachment 9

JOHN R. FROINES, CONSPIRATOR

John Froines was born in 1939 in Oakland, California.

Froines represents the widening connection between radical activism and the academic radical community. A member of the Mobilization's convention organizing staff, he is specifically charged with consipiracy and demonstrating and teaching the making of incendiary devices to street demonstrators.

He received a Bachelor of Science Degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1962, a Master of Science Degree in 1964 and a PhD in 1967 from Yale University. At Yale he held fellowships from DuPont, National Science Foundation and National Institutes of Health. He did postdoctoral research with a National Institutes of Health fellowship at the Royal Institution of Great Britain where he worked with Professor G. Porter, nobel laureate in Chemistry. He is currently assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon.

He is married and has one daughter, Rebecca, who is twenty months old.

An early SDS member, Froines served for two years as a community organizer in the New Haven ERAP project. He was a fund raiser for SNCC and CORE in 1963-64. At Berkeley he was a member of Slate student political party. He taught in a ghetto tutorial project in summer 1964, and was chairman of Students for Johnson at Yale in 1964. In 1966 he was an original founding member of AIM (American Independent Movement) in New Haven and along with Dr. Allen Steinbach founded the Radical Science Information Service in 1968.

(Radical Science Information Service provides information about science and technology to the Movement by way of its own media. It encourages scientists of a radical bent to begin making explicit connections about science and society. RSIS has no formal meetings of officers. Members become active by contributing short articles that deal with science and technology to the Liberation News Service in NYC, which serves over 100 underground newspapers and radical projects.)

While in England, Froines was a founding member and signer of the New Left Manifesto. At present he is a member of the steering committee of the New Mobilization. He is a member of the American Chemical Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science, The Royal Institution and Sigma Xi.

Professor Froines' primary professional interests are in the physical and chemical aspects of the behavior of electronically excited molecules. He has published extensively in professional journals. Presently he is working on problems of ecological breakdown and on the general implications of the technological society.

cc: E.F. Via

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

7/12/70

Frank Lyons

Please elect officers and send me their names.

The next rebate of dues from the local is in Mar, 1971

The W. Va. Chapter charges a $3.00 initiation fee to cover per capita to the State Fed and local body for the first year.

See Articles VI and IV in the 189 Constitution (Directory)

Japper

cc: E.F. Via

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

7/12/70

Frank Lyons:

Please elect officers and send me their names.

The next rebate of dues from the local is in Mar, 1971

The W. Va. Chapter charges a $3.00 initiation fee to cover per capita to the State Fed and local body for the first year

See ARTICLES II and IV in the 189 Constitution (DIRECTORY)

Jappie

cc: E.F. Viau

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

7/12/70

Frank Lyons

Please elect officers and send me their names.

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The W. Va. Chapter charges a $3.00 initiation fee to cover per capita to the State Fed and local body for the first year

See Articles II and IV in the 189 Tabbier

R. H. [illegible] (Director)

DATE 7/12/70

FLORIDA LOCAL 189 MEMBERS

NAME	PAID THRU	AFFILIATION
LOUISE G ALFORD 1166-79TH ST S. St Petersburg, Fla 33707	OCT, 1970	Florida AFT
GEORGE DAITSMAN 214 BISCAYNE BLVD Miami, Fla 33131	DEC, 1970	IBT
BILL GOODE 7737 N. KENDALL DR #C-3N Miami, Fla 33156	Aug, 1970	IBT
GERALD LAZAROWITZ 214 BISCAYNE BLVD Miami, Fla 33131	April, 1971	IBT
HARRY LEE 401 BRICKELL #2-B Miami, Fla 33131	OCT 1970	IBT
RALPH LLOYD 7483 SW 82ND ST Miami, Fla 33143	MAR 1970	Fla AF

AFT 189

C O P Y

AFT LOCAL 189 ELECTION RESULTS

The results of the 1970 election for Officers of AFT Local 189, Delegates to the AFT Convention, Regional Executive Board, a proposed amendment to the Local 189 Constitution are as follows:

116	Ballot envelopes received
4	Void ballots - postmarked after 7/24/70
112	Ballots opened and counted

PRESIDENT	VOTES
Joan Suarez	97
Write-Ins (John Schmidman, Harry Blaine, Bill Goode, Jim Williams)	5

VICE PRESIDENTS (4 offices)	
Stuart Brock	88
Anne Green	87
Prince Moon	87
Wells Keddie	77
Write-Ins (Russ Allen, Martin Duffy, John Mikrut, Joe Mire, John Schmidman, Walter Uphoff)	6

RECORDING SECRETARY	
Barbara Fifield	52
Allen Morrison	49

TREASURER	
Owen Tapper	92
Write-In (Helmut J. Golatz)	1

DELEGATES TO THE AFT CONVENTION	
Owen Tapper	82
Connie Kopelov	63
Anne Green	59
Wells Keddie	46
Lee Balliet	39
Steve Cook	37
Barbara Fifield	36
Hyman Richman	19
Write-Ins (Bill Goode, Allen Morrison, Steve Remsen, John Schmidman, Joan Suarez, Walter Uphoff, Emory Via, Hoagy Young, Void)	9

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT	VOTES
To amend Article VI, City and Area Chapters, Section 2	
Yes (to accept the change)	101
No (to retain the present)	6

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD	
Northeast	
Connie Kopelov	28
Bill Kemsley	25
Roger Snow	20
Eleanor Coit	13
Charles H. Davis	9
Sumner Rosen	6
Gerel Rubien	4
Void	1
Midwest	
Mike Ryan	73
Write-Ins (Martin Duffy, John Mikrut)	2
Beltline	
Peter R. Gregan	73
Write-Ins (C. J. Slanicka, Void)	2
Western	
Oliver McMillan	72
Great Lakes	
Paul Booth	79
Potomac	
Harry Kranz	77
Write-In (Chris Piluras)	1
Southern	
Emory Via	84
Write In(Bill Goode)	1

Counted and certified by/s/Dennis W. Muehl, Chairman, Local 189 Elections Committee, /s/Pamela A. Carder, Committeewoman, /s/Larry L. Wewel, Committeeman. August 12, 1970

AFT-189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

September 1, 1970

Dear 189 Member:

As many of you know by now, the 1970 189 Intern selection was Miss Joycelyn Thompson of Washington, D. C. Her internship program is being "co-sponsored" by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Miss Thompson, an employee of the IBEW in Washington, D. C. is a member of the Office and Professional Employees Union, Local 2. She is a native of Guyana (formerly British Guiana), South America. She has been a permanent resident of the United States for the past eight years.

Active in the Guyana labor movement, Miss Thompson came to the United States to go to school. She attended Howard University and has a degree in Labor Economics. Preferring to remain close to the Labor Movement, she took a job as a clerk-typist at the IBEW while preparing to do graduate work at Howard and American University.

The Internship program began on August 1. A copy of the eight week schedule is attached. If the Intern is scheduled for your area and you wish to meet her, please notify me as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Suarez

Joan Suarez
Intern Committee Chairman

JS/jt

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR LOCAL 189 INTERN

WITH ACWA CO-SPONSORSHIP

Beginning August 1, 1970:

August 2-8	ACWA Eastern School Lycoming College Williamsport, Pa.	Observation of program
August 10-13	St. Louis	Briefing and Evaluation
August 14-16	ACWA S.W. Regional Joint Board Meeting Sheraton Jefferson Hotel St. Louis, Mo.	Observation
August 17-19	St. Louis	Briefing and Evaluation
August 20-24	Local 688, Teamsters Pevely Camp Leadership School	Observation
August 25-26	Teamster Housing Program Health Institute St. Louis	Observation
August 27-29	Washington, D. C.	Home Visit
August 30-September 4	ACWA Midwest School	Participation
September 5-12	St. Louis	Summer School Preparation
September 13-19	ACWA Southwest School Trout Lodge, YMCA Camp Potosi, Mo.	Participation
September 20-26	Washington, D. C. (ACWA Legislative Program, AFL-CIO Education Dept., Etc.)	Programming by Jane O'Grady and Marge Rachlin

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

1012 14th Street, N. W. / Washington, D. C. 20005 / 202—737-6141

DAVID SE DEN
PRES DENT

September 4, 1970

AFT

TO: OFFICERS OF ALL AFT LOCALS AND STATE FEDERATIONS

RE: OFFICIAL NOTICE OF REFERENDUM

This is to announce officially that a referendum vote of the membership under ARTICLE XII, Section 1, of the AFT constitution has been instituted by order of the 54th annual convention. The resolution was revised and summarized by the Convention Committee on International Relations from several resolutions that had been submitted to the convention by locals. The convention voted no recommendation to accept or reject but voted to submit the following resolution to a vote of the entire membership.

WAR IN INDOCHINA

WHEREAS, the United States in involved in an undeclared war in Indochina; and

WHEREAS, as a result of this war over 200,000 American men have been killed or wounded and countless numbers of Southeast Asians have been scarred by the ravages of this war; and

WHEREAS, there has developed within the United States a polarization and divisiveness that has torn our society asunder; therefore be it

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers go on record supporting an immediate cease fire in Indochina and a complete, systematic withdrawl of all American forces from the area to be completed no later than June 30, 1971; and be it further

RESOLVED: that all funds presently being spent on the war by the federal government be channeled into such domestic priorities as aid to education, urban renewal, anti-poverty programs, pollution control and other constructive areas; and be it further

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers communicate this position to the officers and executive board members of the AFL-CIO; and be it further

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers give widespread publicity to this statement.

SHALL THE POLICY RESOLUTION OPPOSING THE "WAR IN INDOCHINA" BECOME THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE AFT?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Sample

THIS IS NOT AN OFFICIAL BALLOT

TIME TABLE

The following time table will be observed in conducting this referendum as provided under ARTICLE XII, Section 2, of the AFT constitution:

1. The official notice of referendum shall be sent to all locals by the President within two weeks of receipt of the order for referendum. The 54th annual convention ordered the referendum on Friday, August 21st. This notice is sent to you on Friday, September 4th.

2. A six-week period during which the proponents and opponents shall be given an opportunity to debate the issue through the regular channels of the local union. The six-week period shall begin Friday, September 4th, and shall end Friday, October 16th. During this period special referendum information shall be provided in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

3. On October 16, 1970, ballots will be mailed to the individual members of all locals and to the individual members-at-large of state federations.

4. The closing date of the referendum shall be November 16, 1970. (thirty days from the date the ballots were mailed from the national office.) Only ballots that are received by November 16, 1970 shall be counted.

SUMMARY OF TIME TABLE

1. August 21 . . . . . .Convention order of referendum
2. September 4 . . . . . .Official notice of referendum
3. September 4 to October 16. . . . . .Debate
4. October 16 to November 16. . . . . .Balloting
5. November 16. . . . . .Last date for receipt of ballots

REFERENDUM PROCEDURE

1. All voting in the referendum is to be by individual members on official ballots. Each member is entitled to cast one secret vote. No member or officer of a local is entitled to cast more than one ballot.

2. The ballot is to be returned in the official envelopes provided to each member. The ballot is to be inserted into the ballot envelope without the member's name. This envelope is then inserted into the return envelope which bears the member's name so that eligibility can be verified.

3. Each local that holds a membership meeting for discussion of the question shall give equal opportunity for the proponents and the opponents to present their arguments.

4. The number of votes from any local shall not exceed the number of members for whom per-capita was last paid prior to October 16, 1970. The officers of each local shall be responsible for paying full per-capita on all members to the national office in order to assure each member of his vote. Ballots of locals in bad standing will not be counted.

5. The membership roster at the national office must be as accurate as possible. All additions, deletions and name changes must be in the AFT Information Center, 162 N. Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606, prior to October 2, 1970. Please use forms provided to each treasurer.

6. A majority vote of all members of the American Federation of Teachers in good standing whose ballots are cast in conformity with the above procedures and with the AFT constitution shall be necessary for the adoption of a position on the war in Indochina.

7. A "YES" vote indicates you wish the AFT to adopt the policy. A "NO" vote indicates that you do not wish the AFT to adopt the policy.

Since it is possible that some of the officers of locals have recently been elected and not yet reported to the national office, this communication is being sent to not only the president, but also to the secretaries and treasurers of the locals.

In case this communication is received by any person no longer serving as an officer of the local, it should be promptly delivered to the person who is holding office at the present time. Additional forms for you to report officer changes are enclosed.

It is hoped that this democratic procedure can be conducted in your local as efficiently as possible.

I solicit your cooperation in making this referendum truly reflective of the wishes of our members.

My very best regards.

Fraternally,

/Signed/
David Selden,
President

eg
opeiu2
aflcio

AFT-189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

September 4, 1970

EXPLANATORY NOTE

ON

THE TWO REFERENDA

The AFT convention voted to send to referendum a resolution opposing the war in Indochina. Soon after the convention adjourned, the AFT Secretary-Treasurer received a properly submitted petition for a referendum reiterating the past position of the AFT -- not to take a position in regard to the war.

One way to handle this situation would be to send the convention referendum out first, followed in a few days by the referendum submitted by nineteen locals. Both referenda would be before the membership at the same time although the voting deadline would be a few days earlier for the convention resolution than for the other. Therefore, in order to save money, and to avoid confusion, we have included both in the same mailing.

Since the proposals are mutually exclusive, members should vote FOR only one or the other to prevent the possibility of both resolutions passing. They may vote AGAINST either or both.

Local 189's position on the war in Indo-China is also enclosed.

OAT/jt

Resolution from Local 189 AFT for submission to the AFT Convention:

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR IN INDO-CHINA

Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, hereby expresses its continuing and growing distress over the American presence in Indo-China.

With this statement, we call upon the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers and the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO to issue a call upon the President of the United States demanding that he order an immediate end to the war in Indo-China and that he bring the American troops now there home from Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia at once.

We also call upon all labor educators, whether members of Local 189 or not, to take prompt action to insure the fullest possible discussion within the labor movement of the reasons for ending the war and bringing the troops home now.

It is also resolved that this statement be given the widest possible circulation in the press, with copies sent to the President of the United States, to the AFT officers and Executive Board, to the next AFT Convention for consideration, to the officers and Executive Board of the AFL-CIO, to all of the major wire services, to television networks, nationally-known newspapers, and the The American Teacher and the AFL-CIO News. Local 189 members are authorized to circulate this statement among press outlets in their own localities.

Submitted by: Stan Rosen, President
Local 189, AFT

Joan Suarez, Recording
Secretary, Local 189, AFT

Accepted - Ann Arbor, Michigan
6/3/70
Annual Spring Membership Meeting

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

1012 14th Street, N. W. / Washington, D. C. 20005 / 202—737-6141

DAVID SE DEN
PRES DENT

September 4, 1970

OFFICIAL NOTICE OF REFERENDUM

TO OFFICERS OF ALL LOCALS AND STATE FEDERATIONS

This is to announce officially that a referendum vote of the membership under ARTICLE XII, Section 1, of the AFT Constitution has been instituted by at least fifteen locals comprising at least 15% of the AFT membership. The following locals have counterposed the resolution below to the resolution on the war in Indochina submitted to the membership referendum by the 54th annual convention.

Local	Local No.	President of Local
Unted Fed. of Teachers	2	A. Shanker
Kansas City Fed. of Teachers	691	L. Hurt
Philadelphia Fed. of Teachers	3	F. Sullivan
New Haven Fed. of Teachers	933	C. Leak
Archdiocesan Fed. of Teachers	1700	J. Rom
Pittsburgh Fed. of Teachers	400	A. Fondy
Robbinsdale Fed. of Teachers	872	C. Wilson Anderson
No. Providence Fed. of Teachers	920	G. C. Cesana
West Haven Fed. of Teachers	1547	R. De Matteo
Binghampton Fed. of Teachers	1218	A. Renzi
Warwick Teachers Union	915	W. Tammelleo
Pawtucket Teachers Alliance	930	G. Coughlin
Putnam Valley Teachers Assoc.	1867	J. Trace
Chicago Teachers Union	1	J. Desmond
W. Suburban Teachers Union	571	G. Zussman
Niles Township Fed. of Teachers	1274	K. Drum
Granite City Fed. of Teachers	743	R. Huff
Cleveland Teachers Union	279	J. O'Meara

WAR IN INDOCHINA

WHEREAS, the major job of the AFT is to remain strong and united so that it can continue to be as successful in forthcoming struggles as it has been in the past, and

WHEREAS, the Vietnam issue divides our members as it does our national, and

WHEREAS, AFT members who wish to be active on the issue have adequate opportunity for doing so in organizations established for that purpose without dividing the AFT, and

WHEREAS, we must continue to take a "no position" or our union meetings, executive committees, state and national conventions will be prevented from

reaching on agenda vital trade union and educational issues because of time consumed on implementing our policy, and

WHEREAS, there are already demands that if the AFT adopts a policy that we take ads, sponsor demonstrations, contribute funds, that we make the campaign a top priority, and

WHEREAS, taking a position is not an end it is a beginning of a continuing campaign in which the AFT will absorb all its energies, time and money, and

WHEREAS, in all our strikes we have only one strong source of support --- the organized labor movement, and whatever position we take we will be alienating major union support which we will need again, and

WHEREAS, we oppose taking any positions which identify the AFT not merely with a desire for an end to the war but for a victory of the Vietcong, and any position for immediate withdrawl which does not clearly dissassociate AFT from those who welcome a United States defeat and a Vietcong victory must be rejected, and

WHEREAS, the other resolution submitted for referendum in proposing a 1971 deadline for all troop withdrawal is, in effect, an immediate withdrawal position and because it makes no demands on the other side and offers no safeguards, it is tantamount to supporting a Vietcong victory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: that we reaffirm the position voted by our entire membership in referendum that the AFT not take any position directly or indirectly on the war in Indochina.

SHALL WE REAFFIRM THE "NO POSITION" POLICY ON THE WAR IN INDOCHINA?

☐ YES ☐ NO

The above is not your official ballot. The proposal printed above will appear on the official ballot to be mailed directly to each member October 16, 1970.

The time table and referendum procedure will be exactly as that set up for the resolution on the war, submitted by the convention.

Fraternally,

/Signed/

David Selden,
President

eg
opeiu2
aflcio

AFT 189

MOTION #1 - EXECUTIVE BOARD PROCEDURE

MOTION: That the Executive Board authorize the President to follow the following procedure for Executive Board Meetings recognizing that it is extremely difficult for the Board, as a body, to meet together with regularity.

1. MEETING - The President will schedule Executive Board Meetings whenever possible and 12 Executive Board members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

2. MOTIONS WHEN A MEETING IS NOT POSSIBLE -- When it is not possible to obtain a quorum, motions may be adopted in the following manner:

   a. Members of the Board may submit motions to the President for action by the Board.
   b. The President will call a meeting of members of the Executive Board for the purpose of discussing motions or other business which may be required. Members of the Board shall be present to consider and discuss the motion.
   c. A summary of the discussion and the views of those present is then to be mailed to members of the Board along with the motion in mail ballot form.
   d. The result of the vote and the comments of members of the Board is then sent to the members of the Board before action on the motion is considered final.

Voted "yes" 9/29/69

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

September 25, 1969

To: The Executive Board, Local 189 AFT

Re: Board Procedures - Motion #1

It is virtually impossible for an international body, such as ours, to meet regularly. It is almost as impossible for the Executive Board to meet regularly. It is, therefore, important that we develop a method by which the Board can conduct its business with some efficiency.

Beginning in 1962 the Board adopted a procedure involving mail ballots. This procedure has worked reasonably well. It provides for consideration of each issue as well as for maximum participation by the Board.

It is proposed that we continue this procedure.

The ballot is enclosed. Vote and then return the bottom portion of the ballot in the enclosed envelope.

- -

Don't forget the Executive Board Meeting on November 21 at 1:00 p.m.--

the Manger-Hamilton Hotel in D. C.

OAT/jt

File

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

OFFICIAL NOTICE

The Local 189 Executive Board meets:

Manger-Hamilton Hotel
14th and K Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
Phone: (202) 347-2580

1:00 p.m.

Friday, November 20, 1970

See Events Board for location

Lots of business

Oat/cj
10/7/70

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
Local 189, AFT

OFFICERS

President

Joan Suarez, 535 Clemens Drive, Florissant, Mo. 63033
Phone: Office (314) 241-0018, Home (314) 838-8118

Vice Presidents

Stuart Brock, AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: Office (202) 293-5150, Home (301) 942-9366

Anne C. Green, 134 Oakdale Avenue, Akron, Ohio 44302
Phone: Office (216) 867-2444, Home (216) 434-4612

Wells Keddie, 159 Burrowes North, University Park, Pa. 16802
Phone: Office (814) 865-5425, Home (814) 238-0126

Prince E. Moon, 9650 S. Telegraph Rd., Taylor, Mich. 48180
Phone: Office (313) 926-5451, Home (313) 824-2676

Recording Secretary

Barbara Fifield, 179 Thatcher St., Milton, Mass. 02187
Phone: Office (617) 426-9350, Home (617) 696-0374

Financial Secretary

Owen Tapper, 580 Spruce Street, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505
Phone: Office (304) 293-3323, Home (304) 292-2351

REGIONAL BOARD MEMBERS

Potomac

Harry Kranz, 6527 Elgin La., Bethesda, Md. 20034
Phone: Office (202) 961-3111, Home (301) 229-6943

Northeast

Connie Kopelov, 60 St. Marks Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: Office (212) 255-7800, Home (212) 673-4429

Midwest

J. Michael Ryan, 826 Leland, St. Louis, Mo. 63130
Phone: Office (314) 289-2022

Great Lakes

Paul Booth, 5006 S. Dorchester, Chicago, Ill. 60615
Phone: Office (312) 248-8700, Home (312) 538-3063

Beltline

Peter R. Gregan, 5 E Buchtel St. #306, Akron, Ohio 44308
Phone: Office (216) 376-6153, Home (216) 864-7326

Western

Oliver McMillan, 1622 N. Lombard, Portland, Oregon 97217
Phone: Office (503) 285-5281, Home (503) 645-2672

Southern

Emory F. Via, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Phone: Office (404) 522-8764, Home (404) 378-0340

CHAPTER MEMBERS

IUE

Gloria Johnson, Treasurer, 1126-16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, Phone: Office (202) 296-1200

Kentucky

Henry Lake, 706 E. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40202
Phone: Office (502) 583-7761, Home (502) 447-5942

Minnesota

Martin Duffy, 2318 Cedarwood Ridge, Minnetonka Village, Minn. 55343
Phone: Office (612) 373-4110, Home (612) 554-3443

Missouri

John J. Mikrut, Jr., 1004 Elm, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 65201. Phone: Office (314) 449-9171, Ext. 355, Home (314) 445-7379

Washington, D.C.

Ruth Wiencek, Acting Chairman, Drum Point, Lusby, Md. 20657
Phone: Home (301) 326-3302

West Virginia

Wendell W. Drake, P.O. Box 2711, Charleston, W.Va. 25330
Phone: Office (304) 343-7608, Home (304) 722-3512

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

AFT #189

WINTER MEETING NOTICE

November 20, 21 and 22, 1970

Manger-Hamilton Hotel
14th and K Streets NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
Phone: (202) 347-2580

Friday - November 20

7:30 P.M. --Registration
--Business Meeting
* Intern Report
* 50th Anniversary Arrangements
* Resolutions, Constitutional Amendments
* Technique Conferences
* Convention Report

Saturday - November 21

9:00 A.M. - 12:00 noon

The Environmental Conflict: Its Effects on:
- Jobs
- GNP
- Collective Bargaining
- Management Rights
- Role of Labor Education

Send Fletcher & Vickers Pers

12:00 noon Lunch -- Speaker

1:30 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.

The Issues Involved in National Health Insurance
- The problems
- Solutions
- Alternatives

Sunday - November 22

8:30 A.M. Breakfast

The Out-look for Labor Education
- Expansion
- Labor Colleges
- Employment
- Goals

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Send Resolutions and Amendments to the Local 189 Constitution to:

Barbara Fifield (617) 696-0374 (home)
179 Thatcher (617) 426-9350 (office)
Milton, Mass. 02187

OAT/dn
10/7/70

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT SELDEN IN SUPPORT OF AN ANTI-VIETNAM POSITION FOR AFT. OAT

EXCERPT
Wednesday Afternoon Session
AFT Convention
August 19, 1970
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

(President Selden speaking on Resolution re War in Southeast Asia)

PRESIDENT SELDEN: Mr. Chairman, I am Dave Selden, United Federation of College Teachers Local 1460.

I rise to support the Majority Report. (Applause)

This has not always been my position. As a matter of fact, until three years ago I was a rather mild supporter of the administration.

My reasons are primarily these:

I am interested in domestic problems. I think that foreign problems are extremely complicated, and I tend to shy away from them. But I am intensely interested in domestic reform.

As you will recall, many people tried to raise the cry that you have to choose between domestic reform or the war, one or the other, and I took the position that the productive capacity of this nation,

if properly organized, could support both if it wanted to.

Now, what caused me to change my position?

Well, it is very simple.

My position -- my position originally -- was that I viewed the Vietnam War as the extension of our containment policy adopted some time, or immediately after World War II; and it seemed the logical extension of that policy.

My shift in opinion was caused by the defense of Greece, and I became convinced after the military junta took over in Greece that the containment policy was bankrupt. (Applause)

It is the minds of people and not artificial boundaries of countries which count. (Applause)

And for that reason I felt that we had to fight our battle on a different front; and gradually I have shifted my position until I now support the moderate position. I therefore strongly advocate the Majority Report.

But there is another, I think, more important reason.

This issue divides the liberal community. In this issue as long as we do not come out in opposition to the war, we divide our strength in politics and almost every endeavor.

I think the time has come that there is such a preponderance of opinion, the time has come to reunite the liberal community behind an anti-war division, and therefore again I strongly urge support of the Majority Report.

Thank you. (Applause)

**** ****

STATEMENT REPRODUCED BY LOCAL 189 AFT
OAT

AFT #189 -

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, W.Va. 26506
Phone: (304) 293-3323

February 1, 1970

TO: Henry Lake

FROM: Owen A. Tapper OAT

RE: 1969 Kentucky Chapter Rebate

Below I have calculated the rebate due the Kentucky Chapter for 1969. If there are errors let me know. Otherwise, a check will be issued in about a month.

NAME	NUMBER OF PAYMENTS--REMARKS
H.K. Charlesworth	2 (Joined 11/69)
Charles Clark	0 (Dues thru 10/68)
Henry Lake	12
J. Richard Mahoney	5 (Joined 8/69)
William Money	7 (Joined 5/69)
Roger Rines	6 (Moved to Ky. 7/69)
W. Curtis Stamper	1 (Joined 12/69)
Elmer Steier	4 (Joined 9/69)
Edward Thomas	3 (Moved to Ky. 9/69--Dues thru 11/69)
William Tolman	12

Any payments received for 1969 during the next month will be credited.

52 @ 50¢ = $26.00

OAT/bw
cc: Roger Rines
Emory F. Via

AFT 189

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN. W. VA. 26505
PHONE: (304) 293-3323

DEC 9 REC'D

December 5, 1970

Your attention is directed to the following items:

1. Indochina referenda results:

   Question 1: Shall the policy resolution calling for ending the war in Indochina through an immediate ceasefire and systematic withdrawal by June 30, 1971, become the official policy of AFT?

YES	21,836	No Response 3018
NO	17,862	

   Question 2: Shall the AFT reaffirm the "no position" policy on the war in Indochina as previously adopted by referendum?

YES	20,237	No Response 4886
NO	17,593	

   A total of 42,716 members voted from among 205,000 eligible.

2. Larry Ahern reports that ICWU is in need of an industrial engineer with a labor background. Contact him at (216) 867-2444.

3. Local 189 will shortly conduct a referendum on adding the increased AFT per capita ($3.00 yearly) to its dues structure.

4. The 189 Fall meeting went well. Almost 80 persons registered for the event. Job Security was a major topic for discussion. The Minutes will be mailed.

5. Anyone having any job openings should contact Local 189. We have several unemployed members.

6. Frank Lyons has been named Director of the IBT Labor Institute in Miami replacing Bill Goode who returned to UAW.

7. The next 189 meeting is scheduled for Washington, D. C. in May (hopefully) on dates not yet determined.

OAT/jt

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA 52240

College of Business Administration
Center for Labor and Management
Phillips Hall
Area 319: 353-4274

November 19, 1970

Mr. Owen Tapper
AFT Workers Education Local 189
580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, West Virginia 26505

Dear Owen,

We have a labor education vacancy in our Center for Labor and Management. We are looking for someone with experience directly or indirectly in labor education, a Ph.D. or a person winding up a Ph.D., preferably with interest in a particular phase of industrial relations or labor history, who could teach an academic course in our college.

Could you please supply information about this vacancy through your normal channels? I realize that there are a number of people looking for work in this field, but I must stress that it is imperative in our situation to have the necessary educational requirement mentioned above.

If anyone is interested they could contact me here at The University of Iowa.

Sincerely,

Ed Czarnecki

Edgar R. Czarnecki
Assistant Professor and
Program Director

ERC:ml

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
OWEN TAPPER, FINANCIAL SECRETARY
580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

STAMP

Local 189, AFT is the membership organization of staff in union education.

Local 189, AFT —

— conducts projects to advance education in the labor movement.

— encourages collective bargaining by professionals.

— supports trade unionism in public education through affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers.

$1.25 of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

50¢ of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to your 189 Area Chapter or Bargaining Chapter, where organized.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To: E. F. VIA DEC 1970 63.00

Your Local 189 dues are paid through ....., $..... will pay your dues for the next ..... year period. Please mark on the blank below the amount you are enclosing and any of the other information which may be of interest to members of the local. Return this envelope with your check. Check proper categories below.

Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

CHECK ONE		LOCAL 189 MEMBERSHIP DUES	MONTHLY	1 YEAR	6 MONTHS
☐	STANDARD dues: Salary of	☐ $14,000 or more	5.00	60.00	[illegible]
		☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	3.75	45.00	22.50
		☐ Less than $9,000	2.50	30.00	15.00
☐	If another union is your collective bargaining representative with your [illegible] employer write the name of [illegible] here and use these rates: [illegible] I [illegible] local	☐ $14,000 or more	4.25	51.00	25.50
		☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	3.00	36.00	18.00
		☐ Less than $9,000	1.75	21.00	10.50
☐	If [illegible] to another AFT local write [illegible] of the local here and use these rates: I belong to AFT Local ..... City	☐ $14,000 or more	3.75	45.00	22.50
		☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	2.50	30.00	15.00
		☐ Less than $9,000	1.25	15.00	7.50
☐	If Local 189 is your collective bargaining representative your dues are: Bargaining group:		5.00	60.00	30.00
☐	If you are retired your dues are:		1.25	15.00	7.50
☐	STUDENT RATE: If you are a full time student or an unpaid community action worker, your dues are: School	Seeking: BA MA PhD	.40	4.80	2.40
				Effective May 1, 1969	

SEE REVISED DUES SCHEDULE

TO LOCAL 189, AFT:

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ 12 months _____ 6 months dues. I've checked my dues category above.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. Please pass on to the appropriate chairman:

☐ Send a Local 189 membership application to: Name _____

Address _____

☐ Please correct your mailing list, as follows: (WRITE CORRECTION HERE) _____

☐ I am now working for: (If you have recently changed)

Employer _____ Your title _____

☐ JOB CLEARINGHOUSE: Here is information about _____ an opening _____ a person interested in a position:

☐ NEWSLETTER. Here's an item for the next issues: (Please enclose in envelope)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

REVISED DUES SCHEDULE

CHECK ONE	LOCAL 189 MEMBERSHIP DUES	MONTHLY	1 YEAR	6 MONTHS
☐ STANDARD dues: Salary of	$14,000 or more	5.25	63.00	31.50
	9,000 to $13,999	4.00	48.00	24.00
	Less than $9,000	2.75	33.00	16.50
☐ If another union is your collective bargaining representative with your present employer write the name of the union here and use these rates:	$14,000 or more	4.50	54.00	27.00
	$ 9,000 to $13,999	3.25	39.00	19.50
	Less than $9,000	2.00	24.00	12.00
I am represented by: Local _____ Union _____				
☐ If you currently belong to another AFT local write the name of the local here and use these rates:	$14,00 or more	3.75	45.00	22.50
	$ 9,000 to $13,999	2.50	30.00	15.00
	Less than $9,000	1.25	15.00	7.50
I belong to AFT Local _____ City _____				
☐ If Local 189 is your collective bargaining representative your dues are: Bargaining group _____		5.25	63.00	31.50
☐ If you are retired your dues are:		1.50	18.00	9.00
☐ STUDENT RATE: If you are a full time student of an unpaid community action worker, your dues are:		.50	6.00	3.00

School _____ Seeking: BA MA PhD

Effective May 1, 1971

Bring up when EV returns

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN, W. VA. 26505
PHONE: (304) 293-3323

May 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: Local 189 Members

From: Owen A. Tapper, Financial Secretary

Your attention is directed -- in some cases redirected --

1. Local 189 - 50th Anniversary: If any Local 189 member is in possession of or has any knowledge about any materials, correspondence, pictures, etc. which relate to the history and work of Local 189 from 1922 on-- please call:

Holgate Young	Home	(301) 229-3046
	Office	(202) 495-4238
Stuart Brock	Home	(301) 942-9366
	Office	(202) 293-5150
Ruth Wiencek	Home	(301) 326-3302

Or drop one or all a note. These materials are to be used for the 189 Anniversary -- and eventually will be archived at Cornell University.

2. Viewpoints: In addition, current plans call for two issues of Viewpoints to be issued. One before the Anniversary and one shortly thereafter. John Schmidman needs -- in fact solicits, your contributions.

3. Dates Set: By the way--the relatively firm dates for the Local 189 - 50th Anniversary meeting are May 10, 11 and 12, 1972 in Washington, D. C.

OAT/je

MAR 17 1971

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN. W. VA. 26505
PHONE: (304) 293-3323

March 15, 1971

TO: The Executive Board

FROM: Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

1. The Executive Board meets at 10:00 A. M. at the Manger-Hamilton Hotel in Washington, D. C. on April 28, 1971. Please see the "Events Board" for the exact room location.

2. As many of you are aware, the 189 bargaining unit at IUE has been gradually shrinking over the years from a high of 17 to 6 now. It is also anticipated that 2 more individuals will be shifted from the unit -- leaving 4 -- possibly only 3.

This left the unit rather powerless.

With these factors under consideration, and with the unanimous consent of all concerned, it was decided to dissolve the unit <u>if</u> IUE would agree to a suitable grievance procedure to protect present 189 members -- and their successors.

IUE did agree. And on March 11 an agreement was signed dissolving the unit and instituting a grievance procedure. A copy of both documents is enclosed.

189 members at IUE will now become part of the D. C. Chapter.

OAT/jt

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

By and Between the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) and Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

It is understood that all employees of IUE at its National Headquarters who are currently in AFT Local 189 bargaining unit -- and their successors -- who do not become supervisors (as defined by the Act), and who maintain membership in Local 189, shall receive the protection of a grievance and arbitration clause as follows:

1. An IUE employee (as described above) who may have a grievance with the IUE, shall take his dispute to the Executive Officers of AFT Local 189. A grievance is defined as a dispute between an IUE employee and IUE administration which concerns discrimination of any type, discipline or discharge.

2. The Executive Officers of AFT Local 189 shall determine whether there is sufficient cause to pursue the matter. If the Local determines that sufficient cause does exist, it shall file a notice with the President of the IUE, AFL-CIO-CLC or his designee. The notice shall set forth the gneral nature of the dispute and the corrective action the Local wishes the IUE to take.

3. Within the thirty (30) days following the notice, a representative of the AFT Local 189, together with the aggrieved employee, and the President of the IUE, AFL-CIO-CLC or his designee shall meet in an effort to resolve the dispute.

4. Within the thirty (30) days following the meeting, described in 3. above, the Local may submit the dispute, if unresolved, to arbitration. The parties will make every reasonable effort to select an individual closely associated with the labor movement to serve as the arbitrator. If there is no agreement within 10 days, the parties shall request that the American Arbitration Association submit a list of five (5) arbitrators, from which the IUE and Local 189 shall each strike two names alternately.

5. The award of the arbitrator shall be final and binding on the parties. The arbitrators fees and expenses shall be borne equally by the parties.

_____ for AFT Local 189

_____ for IUE-AFL-CIO-CLC

Dated this 11th day of March, 1971

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN. W. VA. 26505
PHONE: (304) 293-3323

March 11, 1971

Mr. William Brady
Assistant to the President
International Union of Electrical,
Radio & Machine Workers, AFL-CIO-CLC
1126 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Sir:

It is understood that the employees (as defined in the Memorandum between the IUE and Local 189, AFT, dated this 11th day of March, 1971) heretofore represented by Local 189, AFT -- including their successors -- shall henceforth be represented by Local 189 only to the extent of the grievance and arbitration procedure set forth in that Memorandum of Understanding.

Sincerely,

William Brady, Assistant
to the President, IUE-
AFL-CIO-CLC

Joan Suarez, President
Local 189, AFT

OAT:CK:vmd

Hold for AFT Decision.

ADDENDA A

REMOVALS

NOV 5 1971

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

1012 - 14th St. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

October 31, 1971

The following members names should be REMOVED from the mailing list of
WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

NAME	ADDRESS
Arthur Appel	19 Monroe St., Milford, Conn. 06460
Mary Oppenheimer Fitch	2435 California, Berkeley, Calif. 94703
Dennis W. Muehl	1219 Barcelona Dr., Akron, Ohio 44313
Ted L. Napier	343 Gaymon Dr., Hilliard, Ohio 43026
Robert B. Nelson	2400 Havenwood Rd. N., Columbus, Ohio 43209
Jean Savage	309 Hill St. #2, Santa Monica, Calif. 90405
Richard Shindler	19 Monroe St., Milford, Conn. 06460
Dudley W. Williams	Box 5337, M. S., Nassau, Bahamas
Robert Wollk	225 Waverly, Morgantown, W. Va. 26505

Owen A. Tapper

Owen A. Tapper, Financial Secretary

OAT/jt

ADDENDA B

NEW OR REINSTATED MEMBERS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

1012 - 14th St. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

October 31, 1971

The following members' names should be ADDED to the list for
WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

NAME	ADDRESS
Mike Brasselero	1631 S. Carr St., Denver, Colo. 80226
John P. Dowling	5516 Besley Ct., Rockville, Md. 20851
Margaret A. Johnson	P. O. Box 750, Accra, Ghana
Walter E. Lawrence	2791 Worchester St., Aurora, Colo. 80010
Betty Miller	1155 - 15th St. N. W., #1116, Washington, D. C. 20005
Sheldon W. Samuels	117-79 N. Shore Dr., Reston, Va. 22070
George W. Terrell, Jr.	P. O. Box 553, State College, Pa. 16801

Owen A. Tapper, Financial Secretary

CAT/jt

ADDENDA C

ADDRESS CHANGES

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

1012 - 14th St. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

October 31, 1971

The following members' addresses SHOULD BE CHANGED on the mailing list of WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189

NAME	OLD ADDRESS	NEW ADDRESS
Russell Allen	100 Fairview Sq. #4G Ithaca, N. Y. 14850	1030 Glenhaven East Lansing, Mich. 48823
W. Robert Gray	P. O. Box 12727 Austin, Texas 78711	Baptist Grad Center 4901 S. Ellis Chicago, Ill. 60615
Chris Piluras	214 Biscayne Blvd. N. Miami, Fla. 33132	4104 Denfeld Ave. Kensington, Md. 20795
Ben Stahl	2018 Spruce St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19103	100 Lakeview Dr. Collings Lakes Williamstown, N. J. 08094
Richard Wilson	1155 - 15th St. N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005	1541 - 33rd St. N. W. Washington, D. C. 20007
Robert D. Winn	4911 N. Freeway #37 Houston, Texas 77022	Gulf Coast Trade Center Waverly, Texas 77358

Owen A. Tapper, Financial Secretary

OAT/jt

AFT WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189 AFT

580 SPRUCE STREET
MORGANTOWN. W. VA. 26505
PHONE: (304) 293-3323

November 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members, Local 189, AFT

FROM: Owen Tapper

Your attention is directed toward the following items:

1. Under separate cover - by 3rd Class Non-Profit Mail - I am mailing a special issue of the Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Union News. The issue is devoted to the story of American labor and could be used as a teaching aid. Extra copies are available at 25¢ each, plus postage from Moe Fover, Local 1199 RWDSU, 310 W 43rd Street, New York, New York 10036.

2. Don't forget the annual Fall meeting of the Local. It starts at about 7:30 p.m. on November 19 and closes at about noon on November 21. The location is the Manger-Hamilton Hotel in Washington, D. C. There is plenty of business to attend. Planning for the 189 50th Anniversary celebration will be a major item.

3. Although several more items will be mailed to members from this office, this will be the last "billing" that I will make. All the books and records are being turned over to Allen Morrison, the new Financial Secretary. All correspondence - and other items - which were directed to this office, should now be sent to Brother Morrison at 99 University Pl, 6th Floor, New York, New York 10003.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

•

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

ANNOUNCES its annual

WINTER MEETING

MANGER - HAMILTON HOTEL
14TH AND K STREETS, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
PHONE (202) 347-2580

NOVEMBER 19, 20, AND 21, 1971

Mail to: Stuart Brock, Chairman
11512 Highview Avenue
Silver Springs, Md. 20902

Phone: (202) 293-5150 -- office
(301) 942-9366 -- home

I plan to attend the 189 meeting:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Please reserve ☐ single room ☐ double room
for the following nights _____

☐ $9.00 registration fee enclosed ☐ will pay at registration

Make checks payable to "Local 189 AFT"

10/9/71
OAT/js

AFT Meeting
Washington Trip

A FINAL REMINDER ....

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

WINTER MEETING

MANGER-HAMILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C. (202) 347-2590

NOVEMBER 19	
7:30 PM	BUSINESS MEETING PLAN OF THE MEETING
NOVEMBER 20	
9:00 AM	OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH
10:30 AM	PLAN 50TH 189 ANNIVERSARY
12:00 NOON	LUNCH
1:30 PM	RESUME 50TH ANNIVERSARY
4:30 PM	FILMS - CASH BAR
NOVEMBER 21	
9:30 AM	BREAKFAST "THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK - NEW VOTERS,, POTENTIAL CANDIDATES"
	FINISH BUSINESS
12:00 NOON	ADJOURN

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189
WINTER MEETING

NOVEMBER 19

7:30 PM	BUSINESS MEETING PLAN OF THE MEETING

NOVEMBER 20

9:00 AM	OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH
10:30 AM	THE 189- 50TH ANNIVERSARY PROGRAM
12:00 NOON	LUNCH - SPEAKER
2:00 PM	RESUME 50TH ANNIVERSARY
4:30 PM	FILMS - CASH BAR

NOVEMBER 21

9:30 AM	BREAKFAST "THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK - NEW VOTERS, POTENTIAL CANDIDATES" FINISH BUSINESS

Attachment 2

PROPOSED CHANGES
in
WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I: No change

ARTICLE II: Section 1: No change

Section 2: Change last clause to ... subject to review by a membership meeting.

Section 3: No change.

Section 4: No change

ARTICLE III: No change.

ARTICLE IV: Section 1: Add: The term of each office shall be two years.

Section 2: Nominations for officers shall be made at the spring meeting of even-numbered years.

Section 3: Change last sentence to: Voting must be concluded within 45 days of the meeting at which nominations took place.

Section 4: No change.

Section 5: No change.

ARTICLE V: Section 1: No change

Section 2: Addition: The members of the board, as distinct from the officers and the chapter chairman, shall be nominated and elected for a two-year term as follows:

(a) Together with the spring meeting notice in the even-numbered years, as required by Article X, each member will be nominated as a board member.

(b) Change both references to annual meeting to spring meeting.

(c) Change reference from annual mailed ballot to biannual mailed ballot.

(d) Change second sentence to: The term of office of board members shall be two years, beginning July 15.

(e) No change

Section 3: Change to read: The chairman of each chapter shall be elected in accordance with Article VI and Article VIII and shall serve on Local 189's Executive Board (drop for one year beginning April 15)

Section 4: No change

Section 5: Change reference from the annual meeting to a membership meeting.

ARTICLE VI and ARTICLE VII: No change

ARTICLE VIII: Section 1: Delegates to the AFT Convention shall be nominated at the spring meeting of the local. Their election shall be in accordance with Article IV, Section 3. The Executive Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy that occurs.

ARTICLE IX: No change

ARTICLE X: Section 1: Addition: The Executive Board shall call at least one membership meeting a year. Notice of the meeting must be sent out at least 14 days in advance.

Section 2: Additional meetings may be called by the Executive Board or by request in writing of one-third of the entire membership.

ARTICLE XI: No change

ARTICLE XII: Change the annual meeting reference to a membership meeting.

ARTICLE XIII and ARTICLE XIV: No change.

Referred to Winter Meeting
Washington, D. C.
4/28/71

WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT
Allen Morrison, Financial Secretary
99 University Place—Sixth Floor
New York, New York 10003

STAMP

Local 189, AFT is the membership organization for staff in union education.

Local 189, AFT —

— conducts projects to advance education in the labor movement.

— encourages collective bargaining by professionals.

— supports trade unionism in public education through affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers.

$1.50 of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

50¢ of your monthly dues is paid in per capita to your 189 Area Chapter where organized.

To: Emory Via

Your Local 189 dues are paid through DEC 71, $ 63.00 will pay your dues for the next 1 year period. Please mark on the blank below the amount you are enclosing and any of the other information which may be of interest to members of the local. Return this envelope with your check. Check proper categories below.

Owen Tapper, Financial Secretary

CHECK ONE	LOCAL 189 MEMBERSHIP DUES	MONTHLY	1 YEAR	6 MONTHS
☐ STANDARD dues: Salary of	☐ $14,000 or more	5.25	63.00	31.50
	☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	4.00	48.00	24.00
	☐ Less than $9,000	2.75	33.00	16.50
☐ If another union is your collective bargaining representative with your present employer write the name of the union here and use these rates: I am represented by Local ..... Union	☐ $14,000 or more	4.50	54.00	27.00
	☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	3.25	39.00	19.50
	☐ Less than $9,000	2.00	24.00	12.00
☐ If you currently belong to another AFT local write the name of the local here and use these rates: I belong to AFT Local ..... City	☐ $14,000 or more	3.75	45.00	22.50
	☐ $ 9,000 to $13,999	2.50	30.00	15.00
	☐ Less than $9,000	1.25	15.00	7.50
☐ Ad hoc instructor - not otherwise employed by Union, University or other agency		2.75	33.00	16.50
☐ If you are retired your dues are:		1.50	18.00	9.00
☐ STUDENT RATE: If you are a full time student or an unpaid community action worker, your dues are: School ..... Seeking: BA MA PhD		.50	6.00	3.00

Effective May 1, 1971

TO LOCAL 189, AFT:

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ 12 months _____ 6 months dues. I've checked my dues category above.

(Make check payable to: "Local 189, AFT")

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION Please pass on to the appropriate chairman:

☐ Send a Local 189 membership application to: Name _____

Address _____

☐ Please correct your mailing list, as follows: (WRITE CORRECTION HERE) _____

☐ I am now working for: (If you have recently changed)

Employer _____ Your title _____

☐ JOB CLEARINGHOUSE: Here is information about _____ an opening _____

_____ a person interested in a position:

☐ NEWSLETTER. Here's an item for the next issues: (Please enclose in envelope)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

AFT OF

AFL-CIO

MEMBER

COPY AVAILABLE

TRANSLAC

TRADE MARK

TO APPLY TO INSIDE OF GLASS

1. Dip sign in water for a few seconds.
2. Wet the glass and place sign in position.
3. Smooth sign out flat with a wet sponge roller or other squeegee, working from center to edges, thereby removing air bubbles.
4. Wet back of sign again - place palm of both hands against sign, giving a slight rotary motion. You may now slide or peel paper from back of sign.
5. IMPORTANT - After paper is removed wash back of sign with clean water to remove all gum.

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2. Dip sign in water for about one minute, avoiding creasing.
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5. WASH FACE OF SIGN THOROUGHLY WITH CLEAN WARM WATER, to remove gum on the face of sign. This must be completely removed as otherwise the sign will curl.

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COLLECTIVE ACTION BY PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

By

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Reprinted from
INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS REVIEW
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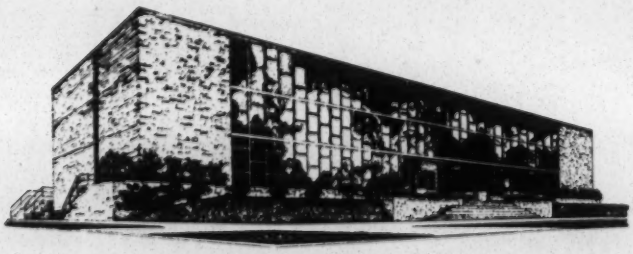

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTER
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

UNION PHILOSOPHY

and

THE PROFESSIONAL

By JACK BARBASH★

MUCH of the discussion about white collar workers, professional workers and unions has been obscured by folklore and confused thinking. I believe it is necessary, therefore, to get at some fundamentals about the way people, whether professionals or not, behave in our kind of economic society. Unless we fully understand certain principles, the problem of finding a sensible way of dealing with this problem of professionals in unions will continue to evade us.

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 1: An employee-employer relationship inevitably, and I underscore the word *inevitably*—generates problems between the employer and employee. The more employees, the more problems, and the more complex are the problems. When the employees are few, it is possible for the employee to settle or resolve

Mr. Barbash

**Professor of labor education, University of Wisconsin School for Workers, and member of Workers Education Local 189; formerly, research and education director AFL-CIO Industrial Union department.*

these problems on a face-to-face basis with the employer.

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 2: The character of the work makes little difference as to whether problems exist between the employee and the employer. The sweeper, the milling machine operator, the clerk, the engineer, the social worker, the doctor, the lawyer and the teacher—all of these, if they stand in the relationship of employee to any employer, will inevitably experience feelings of irritation, dissatisfaction, ill treatment, or what have you.

The sweeper doesn't always want to be a sweeper. He wants a better job. The milling machine operator knows a fellow who is doing the same work across the street, in another department, who is getting more money than he is. The clerk sees the fellow in the shop getting higher wages. The engineer is assigned to a job which doesn't comport with his notion of what a professional should be doing. The social worker doesn't think she should be getting less than a sweeper just because she is working for a philanthropic agency. The teacher resents the fact that merit increases are made by the whim of a supervisor.

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 3: It doesn't matter, either, who the employer happens to be, for serious problems to exist. The employer-employee relationship has the same thrust whether the employer is an individual, a corporation, a government, a social agency or a union.

Many people used to think that problems develop only when the employer is a private employer. We now know better. The most striking example is, of course, Soviet Russia. The fact that the employer is the state does not in any way mitigate the problems of working for a living. In the case of Soviet Russia, the problem is even worse. The workers have *no* one to turn to.

Even in the case of a democratic government, as in Great Britain, nationalization does not, somehow, transform the employer-employee relationship into a romantic idyll. Work is work for whomever you work. And in all candor, working for a public agency doesn't transform the employer-employee relationship into an idyll, either.

To bring the situation closer to home, when the union becomes an employer, we are not suddenly ushered into an era of brotherly love. The employees of the union believe they have to have a union to protect their interests in dealing with the union as employer.

Why? Why should it be that regardless of what kind of work the employees do, who the employer is, the employer-employee relationship must inevitably create serious problems? I am not sure that I have a complete answer to this.

I think I am certain of what the answer is *not*. It is *not* the inherent cussedness, cupidity, greed of employers. It is *not* something in the psychological makeup, the genes, of a person when he becomes a worker. I think part of the answer lies in the way people perceive their interests. And this brings me to:

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 4: I would state Principle Number 4 like this. There are essential differences of interests between those who are employed and those who employ. The employee wants to earn or save more money. The employer wants to get more money out of the business and keep costs down. It is as simple as that. The employer wants greater freedom in running his business. The employee wants greater freedom as an individual.

Who is right? Why, of course, both are right. There is nothing wrong with either position.

There is a good deal of innocent but sometimes malicious mischief inflicted

by well-meaning people who say that there are no differences in interests between employer and employee. Anybody who has ever worked for a living, or anybody who has hired others to work for a living or who has supervised others knows this is not true.

Am I preaching the Marxist doctrine of eternal class conflict? No. The difference is that the Marxists believe in a doctrine of *eternal* conflict until one side vanquishes the other. They do not believe that these conflicts of interests can be resolved into a viable relationship.

I do not believe in an *eternal* struggle. A society in which one side has vanquished the other is a totalitarian society and it doesn't really matter who vanquishes whom.

On the contrary, I hold that it is possible to find instrumentalities through which these differences in interests can be resolved. The industrial history of the United States is a vivid illustration that it *is* possible to find a mechanism through which employees and employers can live together in relative peace.

There is really nothing subversive or immoral about this conflict of interest. In fact, this is the whole theory of our constitutional form of government. The constitution rests on the notion that the interests of the legislature representing the people, the judiciary and the executive are different and that this difference in interests is good and can be relied upon through a system of checks and balances to advance the common good. All of history is of an attempt to find a way of resolving conflicting interests.

There is no point in attempting to sweep this problem under the carpet through *human relation* and *communications* techniques. There are too many people who obscure the real question by cluttering up the central issue. To be sure, efficient communications can help in focusing attention on the *real* differences of interest. But it is charlatanism of a high order to hold out the promise that there is some kind of a gimmick which will eliminate the differences of interest. How, then, do you deal with these differences in interest in a sensible way? This brings us to:

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 5: If there is a difference of interest between two parties, neither side can be trusted to protect adequately the interests of the other. There is no such thing in group relationships, where differences in interests are involved, as my knowing better what's good for you than you do for yourself. Even if I do know better you won't believe me.

In political affairs, this means that no man and no special interest groups, no matter how high minded and well intentioned, can be trusted to exercise power without restraint and checks and counterbalancing influences on the exercise of authority.

In employer-employee relationships, the application of this principle means that no employer, no matter how high minded and well intentioned, and no matter how much above narrow self-interest he thinks he is, can adequately deal with his employee's interests on his own power.

And it works the other way, too. No group of employees, no matter how idealistic they are, can adequately protect the employer's interests. I then derive:

PRINCIPLE NUMBER 6: The only practical way to resolve differences in interests between employers and employees is through a mechanism which permits either side to say *No* and get away with it. Or as an alternative, if both sides say *No* to each other, which means an impasse has been reached—then there must be some impartial third party who can decide between the parties.

Of course, what I am describing is collective bargaining between a free union and a free employer and the right of the union to strike and the

employer to say *No.* Or as an alternative, the use of some method of impartial arbitration. The collective bargaining process must, of course, be tailored to the special circumstances surrounding each situation.

The institution of collective bargaining carried on by free unions and free management represents one of the greatest social inventions of our time. Collective bargaining is the answer to the forces in our society who say that differences in economic interests can be resolved only by one side vanquishing the other; that is, by a totalitarian system of one color or other.

It is indeed of the gravest import that no totalitarian system tolerates free collective bargaining. By the same token, collective bargaining is an indispensable pillar of modern democracy. Collective bargaining provides a system of due process for the sensible resolution of differences between employers and employees.

I do not want to be understood to say that the answers provided by collective bargaining are always perfect answers, or that the unions which emerge always represent the interests of their constituents in the best possible way. Unions are made up of a cross-section of the American people. I dare say that unions have a share of the social afflictions of the society at large.

But it can be said without effective contradiction that the unions have done a stunning job of improving the working lives of their constituents. They have done it with a high degree of creative adaptation to a rapidly changing economic environment. A strong case can be made that the whole society and the virility of the democratic way of life have benefited from the upsurge of unionism in the United States in the last twenty years or so.

IF *ALL OF THE THINGS* that I have written herein are really *fundamental* principles, what's all this noise about white collar workers and unions and professionals and unions? Why are only about 17% of white collar people in free unions, in contrast to the high degree of union organization in mass production industry?

I suggest that our culture has developed an array of myths and pieces of folklore that attempt to deny the applicability of these principles to the white collar worker. Or, to put it another way, so far, many white collar workers and particularly the professionals have been effectively convinced that they are different:

1) That, as one item of folklore goes, the white collar worker has no problems on the job;

2) That with respect to a white collar worker employed by a government nonprofit agency, the government is not really an employer in any real sense of the word;

3) That if there are differences of interest, the white collar worker can depend on the employer, whoever he is, to do the right thing, and

4) That in any case, unions and collective bargaining are fine for manual workers but they won't work for professionals.

For many professionals this folklore is a rationalization—the *good* reason rather than the *real* reason. The real reason is, to put it plainly, fear.

What, then, is the job of the professional employees' union? First, the rationalizations have to be dealt with and it is the job of the union to get across to the non-union professional in terms of his own experience that these are, indeed, myths. Second, the union must get across the idea that belonging to the union gives him strength and security.

One thing about the professional worker has been very interesting to

me as a student of the labor movement. Despite all the talk about professionals being a separate breed, when professional workers do organize unions, they negotiate agreements which in the main headings do not differ from other kinds of contracts. They concern themselves with the day-to-day grievances of the workers they represent; and professionals strike when they have to.

The element of difference is the shape and pattern which these needs and aspirations take in each individual situation. And, I think, we are beginning to appreciate how to build strong unions of professional workers at the same time that these unions give expression to the diversity of particular goals that particular groups seek.

As a member of the family, in a manner of speaking, I hope you will allow me to write plainly. As I see it, one of the problems of bringing professional workers into unions is the professional himself.

We—and I hope you will let me say *we* because I, too, think of myself as a professional teacher—we tend to overtalk, overthink, and overintellectualize our problems. This holds true when professionals think about unions.

FLORENCE SYTZ, professor of social casework at Tulane university, produced a classic parody on the procedures of a conference of professionals (in this case, social workers). It follows:

"1) Profess not to have the *answer. This lets you out of having any.*

"2) Say that we must not move too rapidly. This avoids the necessity of getting started.

"3) Say that the problem can't be separated from all the other problems. Therefore, it can't be solved until all the other problems have been solved.

"4) For every proposal set up an opposite one and conclude that the 'middle ground' (no motion whatever) represents the wisest course of action.

"5) Discover that there are all kinds of 'dangers' in any specific formulation or conclusion.

"6) Appoint a committee.

"7) Wait until an expert can be consulted.

"8) State in conclusion that you have all clarified your thinking. This obscures the fact that nothing has been done.

"9) Point out that the deepest minds have struggled with the same problem. This implies that it does you credit even to have thought of it.

"10) In closing the meeting thank the problem. It has stimulated discussion, opened new vistas, shown us the way, challenged our inventiveness."

The teaching profession is in a unique position to make a major contribution to the growth and development of unions among professional employees. An understanding of group relationships and social processes is an integral part of professional stock in trade. These insights which must be part of the professional's daily job, can be applied to the union as an organization.

The creative qualities which professionals bring to their jobs can also be transferred to the union situation. The challenge which confronts the professional is this: The dignity, status and scientific competence that go with being a professional cannot be fully realized unless, in the first instance, the professional has a measure of economic and personal security on the job; the kind of economic and personal security that can be achieved only through effective union organization.

THE OUT-AND-OUT professional organization cannot do this kind

of job for several reasons. First, it is temperamentally incapable of fully understanding the logic of working for a living. So, although it dabbles at economic representation, it shies away from the full implications of the task. Secondly, the professional association tends to contain with it inherently disparate elements, so that its effectiveness as an economic representative of any one element is blunted and dulled.

Only a union which is clearly a union can do the job. It must be a union which is custom-built to meet the special needs of its own constituents but there must be no self-indulging illusion that the economic problems of the professional can be dealt with in any way except through an economic organization and this means a union.

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December, 1957

MARIE L. CAYLOR, EDITOR

FOR COPIES WRITE

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Signature of applicant _____

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- ___ Less than $8,000 . . . . . $18

___ IF you belong to an AFT local other than Local 189 your annual 189 dues are . . . . . $ 9

I belong to AFT Local _____ City _____

___ IF Local 189 is your collective bargaining representative your annual dues are $48

___ IF another union is your collective bargaining representative at work your annual dues are:

Salary of (CHECK ONE)
- ___ $10,000 or more $21
- ___ $ 8,000 to $9,999. . . . . $15
- ___ Less than $8,000 . . . . . $ 9

I belong to Local _____ Union _____

___ IF you are retired your annual dues are . . . . . $ 9

___ IF you are not employed full time (all types of work combined) your annual dues are. $12

$9 of your annual dues is paid in per capita to the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

$3 of your annual dues is paid in per capita to a 189 Area Chapter or Bargaining Chapter, where organized.

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MC ARTHUR W. VA. SEP 29 '6?

P.B. METER 617070 06

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5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA, GA 30303

THIRD CLASS

AFT-189

Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, hereby expresses to our union brothers and sisters, by way of the pages of The American Teacher, its deep concern over the conflict which has erupted between the United Federation of Teachers and the Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York City.

We see this conflict as symptomatic of a growing cleavage between the residents of our urban ghettos and the American labor movement, particularly where the legitimate demands of Black and Puerto Rican citizens for direct control over their own destinies impinge upon the traditional and no less legitimate needs of workers to control their work environments.

Without attempting at this time to judge the rights and wrongs of the dispute between the United Federation of Teachers and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district, it is apparent that the issues are far more complex than is implied by the simplistic assertion that "due process" was at stake for New York teachers. It is certain that the traditional defenses relied upon by the United Federation of Teachers have widened the breach between the ghetto community and the union, and, indeed, between members of the union itself.

Local 189 therefore urges that:

(1) The pages of The American Teacher be opened to a full-fledged airing of the issues highlighted by the UFT-Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation, with direct invitations to participate in the discussions sent to both non-striking teachers and members of the suspended local board.

(2) The proposed national conference on decentralization guidelines include as full participants the principal figures in the New York City dispute, as well as legislators familiar with the lobbying activities of the UFT at the time the decentralization bill was under consideration.

(3) The efforts of the AFT be ~~primarily~~ in the direction of trying to achieve true understanding of the aspirations of the ghetto communities as the first step towards resolving the conflicts certain to arise as more and more demands for neighborhood control of urban schools are made.

Submitted by: Wells Keddie

Al Wickman
Joyce Miller
Lynne McCarver
Geo Dartzman
Charlie Weber
Reitt
Leff
Green
Stuart Broch
Pakly
Joan Tierney
Mint
J. Robison

Joe. Schlitt
Flaherty
Starr
Remsen
Rosen
Wolf
Silvey
Polaricus
Glazer
Ray McDonald
Ruth Winch
Steve May

John ~~[illegible]~~ Thalmeyer Dept of Commerce EDA
Office of Public Affs
Frank Lyons friend & successor
now in Commerce Dept as econ assist. to Commerce

File AFT #189

ELECTION RESULTS
WORKERS EDUCATION LOCAL 189, AFT

Regional Exec Bd Reps.

PRESIDENT (1)

* Stanley Rosen	100
6 Write-ins	11

VICE PRESIDENTS (4)

* James Wolfe	101
* Stuart Brock	93
* C.J. Slanicka	57
* Prince Moon	55
Saul Nesselroth	51
William Elkuss	46
2 Write-ins	2

RECORDING SECRETARY (1)

* Joan Suarez	110
2 Write-ins	2

TREASURER (1)

* Owen Tapper	117

DELEGATES TO THE AFT CONVENTION (5)

* Owen Tapper	108
* James Wolfe	103
* Stanley Rosen	96
* Joan Suarez	90
* Paula Paley	77
Prince Moon	52
Higdon Roberts	35
9 Write-ins	17

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

YES --	96
NO --	32
VOID --	1

July 19, 1968

* indicates elected

POTOMAC (1)

* Marvin Rogoff	31
Joe Glazer	29
Chris Piluras	25
Stephen Cook	20
Earl J. Kipp	3

SOUTHEAST (1)

* Jim Robinson	58
Frank Duggan	25
Write-in	1

PACIFIC (1)

* Jack Blackburn	47
Ted Ruhig	43

GREAT LAKES (1)

* Paula Paley	50
Frank Lyons	43
Eugene DeGroot	7
Write-ins	2

MIDWEST (1)

* Keith Kuause	73
Write-ins	2

MOUNTAIN (1)

* Al Wickman	84
Write-in	1

NORTHEAST (1)

New election -- tie

A BEGINNING BIBLIOGRAPHY -- LARGELY UNEVALUATED

I. The South, general with some economic emphasis

COLBERG, Marshall R. Human Capital in Southern Development, 1939-1963. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966. 135 pp.

COLE, Taylor and John H. Hallowell., eds. The Southern Political Scene, 1938-1948. Reprinted from The Journal of Politics, University of Florida: Gainesville, Fla. V. 10, nos. 2-3, 1948.

Includes "Recent Economic Developments in the South" by B. U. Ratchford, plus articles by Howard Odum, Carl Swisher, Cortez Ewing, and H. Clarence Nixon.

FORD, Thomas, ed. The Southern Applachian Region: A Survey. University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, Ky., 1962. 308 pp.

GREENHUT, Melvin L. and W. Tate Whitman, eds. Essays in Southern Economic Development. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, N. C., 1964. 498 pp.

LEISERSON, Avery, ed. The American South in the 1960's. Praeger Paperbacks: New York, 1964. 242 pp.

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Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Readings in Southern Finance.

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II. Farm and Rural Problems

BURCHINAL, Lee G., ed. Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths, and Social Change. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Washington, D. C., 1963. 395 pp.

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Alabama Department of Industrial Relations and Unemployment Compensation Agency. Reasons for Alabama's Unemployed. Montgomery, Ala., 1965. 23 pp.

BORUS, Michael E. "The Cost of Retraining the Hard-core Unemployed." Labor Law Journal, 16:9, September 1965.

CHAMPAGNE, Joseph E. The Attitudes and Motivation of Southern Under-privileged Workers. South Carolina Committee for Technical Education, Research Report No. 1, Columbia, S. C., 1966.

OTT, James Roy, Jr. Employment Trends in the Textile Industry. State of Tennessee, Department of Employment Security: Nashville, Tenn., 1959. 114 pp.

WHITLOCK, James W. and Billy J. Williams. Jobs and Training for Southern Youth. Center for Southern Education Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers: Nashville, Tenn. ____. 35 pp.

U. S. Department of Labor. Employment and Earnings. v. 12:7, January 1966. 79 pp. Includes Employment, unemployment, hours and earnings, labor turnover, and state and area statistics. Periodically available.

_____. Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training. Transmitted to the Congress March 1966. 229 pp.

_____. "A Portrait of the Unemployed." Monthly Labor Review, 89:1, January 1966, pp. 7-14.

IV. Automation and Technological Change

HABER, William, Louis A. Ferman, and James R. Hudson. The Impact of Technological Change. The Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1963. 62 pp.

U. S. Department of Labor. Manpower Implications of Automation. 1965. 8 pp.

V. Negro Employment

"The Negro American." Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 94:4, Fall 1965. 1166 pp.

HIESTAND, Dale L. Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities. Columbia University Press: New York, N. Y., 1964. 124 pp.

NORTHRUP, Herbert R. and Richard L. Rowan, eds. The Negro and Employment Opportunity. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, Mich., 1965. 411 pp.

* * *

Bill Garg
IUE Civ Rts.

APT II/189

RESOLUTIONS

BI-ANNUAL MEETING

Growth in both programs and personnel in the field of labor education has resulted in growth in membership in Local #189, AFT, during the past several years. Growth has made communication and exchange of ideas between labor educators on a regular basis increasingly important.

Local #189 is now beginning to seek ways of helping to fill this void As a beginning step, a system of "task force" committees were established by the Executive Board to examine both internal operations and the broader aspects of improving the field of labor education. These committees, composed of a sizeable number of Local #189, met during the Winter Executive Board meeting in Washington, D.C. in January, 1966. The results of this new committee system were exciting and pointed up the possibilities of fruitfully expanding the membership activities of Local #189.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, the annual membership meeting of Local #189 now be expanded in the following manner:

1. An annual membership business meeting to be held in conjunction with the annual meetings of the AFL-CIO Education Directors and the ULEA in the Spring of the year.
2. An Annual membership weekend workshop and to be held during the winter in conjunction with the annual Executive Board meeting of Local #189, said workship to continue the exploration of new and improved "ideas" for the field of labor education.

AFT CONFERENCE

WHEREAS, the AFT is sponsoring a conference on "RACISM AND THE SCHOOLS" December 10, 1966 in Washington, D.C. (This program will be headed by Professor John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago, and Arthur Reese, AFT Freedom Schools Director. Other labor and civil rights leaders will participate).

LOCAL 189, therefore, goes on record in support of the purposes of this conference and offers its assistance in publicity, recruitment and administration of the conference.

AND, that the Washington Chapter be notified to make contact with the AFT on this matter.

SUPPORT OF AFT ADMINISTRATION

During the past two years the American Federation of Teachers under the leadership of President Charles Cogen, has made outstanding progress. Total membership has increased by more than 20%. Publications have been improved in content and format. Research facilities have been expanded and revitalized. State federations have been strengthened. Teacher collective bargaining has advanced. The relationship between the AFT and other unions has been deepened and made more meaningful. A sound and imaginative financial program has provided a firm underpinning for expanded AFT activity, therefore be it

RESOLVED that Local 189 supports the program of the incumbent administration and that local delegates to the 1966 AFT Convention consider this support when voting in the AFT presidential election.

SPECIAL COPE PROJECT

In order to participate in a meaningful way in the 1966 Congressional elections,

LOCAL 189 goes on record in selecting for support Representative John J. Gilligan, Congressman for The First Congressional District of Ohio, as our special candidate.

This Congressional election is especially important since Gilligan whose seat will be hotly contested by Robert Taft, Jr., has a record of liberalism and political independence.

WE, THEREFORE, appoint Jim Wolfe to coordinate a campaign to solicit the membership of Local 189 for COPE contributions in support of Representative Gilligan and that this money be gathered and presented to Representative Gilligan in an appropriate ceremony.

TEACHER-UNION EDUCATOR COOPERATION

WHEREAS, organizing is a major concern of the AFT; and

WHEREAS, Local 189 members could help in many ways, such as getting the case for teacher unionism to union members and others, and

WHEREAS, teachers are an excellent source of speakers and information for local unions or AFL-CIO state and central bodies who wish to discuss problems of public education; and

WHEREAS, Local 189 could be a valuable resource to teachers who wish to discuss the labor movement in new courses; and

WHEREAS, local AFT chapters may wish to draw on the experience of labor educators in developing union building activities and materials,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the executive boards of the AFT and of Local 189 seek ways to develop greater cooperation and joint activities.
2. That the executive board of AFT explore the possibilities of offering a resolution to The 1966 AFT Convention on this matter.

AFT WORK IN CENTRAL BODIES

WHEREAS: - The Labor Movement has a continuing need for education because of the complexities of our society, and

WHEREAS, the members of the AFT are equiped to train workers for leadership in their Unions and the Community, now therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that AFT Local 189 calls upon the AFT to encourage the affiliated Local Unions to take an active part in the affairs of the City Central bodies, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFT Locals encourage the formation of active education committees in City Central Bodies and that AFT members volunteer their services.

16 YEARS OF FREE EDUCATION

WHEREAS, The advance of automation has eliminated and will continue to eliminate millions of jobs now and formerly performed by working people, and

WHEREAS, New categories of jobs requiring varying degrees of advanced education are being continuously created, and

WHEREAS, Income levels of working people in this country are generally too low to permit them to finance higher education for their children, and,

WHEREAS, State funds, private funds, scholarships and charity cannot begin to meet the need for the education of millions of children on the post high school level,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO call upon the Congress of the United States to pass such legislation as will guarantee the equivalent of sixteen years of education to all children at no tuition costs to their families, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that Congress be called upon to appropriate such funds as are necessary to construct colleges and junior colleges and staff and equip these institutions to carry out the purposes of this resolution, and be it

16 YEARS OF FREE EDUCATION (continued)

FURTHER RESOLVED that the AFT seek the support of the AFL-CIO and all its subordinate bodies and departments for this purpose, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that a full campaign toward the ends of this resolution be prepared to win the support of the American People.

CONSTITUTION CHANGES

Constitution changes are voted by the membership meeting (majority) and ratified by membership - (majority of mail ballot).

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP

(New Section)

The dues for a member of Local 189 who is a student shall be 40 cents a month. A student shall be defined as an undergraduate or graduate college student currently engaged in workers education as defined by Local 189, a student aspiring to a career in workers education; or a student on leave from college engaged in workers education in the civil rights movement, Peace Corps, VISTA, or in similar organizations or movements. A student member shall enjoy all rights of any other member of Local 189, including joining a chapter, forming a chapter and running for office in his chapter or in Local 189.

	1963 Dues Structure			1966 Dues: Three Approaches								
	PRESENT			MODIFICATION of 1963			FLAT RATE			½ PER CENT OF INCOME		
	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Monthly Rate	No. Members	TOTAL	Average Rate	No. Members	TOTAL
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
All Groups		210	$4,683		210	$7,500		210	$9,224		210	$9,940
AA Collective Bargaining Rate	4.00	14	672	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840	5.00	14	840
Standard Dues (Annual Income												
A $14,000 and over	—	—	—	4.50	10	540				5.80	13	910
B $12,000 - $13,999	—	—	—	4.00	23	1,104				5.40	24	1,560
C $10,000 - $11,999	2.50	78	2,220	3.50	48	2,016	4.00	163	7,724	4.60	59	3,245
D $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	2.00	25	504	3.00	38	900				3.70	38	1,710
E Less than $8,000	1.50	21	378	2.50	21	630				2.90	29	1,015
Representation												
A1 $14,000 and over				3.75	3	135						
B1 $12,000 - $13999				3.25	4	156						
C1 $10,000 - $11,999	1.75	18	357	2.75	11	363						
D1 $ 8,000 - $ 9,999	1.25	7	90	2.25	5	135						
E1 Less than $8,000	.75	1	9	1.75	1	21						
Special Rates												
F AFT	.75	22	198	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528	2.00	22	528
G Retired	.75	11	99	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132	1.00	11	132
H Part Time	1.00	13	156	—	—	—	—	—	-	—	—	—

The new language is indicated here by all caps;
Language deleted is indicated by crossing out.

Article XI - Dues

Section 1. Collective Bargaining Membership

All members for whom Local 189 is recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining representative, shall pay a dues of ~~$48 per year ($4 per month)~~ $5 PER MONTH.

Section 2. Professional Membership

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for members working at a full time job, other than those who pay under Section 1, above, shall be as follows:

$14,000 OR MORE ANNUAL SALARY	~~$4.50~~	5.00
$12,000 to $13,999 ANNUAL SALARY	~~$4.00~~	5.00
$10,000 to $11,999 annual salary	~~$30~~	$3.50
$8,000 to $9,999 annual salary	~~$24~~	$3.00
Below $8,000 annual salary	~~$18~~	$2.50

The schedule is subject to the following adjustments:

a) Membership in other unions.

A member of Local 189 holding membership in another union which is recognized by the employer to represent him shall pay ~~$9.00 per year~~ 75¢ PER MONTH less than the annual dues schedule given in this section. This sub-section does not apply to a member of Local 189 holding membership in another union that is not recognized to represent him.

b) Membership in other AFT locals.

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a member of Local 189 paying full dues to another AFT local shall be ~~$9 per year~~ ~~$2~~ $1 per month.

~~c) Part-Time employees~~

~~The annual dues for a member of Local 189 employed part-time and holding no full-time job shall be $12 per year.~~

~~d)~~ c) Retired members.

The ~~annual~~ MONTHLY dues for a retired member of Local 189 shall be ~~$9 per year~~ $1 PER MONTH

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AFL-CIO

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59. **How to Organize a Credit Union for Union Teachers.** 6 pp. Seventeen questions and answers concerning teacher union credit unions. **$2.00 per 100.**

RESEARCH STUDIES ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS

62. **A Brief Review of Certain Current Thoughts that Affect Curriculum and Teachers.** Covers curricula areas of social science, consumer education, industrial education, and reading. **$ .15 per copy.**

64. **A Sample Study of Teachers' Freedom of Choice in Joining Professional Organizations.** A review of the opinions of officials in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. **$ .10 per copy.**

65. **A Sample Study of the 1961 Legislative Goals of Certain State Federations.** Research study reviews current goals of 21 state federations. **$ .15 per copy.**

66. **A Summary of Districts Providing Fringe Benefits for Teachers.** Revised. A study of districts providing fringe benefits including for: sick leave, severance pay, health insurance policies, teacher retirement programs, sabbatical leave, maternity leave, funeral leave, military leave, and Federal social security benefits. **$ .25 per copy.**

67. **Atypical Children in American Education.** Study of the presence and placement of atypical children in American schools as related through authorities in the field. **$ .15 per copy.**

68. **Current Fears of Teachers.** Study of the economic, social, legal, physical, and moral fears of teachers. **$ .20 per copy.**

69. **Discipline During the Age of the New Frontier.** Reviews various state regulations concerning school discipline, relating the study to modern life and education. **$ .15 per copy.**

70. **Discipline—What For and How?** By Mary Herrick. An interpretation of discipline. **$ .20 per copy.**

71. **Evaluation of Personnel Practices.** Reviews code of fair administrative practices approved by the AFT. Covers such items as personnel handbooks, superintendents' communications, grievance procedures, defined school day, ethics, and transfer policies. A sequel to Personnel Relations for Teachers. **$ .20 per copy.**

72. **Payroll Deduction.** An AFT Principle. Samples of payroll deduction forms. **$ .25 per copy.**

73. **Financial Comparisons of Public Schools by States.** Four approaches to financial comparisons of public schools. **$ .10 per copy.**

74. **Fiscal Independence Versus Fiscal Dependence of School Boards.** 32 pp. Research study, the first of its kind to cover major school districts in America. Practice of school districts on such subjects as school levies, school bonds, school elections, and school indebtedness. **$ .25 per copy.**

75. **How the School Dollar is Spent in Our Larger Cities.** Research study concerning the amount of the school dollar allocated to administration, instruction, maintenance, plant operation, other school services, transportation, and fixed charges. **$ .10 per copy.**

76. **Per Pupil Cost in Representative Districts of America.** Revised. Research study giving cost variations of pupils between elementary and secondary schools. **$ .50 per copy.**

80. **The Teacher and Curricular Thoughts.** A sequel to a A Brief of Certain Current Thoughts that Affect Curriculum and Teachers. The study is particularly interested in teacher participation in curriculum planning and adequate concern for the curriculum planning for college-bound students. **$ .20 per copy.**

82. **Necessity for Student Grouping in the Public Schools.** 16 pp. Describes various kinds of classroom groupings used in public schools, their good and bad points, and the need for grouping for adequate learning. **$ .25 per copy.**

83. **Superintendents' Salaries.** Research study evaluating salary-wise relationship to the teacher. **$ .20 per copy.**

84. **Survey of 1964 Teachers' Salaries, September.** Research study of school districts over 10,000. **$2.00 per copy.** (Prior studies available at $ .35 each).

86. **Teacher Aides.** Research study of current "helps" in the classroom. **$ .15 per copy.**

88. **Television—Tool for Education or Substitute.** Research review of issues created through this medium. **$ .25 per copy.**

89. **The Defined School Year.** Research review and issues involved. **$ .20 per copy.**

90. **The Limitation of Class Size.** Research review of historical studies in this area. **$ .25 per copy.**

91. **The Teacher and Automation.** Research review by several authorities. **$ .25 per copy.**

92. **The Teacher and General Education.** Research review of the subject. **$ .20 per copy.**

93. **The Teacher and Grievance Procedures.** Research review of established procedures. **$ .25 per copy.**

95. **Reforms Needed in the Selection of Textbooks.** 24 pp. Research study on current adoption practices, suggested improvements, recommendations. **$ .30 per copy.**

144. **The Teacher and Medicare.** Provides information on health and medical care issues. Includes facts concerning practices in other nations. **$ .15 per copy.**

145. **Examples of Presentations to Boards of Education.** Lists current practices. **$ .50 per copy.**

147. **Current Status of Teacher Tenure.** Reviews tenure laws as well as continuing contract laws. Suggested tenure bill included. **$ .50 per copy.**

148. **Urgently Needed, a Program to Provide Adequate Finances.** Gives detailed breakdown of the 50 state tax programs, with suggested improvements. **$ .20 per copy.**

149. **Shared Time.** Review of the new teaching principle. **$ .20 per copy.**

150. **The Length of the School Day.** Review of various authorities' opinions with samplings from locals. **$ .50 per copy.**

151. **School Dropouts.** A research study on the problem. **$ .50 per copy.**

152. **A Tentative Summary Report for an Effective School Program in Urban Centers.** **$ .50 each. $25.00 per 100.**

AFT SUPPLIES

96.	AFT Seal	$ 7.25 each
97.	AFT Seal and Stamp	8.35 each
98.	AFT Pins and Buttons, gold filled	.55 each 6.00 dozen 48.00 per 100
99.	Past President Pins, gold filled	1.50 each
101.	Charter Member Pins, gold plated	1.00 each
102.	Charter Member Pins, 10k gold filled	1.25 each
103.	Charter Member Pins, 10k gold	4.50 each
104.	AFT Pins and Buttons, gold	3.50 each
105.	AFT (tin) Pins	.05 each
106.	AFT Medallions, gold filled	2.00 each
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108.	AFT Earrings	2.75 pair
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116.	AFT Ball Point Pens	.35 each
117.	Napkins and Placemats	2.00 per 100 sets
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119.	AFT Ledger Cards	.80 per 100
120.	Honorable Withdrawal Cards	.50 per 100
121.	AFT Membership Cards	.50 per 100
122.	AFT Membership Application Cards	.35 per 100
123.	AFT Ash Trays	.75 each

Use Order Blank Inside

Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

Financial Report

	1963	1964	1965
Opening balance, January 1st	$2,400.28	$2,844.88	$2,352.47
INCOME			
Membership	(185)	(142)	(221)
Dues	$3,153.50	$3,210.00	$4,505.00
COPE donations		33.50	
Collected at Socials	80.00		
Winter Board Meeting Income			217.00
Donations received, ICFTU	60.00	28.50	9.00
" " , ERAP-SDS		30.00	
Total Income	$3,293.50	$3,302.00	$4,731.00
EXPENDITURES			
AFT per capita rate	(.67)	(.65)	(.75)
AFT per capita	$1,328.61	$1,187.21	$1,765.25
Supplies & Duplicating	564.88	263.12	362.08
Postage	244.04	216.13	345.38
Clerical help	86.00	97.70	60.00
Viewpoints	363.48	314.20	358.45
Newsletter		125.15	261.26
Directory		264.14	320.15
Salary Survey		70.00	105.20
Per capita to Chapters		179.00	232.25
Annual Membership Meeting	155.64	147.76	201.89
Winter Executive Board Meeting			419.43
Internship: Scholarship			800.00
Travel			209.70
Publicity			469.76
AFT Convention, travel		50.00	
Labor Press Assoc. Membership		50.00	
Donations: ICFTU	60.00		
ERAP-SDS		530.00	
St.Louis AFT Local		200.00	
ADA	10.00		
Hilda Smith book		100.00	
Selma			180.00
Calif. Farm Workers			100.00
Dues Refund	27.00		
Flowers	9.25		
Total Expenditures	$2,848.90	$3,794.41	$6,190.80
Closing Balance, December 31st	$2,844.88	$2,352.47	$ 892.67
DEFENSE FUND: Balance, Dec.31st	$1,031.95	$1,069.56	$1,103.17

Holgate Young, Financial Sec.
Local 189, AFT

TYPICAL OPERATING COSTS FOR NEXT FEW YEARS

Expense Items		Total	Per Memb.	Per Month
Affiliation with AFT - 188 memb. (@8.04 $1,512)		$2,520	12.00	1.00
@12.00 $2,520				
(increase $1,008)				
Local 189 Program				
*Collective Bargaining Defense ($2 per mo. from CB dues)	$350.00			
Viewpoints, 1 issue per year	400.00			
*Newsletter, 4 issues per year	400.00			
*Directory, 1 issue per year	300.00			
*Internship - publicity & forms	500.00			
scholarship	800.00			
travel cost	300.00			
*Chapter per capita @3.00	300.00			
Annual Meeting	200.00			
*Salary Survey	200.00			
Donations	400.00			
Dues collection - supplies & duplicating	400.00			
postage	250.00			
clerical	200.00			
total	$5,000.00	5,000	24.00	2.00
Total		$7,520	$36.00	$3.00

* changes since 1963.

Current Staff Union Dues

Council of Industrial Organizers (IUE Staff)	10.00 per month
CWA Staff union	10.00 per month
Local 35, ANG (1.2% of salary) about	12.00 per month
Local 2, AFT (New York City)	5.00 per month
Local 189, AFT (Collective Bargaining)	4.00 per month
Local 189, AFT (maximum professional)	2.50 per month

A G E N D A

1 ROLL CALL OF OFFICERS

2 MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

3 FINANCIAL REPORT

4 CHAPTER REPORTS (West Virginia, Chicago, Washington & IUE)

5 AFT REPORT

6 INTERNSHIP AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES REPORT

7 CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

8 NOMINATION COMMITTEE

9 RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

10 NEW BUSINESS

Pres Wolf
Henry
Brook
K. Pot and Sering
VP Bratten
Liberthal
Sec'y Rogers
Tr
Trustees
Tilyou
Wishnow
Shaley
Slovito
Stein
Rosenstein

AFT 189

C-O-P-Y

The ballots on the proposed amendments to the Local 189 Constitution have been received, counted and certified in accordance with prescribed rules and procedures. The results are as follows:

120 Ballot envelopes received

1 Void ballot - voter's name not on mailing envelope

119 Ballots opened and counted

1. ARTICLE IV, SECTION 3 - OFFICERS

"Yes" (for the proposed language) - 90

"No" (to retain the present language) - 29

Void - 0

2. ARTICLE V, SECTION 2.B - EXECUTIVE BOARD

"Yes" (for the proposed language) - 90

"No" (to retain the present language) - 29

Void - 0

Certified By:

/S/_____
Dennis W. Muehl, Chairman
Local 189 Elections Committee

/S/_____
Peter R. Gregan, Committeeman

/S/_____
Lawrence J. Ahern, Committeeman

AFT-189

STATEMENTS OF CANDIDATES

OFFICE: PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: JOAN SUAREZ

STATEMENT: Joan Suarez, Candidate for President of Local 189; Education Director for the S.W. Regional Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers since 1964; previously served Local 189 as a Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and the Labor Education Internship Committee.

As worker education programs grow in both unions and universities, I believe Local 189 takes on increased responsibility in serving both professional and collective bargaining needs of its membership. During a term in office, I would like to pursue proposals for worker education techniques conferences throughout the country, possible expansion of the labor education internship program, continued and expanded relationships with youth and equal rights movements and continued experimentation with such projects as COSPIRO.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: PRINCE MOON

STATEMENT: For two years I was a staff member of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan and Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

The duties of this position were to coordinate the labor programs, teach classes in the Worker's Basic Study Program and handle the various administrative duties.

Also, during that period, I taught classes for the Michigan State University Labor Program and University of Wisconsin School for Workers, Madison Campus.

I resigned from Wayne State University in October, 1968 to accept the post of Education Director for Region 1-E, UAW. The responsibility of this position is to coordinate educational classes, programs, seminars and conferences for 31 Local Unions which represents more than 74,060 members.

It is my opinion that the role of Local 189 should be to decide whether we want to be an association or a union. If 189 is to be a union, then we should set a sound regional structure to project our planning to include Collective Bargaining.

I am aware of the problems that the Local would face in bargaining with Universities and other agencies. I am also equally aware that Unions have survived against overwhelming odds in the past. However, with some imagination and innovation we can accomplish goals that in the past were imaginary.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: ANNE C. GREEN

STATEMENT: Current position: Education Associate, International Chemical Workers Union
Past Labor Education Experience: CWA Materials Project
Education: MA, University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations

Within Local 189, discussion and presentation of ideas on content and methods of Labor Education are readily available to every labor educator. For an inexperienced person, this forum atmosphere is an invaluable source of knowledge. This important function is performed uniquely by 189 without operating within a series of constraints imposed by non-educational interests. Obviously 189 should strive to inform all persons involved in labor education, whether inexperienced or experienced, of the

local's availability, in order to continue successfully in this function. I shall continue as membership chairman and with the help of the Executive Board, and all members, attempt to increase 189's membership. Local 189 should also continue with its exploration of forming a council with other unions representing union employees for the purpose of exchanging information. If reelected to the position of Local 189 Vice President, I will work with the Executive Board and 189 members to promote the interests of Local 189 and its members.

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: WELLS KEDDIE

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

OFFICE: VICE PRESIDENT

CANDIDATE: STUART BROCK

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

OFFICE: RECORDING SECRETARY

CANDIDATE: BARBARA FIFIELD

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED'

OFFICE: RECORDING SECRETARY

CANDIDATE: ALLEN B. MORRISON

STATEMENT: Director of Education, United Papermakers and Paperworkers
Education: University of Utah.

Workers Education Local 189 offers a media of expression and exchange -- a platform from which new and controversial ideas can permeate without the restrictions of non-educational interests. The continuation of this atmosphere, in my belief, will continue to enhance labor education.

Many pressing issues and responsibilities must be confronted during the next year by the Executive Board and membership of Local 189. Among them is included the continual examination and reexamination of 189's position with regard to serving as a collective bargaining agent. The importance and magnitude of this question cannot and should not be minimized. The time has come for 189 to set up all the necessary machinery in order to serve its membership, where desired, in collective bargaining. The development of these procedures will not be easy. Many obstacles still lie in our path, but it can and must be done.

If elected to the office of Recording Secretary of Local 189, I will do all within my power to guide and assist this local to achieve the wants of its constituency.

OFFICE: FINANCIAL SECRETARY

CANDIDATE: OWEN TAPPER

STATEMENT: Currently Assistant Director for Education, Institute for Labor Studies, West Virginia University. Formerly with School for Workers, The University of Wisconsin.

Bargaining, for the most part, for university and union labor educators (as a separate unit) is impractical. It is impractical because of the lack of sufficient power. Local 189 should devote its efforts to developing alternatives, i.e., job referral systems, salary surveys -- even arbitration of grievances where and if possible.

Local 189, apparently, needs to be the organization that has a major responsibility for educating (liberally) labor educators. The other two existing organizations are more policy conscious -- which is fine. But it does leave labor educators without a sense of "what's happening" in the world. In this respect, Local 189 already does more than the other two organizations.

During the next year, if Local 189, in addition to those programs already operating, can initiate, perhaps sponsor, several regional teaching technique conferences, then the year can be termed successful.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: ROGER V. SNOW, JR.

STATEMENT: I have been head of the labor education program at the University of Maine since December 1967. We operate a growing program for members of labor organizations which includes tool courses such as techniques of collective bargaining and labor law, and also programs designed to inform and involve members of the labor movement in the life of their community and state.

My own union background is limited to 6 years as a member of the Newspaper Guild in the Portland area. During this 6 years I served as the vice president of the union and as its chief organizer and was successful in organizing and winning an election at a daily newspaper in Augusta, Maine. I hold a Bachelor's degree from Williams College. Among a variety of community and state responsibilities, are included 2 terms as a member of the state Senate, during one of which I served as chairman of the state legislative education committee, with memberships on a variety of other committees. I have been active in United Community Services work, the Boy Scouts, Dollars for Scholars and numerous other community projects.

My chief interest in Local 189 relates to helping it maintain stature as an organization able to improve the quality and timeliness of labor education efforts, both by university educators and by union educators.

I am married and have 4 children ranging in age from 13 to 7.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: GEREL RUBIEN

STATEMENT: Education: Graduate of the Columbia University School of Journalism. M.A. in economic history from Columbia University Graduate School.

As Educational Director in Local 62, ILGWU, where I have been for 20 years, I am responsible for educational programs with members, classes and many social events.

Am editor of Local 62's paper which covers an entire industry in the metropolitan area of New York City.

Have done a good deal of political work through the union, lobbying both in ALBANY and WASHINGTON. Have worked to form pressure groups in circles outside the trade union movement, of persons friendly to various measures labor backs. Was sent

by AFL-CIO in cooperation with HEW to Florida on 5 occasions to rally public opinion 1) for Medicare passage, 2) for pressure on Congressman of the area to raise Social Security payments.

Was former president of the Women's Trade Union League, where I did a good deal of lobbying, dissolving League in the '50's as case of mission accomplished, unions being able to handle their own organizational, educational and political activities.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: CHARLES DAVIS

STATEMENT: Education: Adelphi College, B.A., 1952 (English)
University of Missouri, M.A., 1966 (Political Science)
Interests: Industrial Relations, Comparative Labor Movements, Politics of Pressure Groups; Interrelations of Poverty, Civil Rights, Job Development and Organized Labor.

Local 189 should function as an effective forum for new ideas and approaches in the labor movement. It should not serve as a collective bargaining agent. It has no staff and usually cannot produce support. Negatively, at best, it might be able to serve as a protest vehicle in the event one of its members receives unfair treatment from an employer. This requires stated professional standards and rights.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: SUMNER M. ROSEN

STATEMENT: Biographical data:
1965-68, Director of Education and Career Development, District Council 37, AFSCME, New York; developed upgrading programs for workers.
1968-69, Director of Research, New Careers Development Center, New York University; IRRA paper on union-management cooperation in field of career development.
Since October, 1969, director of experimental upgrading program for workers in private industry supported by U.S. Department of Labor, and administered by Institute of Public Administration in New York.
Author of chapter on CIO period in Jacobson, ed., The Negro and the American Labor Movement, 1968.
Member, Mayor's Organizational Task Force on Comprehensive Health Planning.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: BILL KENSLEY

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: CONNIE KOPELOV

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- NORTHEAST

CANDIDATE: ELEANOR G. COIT

STATEMENT: My entire professional life was spent in labor education, except for one year as a field-worker for the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor and short periods for research jobs on women in industry and workers' education abroad.

My major job was that of Director of the American Labor Education Service (1934-1962), a national labor education organization, which functioned in all parts of the United States.

ALES work offered many types of service: setting up resident schools (as, for example, for the study of the U.N. and international issues, and a school for white-collar workers -- White-Collar Workshops); conferences on the role of labor in the community, problems of older workers, questions of urban development, and on current economic affairs, as well as conferences to bring together professional labor educators for the consideration of their common problems.

ALES also organized demonstration centers, sending a staff member to work with unions in various cities and sections of the country, for a period of up to two and a half years.

ALES pioneered in many fields, including labor education with white-collar workers, education to combat discrimination, the study of international affairs, projects on farmer-labor relationships, and the preparation of material for workers' classes.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- MIDWEST

CANDIDATE: MIKE RYAN

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- BELT LINE

CANDIDATE: PETER R. GREGAN

STATEMENT: I am, currently, Program Coordinator, Akron Regional Office, Labor Education and Research Service - The Ohio State University. Previous positions: Labor Education Specialist, Labor Education Program, University of Missouri - Columbia, Western Representative, Labor Studies Department, the Pennsylvania State University. Prior to entering Labor Education, a teacher of social studies for eight years. A former member of A.F.T. Local 337 and Secretary of the local for two terms; and a member of the Laborer's International Union of North America.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- GREAT LAKES

CANDIDATE: PAUL BOOTH

STATEMENT: I joined 189 with a group of SDS "alumni" interested in community organizing back in 1965, and subsequently went to work for the Packinghouse Workers as Research Director, joining the Research Department of the Meat Cutters at the time of the merger. This past year I've been engaged in some trade union studies as a Fellow of the Adlai Stevenson Institute, Chicago. As a member of the Executive Board I could contribute the viewpoint of the younger "activist" members.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- POTOMAC

CANDIDATE: HARRY KRANZ

STATEMENT: Member of AFT 189 for over 20 years; also member of AFGE local at U.S. Department of labor for past nine years, have been with Federal government positions responsible for devising and implementing human resource programs involving training of staff and of the disadvantaged; previously, 13 years with UAW International and with New Jersey State CIO. Interested in increasing AFT activities with youth, disadvantaged, minorities. Concerned about status quo attitudes in government, universities and labor movement.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- SOUTHERN

CANDIDATE: EMORY F. VIA

STATEMENT: Currently Director of Resources Development Center, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta. Formerly (for nine years) with the School for Workers at The University of Wisconsin.

Emory Via also was the Field Program Director at Roosevelt University for a number of years, he was the Field Program Leader of the Georgia Workers Education Service and was the Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Labor Education Association.

He feels that Local 189 should encourage the expansion of labor education in the South both in Unions and Universities.

OFFICE: REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- WESTERN

CANDIDATE: OLIVER McMILLAN

STATEMENT: NONE SUBMITTED

APT 189

MOTION #1 - EXECUTIVE BOARD PROCEDURE

MOTION: That the Executive Board authorize the President to follow the following procedure for Executive Board Meetings recognizing that it is extremely difficult for the Board, as a body, to meet together with regularity.

1. MEETING - The President will schedule Executive Board Meetings whenever possible and 12 Executive Board members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

2. MOTIONS WHEN A MEETING IS NOT POSSIBLE - When it is not possible to obtain a quorum, motions may be adopted in the following manner:

   a. Members of the Board may submit motions to the President for action by the Board.
   b. The President will call a meeting of members of the Executive Board for the purpose of discussing motions or other business which may be required. Members of the Board shall be present to consider and discuss the motion.
   c. A summary of the discussion and the views of those present is then to be mailed to members of the Board along with the motion in mail ballot form.
   d. The result of the vote and the comments of members of the Board is then sent to the members of the Board before action on the motion is considered final.

EFR
Yes

Keep this portion

MOTION #2 - SPRING MEETING DATES

MOTION #2: That Local 189 concurs with ULEA on the spring meeting dates (May 5 - 7, 1971) in Washington, D. C. and that Local 189 will hold its meeting on May 5.

570 yes

keep this portion

AFT 189

Please send in corrections

PRELIMINARY

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
Local 189, AFT

OFFICERS

President

Joan Suarez, 535 Clemens Drive, Florissant, Mo. 63033
Phone: Office (314) 241-0018, Home (314) 838-8118

Vice Presidents

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Recording Secretary

Barbara Fifield, 179 Thatcher St., Milton, Mass. 02187
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Financial Secretary

Owen Tapper, 580 Spruce Street, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505
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REGIONAL BOARD MEMBERS

Potomac

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Northeast

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Beltline

Peter R. Gregan, 5 E Buchtel St. #306, Akron, Ohio 44308
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Western

Oliver McMillan, 1622 N. Lombard, Portland, Oregon 97217
Phone: Office (503) 285-5281, Home (503) 645-2672

Southern

Emory F. Via, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Phone: Office (404) 522-8764, Home (404) 378-0340

CHAPTER MEMBERS

IUE

To be chosen.

Florida

To be chosen.

Kentucky

Henry Lake, 706 E. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40202
Phone: Office (520) 583-7761, Home (502) 447-5942

Minnesota

Martin Duffy, 2318 Cedarwood Ridge, Minnetonka Village, Minn. 55343
Phone: Office (612) 373-4110, Home (612) 554-3443

Missouri

John J. Mikrut, Jr., 1004 Elm, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 65201. Phone: Office (314) 449-9171, Ext. 355, Home (314) 445-7379

Ohio

To be chosen.

Washington, D.C.

To be chosen.

West Virginia

Wendell W. Drake, P.O. Box 2711, Charleston, W.Va. 25330
Phone: Office (304) 343-7608, Home (304) 722-3512

OAT/dn
9/10/70

file

To: All State Councils on Human Relations

From: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council

By now you have probably seen a copy of the enclosed Federationist (published by the AFL-CIO).

Would you be interested in extra copies?

For: Unions and union leaders -- many do not subscribe to the magazine

Persons interested in civil rights who should know of labor's similar interest

General informational purposes.

Within some limits I can provide you with extra copies free of charge on a first come first serve basis.

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Please send me 150 copies of the November Federationist.

Signed R. L. Crumb

Organization

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
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November 17, 1966

Dear Friend:

I thought you would find the attached copy of the November issue of the Federationist interesting reading.

We hope that it will contribute to greater understanding of today's problems in the area of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DS:cr

Enclosure

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Dear Slater

Emory,
I certainly was glad to get this copy and to read the Nov issue of the Federationist. It's been on loan ever since I've rec'd and read it.
Incredible how ugly the disparity between our white & Negro cultures becomes when those charst show the difference. My first reaction is Thank god , I'm white. Bad enough having a "foreign name" but at leas race doesn't mitigate against me

Hope you, Margaret, and David have continued to enjoy Atlanta. Will you be in Atlanta until July of '67 I was in Atlanta the night before Thanksgiving-on my way to Athens-&called you all. Sorry I missed s seeing you.

I'm in the throws of cleaning the rubble of student papers off my desk, recording grades, & getting ready to leave for Minneapolis. I'l be at the Conrad Hilton in Chicago Dec 26-31 - you aren't by any wild chance having your national conference some time and near

(over

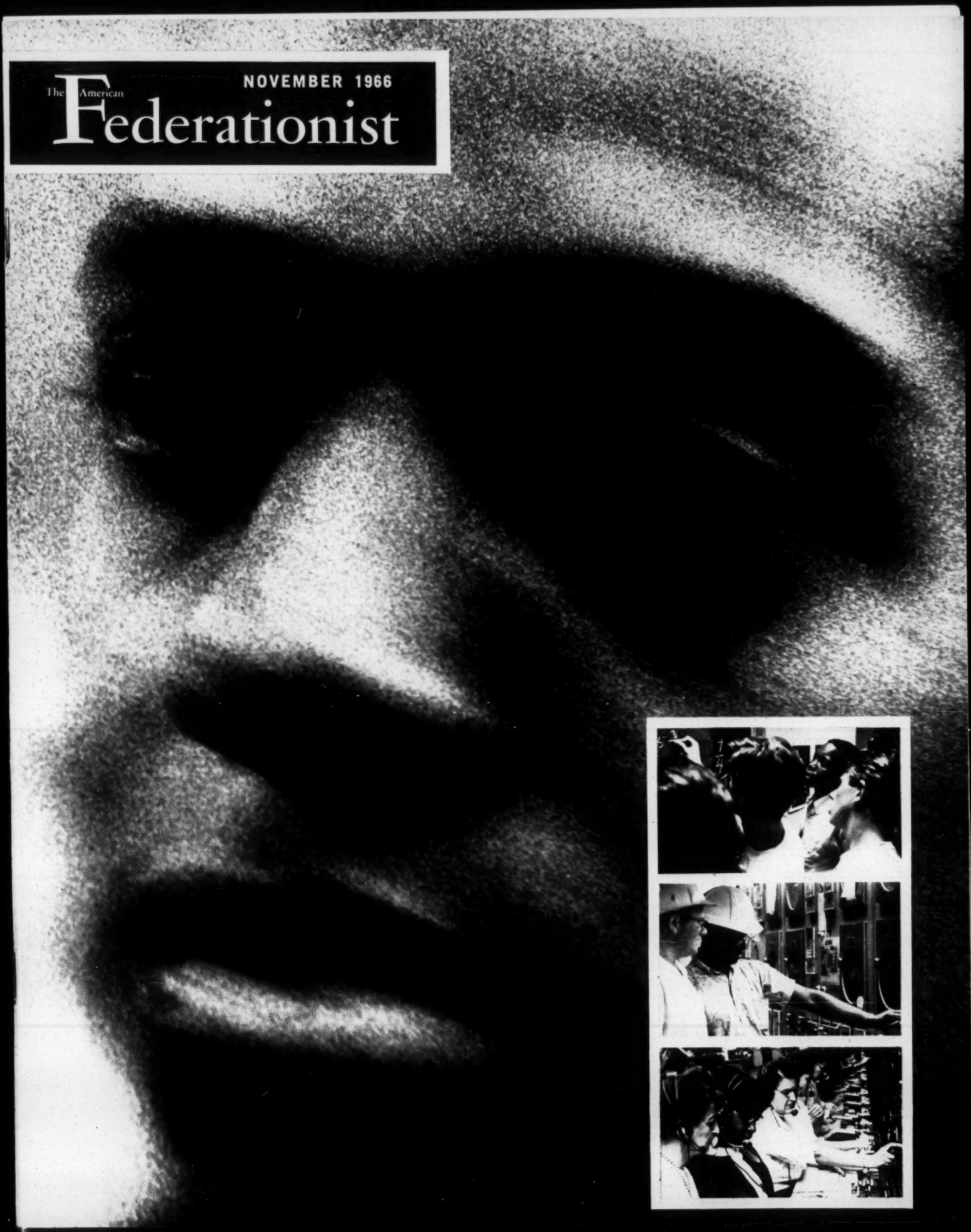
James Popravich

same place? Call me if you're in Chicago.

Merry Christmas

jim

The American Federationist
NOVEMBER 1966



Equal Rights: To Realize the Promise

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Vol. 73 NOVEMBER 1966 No. 11

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GEORGE MEANY
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Cover photo by Vytas Valaitis

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Labor's Commitment

The AFL-CIO is firmly determined to achieve full equality in America in all fields—education, employment, accommodations, housing and justice.

The problems faced by the civil rights movement cannot be resolved in an economic vacuum.

Equal opportunity in employment is meaningless unless there is full employment.

Equal housing is impossible until we eliminate the slums and build the homes America needs for all its population—black or white.

Equal education is impossible until America builds the kind of schools and supplies them with enough well-paid teachers to do the job of providing good education for every one of our children.

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to building the kind of America which will supply the answers to all of these problems. Our goal is to provide the schools, provide the jobs, provide the homes, provide the health care and provide the understanding that it is poverty and ignorance and despair that are the real root causes of all of America's domestic problems.

The AFL-CIO will not retreat from its commitment to the cause of civil rights any more than it would retreat from its commitment to abolish poverty, illness, suffering and want in this nation.

There is, in America today, a so-called white backlash. It is deplorable. It was born out of the ability of demagogues to capitalize upon rioting. It stems from unreasoning fear stimulated by the reckless cries of "black power."

It thrives on the ignorance of many citizens as to the real issues involved in equal rights controversies.

Extremism is the antithesis of democracy and extremism by advocates of justice for America's minority population cannot be countenanced any more than extremism by advocates of white supremacy. The advocates of black supremacy and white supremacy belong in the same camp and the American trade union movement opposes both equally.

No one could honestly pretend that the road to the achievement of full civil rights for all will be an easy one but it is a road America must traverse.

Let me reiterate the AFL-CIO's position: We reject out of hand the concept that there can be any first-class or second-class citizenship in the United States. In our country there can be only one class—citizen—the highest and most meaningful title in a democracy.

George Meany

The Moral Basis of Civil Rights

by A. Philip Randolph

The moral foundation of the civil rights revolution is the source of its strength, hope and promise. The universal imperative of this moral basis is that all men, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, African and Asian, are members of one common human family, of which God is Father and Creator.

If all men are members of one common human family, then all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, then all men are equal. If all men are equal, then all men are entitled to equal treatment and, consequently, discrimination based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry is morally wrong.

The foundation of the moral order is respect for the dignity and infinite worth of the personality of every human being. This means that no law, no government, no constitution, can give me my right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And no law, no constitution or government can take away from me my right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This right is God-given and not man-made.

It is a natural right. I was born with this right. I have it as a result of my being human and God made me human. Therefore, the civil rights struggle is designed to secure legislation and the attitude of the public at large to protect every human being's right to exercise and enjoy his natural rights.

We have in this country today growing tension between the black people and white people of America. If it continues, there will be a confrontation of blacks and whites in America, not from the point of intellectual dialogue but from the point of view of a struggle, one to secure its full citizenship rights and the other to deny him the right to get these rights.

I am greatly concerned about this condition. I looked upon the faces of white citizens on the television when Negroes were marching in Chicago for the right of open occupancy in housing and the faces were ugly with rage and resentment. This was an unhappy thing.

And then, elsewhere, some Negroes who were not part of the civil rights movement were throwing bottles and bricks, Molotov cocktails, turning over automobiles, throwing rocks into stores, looting the stores, engaging in lawlessness and so forth.

I deplore lawlessness of any kind. I deplore riots of any kind. Throwing Molotov cocktails is not the answer to the problem of the Negro.

I want to see the civil rights leaders take great care against overheating ghettos that have the racial and social chemistry full of ingredients of explosive potentialities. This could escalate into a race war in this nation which could become catastrophic to the Negro and to America.

Workers know what it is to be deprived of their rights. There have been battlefields all over this nation where the workers have been fighting for their rights. And so Negro workers have a right to come to the labor movement, to call upon it to help in winning their fundamental rights that are God-given and not man-made.

I believe that the time has come when the street

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is President of the Sleeping Car Porters and a Vice President of the AFL-CIO. He probably holds top seniority among the nation's civil rights leaders. He served as honorary chairman of the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

marches and demonstrations have about run their course. I believe that the strategy now in order is to shift from the streets to the conference room for the purpose of discussion of the problems in the interest of finding an answer.

I don't mean by this that all demonstrations must be eliminated immediately, all boycotts, all picketing that are now carried on by Negroes, any more than labor can eliminate strikes or picketing in the interest of winning their rights. But we know that the public has lost some of its sympathy for the cause of civil rights because of demonstrations and disorders in the street.

You have heard a lot about black power. Well, the civil rights organizations are not committed to black power. That is a slogan and you cannot solve basic social and economic problems with slogans. It is based upon the assumption of salvation through racial isolation, which is absolutely unsound. It has been created by oppression of Negroes in this country. It didn't come just out of the air. It came out of frustration, a sense of despair and hopelessness.

Negroes are grabbing at every straw they think might help in bringing emancipation. Instead of separation, we need cooperation. That is why we have proposed a Freedom Budget, which is based upon the alliance between labor and the civil rights movement. This alliance will go farther and build what is known as a coalition.

I am very proud of the position that the American labor movement has taken on this freedom budget. We are attempting to transform the civil rights revolution into a social revolution which is concerned not only about the Negro, but about the poor whites as well, and we realize that there are 35 million people, according to the Department of Labor, under the poverty line in this country. Twenty percent of them are black and about 75 percent are white. Therefore, the black working poor and the white working poor must unite in order that we can fight for full employment under the leadership of organized labor.

There is no remedy for the problem that confronts the civil rights revolution without full employment. Full employment is the basis of fair employment.

The Roots of the Negro-Union Alliance

by Ray Marshall

Relations between the labor and civil rights movements have important implications for unions, minorities and the nation. Both have objectives which are necessary for the economic, political and moral health of the country. If these movements are united they become a powerful force for the realization of these objectives; if, on the other hand, they dissipate their energies in conflicts with each other, they strengthen their common adversaries.

The historical roots of the Negro-union relationship lie in the racial pattern of segregation, which became firmly entrenched in the South around 1900. Segregation was less rigid, but no less real, outside the South.

Legalized segregation was not established immediately after Reconstruction, however, because there was a period of ferment when it appeared that race relations might be established on some other basis. It looked for a time as if the Knights of Labor might form a viable political alliance with the Populists

RAY MARSHALL is Professor of Economics at the University of Texas. Dr. Marshall has taught at the University of Mississippi and Louisiana State University and has written widely on racial problems in employment and on labor relations in the South. He is author of "The Negro and Organized Labor."

which would include Negroes. But this alliance was destroyed by racial prejudices and the Negro's political and economic weaknesses. The Populists were condemned throughout the South for splitting the white vote and raising the prospect that Negroes would hold the balance of political power.

Most Negroes were concentrated in the plantation belts where their votes could too easily be controlled by planters. Many Populists consequently favored disfranchising Negroes in the hope that depriving the planters of these votes would remove the race issue from politics and weaken the political power of conservative economic forces. But once Negroes were disfranchised, they were unable to combat racism, which often obscured economic issues in southern politics.

Since discrimination extended to jobs, its impact was economic as well as political and social. Whites regarded Negroes as suitable only for certain kinds of menial or otherwise disagreeable occupations. It was understood that Negroes would get the better jobs only where these were performed for the Negro community. Negroes were almost never permitted to hold supervisory positions and often lost their jobs when technological change or unemployment made the jobs more attractive to whites. Job segregation was motivated partly by a desire to restrict good jobs to whites, but partly also because the slavery-induced image of the Negro as an inferior person caused a prevailing belief that Negroes would "degrade" a trade or occupation.

While labor organizations did not create these racial employment patterns, few unions in the South openly challenged segregation before the 1930s because most southern unionists, like most southerners, were segregationists. Many southern unions excluded Negroes from membership. But in some cases unions had to organize Negro workers who were strategically located or who were used to break strikes or otherwise jeopardize the conditions of discriminating unions. The typical response in these cases was to organize Negroes into segregated locals, although there were some integrated unions in the trowel trades and coal mines.

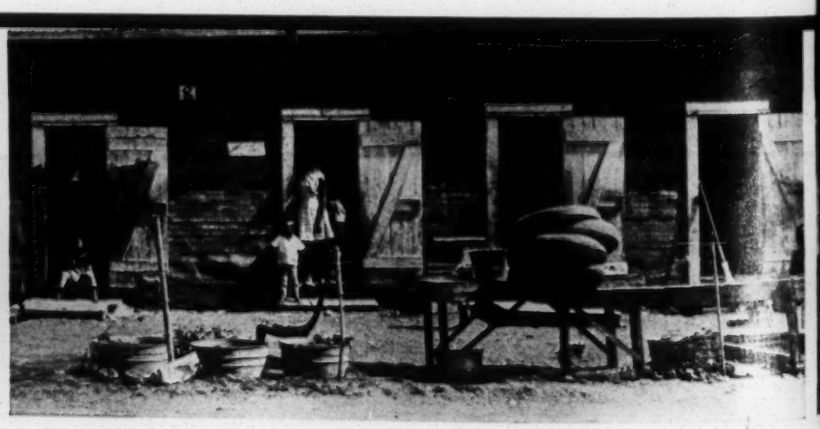
Although AFL union leaders like Samuel Gompers opposed discrimination by local and national unions—for the obvious reason that it weakened the labor movement by making it difficult to present a united front to management—they were, like the Knights of Labor, powerless to change the system and ultimately adjusted to it. AFL leaders argued that it was better to try and reform unions inside the house of labor than to permit them to continue their discriminatory ways beyond the reach of the federation's admittedly limited influence.

The anti-union attitudes of some Negro leaders was an additional factor used to justify the labor movement's actions. These Negro leaders reasoned that, in view of the prevailing racial practices of unions, Negroes should ally themselves with employers, who controlled jobs. In most cases, however, employers were willing to hire Negroes for non-traditional jobs only where the latter served as a buffer to prevent unionization or accepted lower wages than whites for the same work.

Relations between Negroes and unions underwent considerable change during the social ferment of the 1930s, when some Negro leaders felt that the encouragement of union growth by the New Deal would create an important new power center which could benefit Negroes if they got in on the ground floor. The Negro's power to influence unions was enhanced by competition for Negro votes in the representation elections introduced by the Railway Labor and Wagner Acts. The CIO adopted programs to gain a favorable image among Negroes and the AFL acted along similar lines.

Although the CIO undoubtedly acquired a more favorable image in the Negro community, it did not eliminate discrimination by its affiliates in the South. The CIO's problems were different, of course, because few of its affiliates had the power in terms of jobs to restrict membership. While some CIO affiliates had segregated locals and, on rare occasions, excluded Negroes from membership, the main racial problems for these unions were segregated seniority rosters which, before World War II, existed in the North as well as in the South.

Because of its impact on race relations in the South, it was inevitable that the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision would have a profound influence on relations between the labor and civil rights



movements. This decision came on the eve of the merger between the AFL and the CIO, both of which were committed to equalitarian racial policies.

Union leaders were apprehensive, however, that implementation of these policies would hurt organizing and lead to the loss of southern membership. These apprehensions were strengthened by the strong upsurge of segregationist sentiment in the South following the school desegregation decision, the pervasiveness of appeals to racial prejudices by employers and newspapers during representation elections and the formation of a number of segregationist labor organizations designed to win members away from legitimate unions. There also were vociferous protests from southern union members concerning the AFL-CIO's support of the 1954 school desegregation decision and the support given by various unions to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other civil rights organizations.

Southern union leaders also were afraid that the budding political alliances which some of them had formed with civil rights leaders would be destroyed by the segregationist reaction.

In spite of these fears, the AFL, the CIO and the merged AFL-CIO insisted on compliance with national racial policy. George Meany, for example, announced that equalitarian racial policies would be pushed in the South whether or not the AFL-CIO organized a single worker in the region. The southern state federations also adopted resolutions supporting equalitarian racial policies, in spite of vigorous protests from some of their members and the withdrawal of some local unions.

There seems to be little question that the AFL-CIO's consistent policy has done a great deal to prepare the way for change in race relations in southern unions. There also seems to be little question that the labor movement's gains from this policy far outweighed its losses.

Because of inadequate leadership and the demonstrated improbability of building a labor movement on purely racist grounds, the segregationist labor organizations were uniformly unsuccessful and little is heard from them today.

The experiences of the years following the Supreme Court's decision also demonstrated the strength of unionism among southern union members. In spite of strong segregationist feelings, very few of them were willing either to pull their locals out of regular labor organizations or withdraw from their local unions.

Besides some withdrawals from state federations, the main effects on union membership seem to have been the loss of a few locals by such unions as the Letter Carriers, the Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers and the Teachers. The use of race arguments in representation elections also had surprisingly little effect on the outcome of these elections.

The main conclusion that I draw from these experiences is that southerners who attribute their good conditions to the labor movement will not lightly abandon their unions for racial reasons.

A number of events accompanying the AFL-CIO merger tended to increase differences between Negroes and unions. The AFL-CIO accepted two international railroad unions which had race bars in their constitutions. In addition, continued migrations of Negroes out of the South had increased their political power, resulting in the adoption of anti-discrimination laws and orders by the federal government and a number of states and municipalities. Civil rights groups also were adopting more militant tactics, some of which they learned from organized labor. The AFL-CIO gave major support to civil rights legislation and adopted a stronger racial position than either the AFL or the CIO, but the publicity given to anti-discrimination cases against some unions, particularly in the building trades, produced demands from the Negro community that the federation undertake more vigorous policies against discrimination.

These demands were accentuated by the Negro's high unemployment and worsening income positions in the years following the merger. And, while Negro-union relations have improved during the 1960s, some civil rights leaders have continued to attack certain union practices, especially segregated seniority rosters and the fewness of Negroes in some construction crafts.

The seniority problem is complicated by a number of factors. Some unions fear the interests of white union members will be ignored in order to compensate

Negroes for past discrimination. Civil rights leaders argue, on the other hand, that preferential treatment of Negroes is necessary because merely eliminating discrimination will not permit Negroes to advance rapidly enough.

Disputes also arise over the terms for integrating seniority rosters. Will Negroes carry their company seniority into the new line for promotion purposes? Will tests be required if they were not required for whites already in those lines? How often may the tests be taken? Are the tests reliable predictors of job performance? Will it be necessary for Negroes to take pay cuts and enter the bottom of the line of progression from which they were previously excluded? Job integration problems also may be complicated by the fact that separate unions have represented different jobs, making it necessary to integrate locals as well as jobs.

Segregated seniority settlements vary from case to case depending upon such factors as relative power positions, technology and skill requirements, and the vulnerability of unions and employers to governmental pressures.

In many ways the building trades problem is more significant for Negro-union relations than the question of segregated seniority rosters because the seniority issue is mainly a problem for the South and cannot be attributed primarily to unions. The building trades problem, on the other hand, is more general geographically and has attracted attention primarily in major northern metropolitan areas. The publicity given this issue has caused it to assume a symbolic significance out of proportion to its quantitative importance for Negro job opportunities.

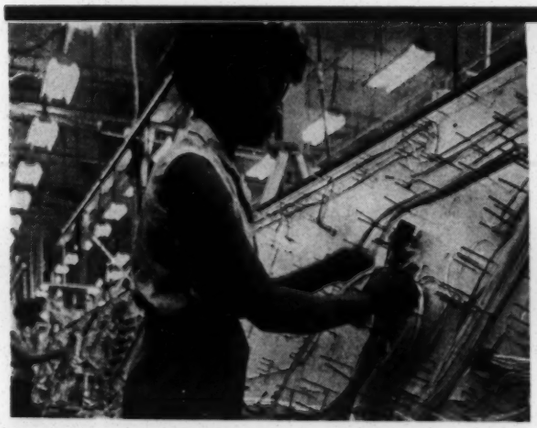
One's view of the dispute between Negroes and the building trades unions obviously depends upon his vantage point. Union leaders emphasize the absence of qualified Negro applicants while civil rights leaders emphasize discrimination. Similarly, various groups differ in their assessment of the progress that has been made. Civil rights groups look at the fewness of Negroes in these trades and regard changes as only tokenism, while unions stress the relative progress made.

One of the most obvious conclusions flowing from events during the 1950s and 1960s is that, in spite of the continuation of discrimination by unions and employers, this obviously is not the only reason why there are so few Negroes in some building trades. Negroes also are barred because inadequate education makes it difficult for them to meet the qualifications for these trades. Unions and employers have justifiable interests in maintaining the standards of their trades. Unions can maintain their wage levels only if their members are more productive than their non-union competitors. Unions and employers could lose the right to determine qualifications if their standards are unrealistic or are administered in a discriminatory fashion.

It would be a mistake to conclude that we are likely to return to the situation of the 1920s when many major Negro leaders were anti-union. Regardless of continued attacks on unions by some civil rights leaders, and the possibility of increasing demands for measures to weaken union security, seniority, referral systems and apprenticeship training programs, there is little prospect of a complete break between the major union and civil rights leaders, who fully realize their mutual dependence.

Negroes have been strong supporters of such union objectives as the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and state anti-union laws, and unions have furnished decisive support for civil rights legislation, have extended union protection to Negroes on the job and have fought to eliminate racial wage differentials. Both movements have united behind welfare legislation and political reforms of vital importance to the nation.

However, much remains to be done to combat discrimination and to deal with the very urgent problem of improving the economic position of disadvantaged groups. The severity of this problem was emphasized by the 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, which predicted that "if non-whites continue to hold the same proportion of jobs in each occupation as in 1964, the non-white unemployment rate in 1975 will be more than five times that for the labor force as a whole. . . . If trends in upgrading the jobs of non-whites continue at the same rate as in recent years, the non-white unemployment rate in 1975 would still be about two and one-half times that for the labor force as a whole."



There is a danger, however, that the urgency of this problem will precipitate remedies which will create unnecessary frictions. It would seem to be particularly important to avoid taking public policy measures designed to help one group at the expense of others, not only because these measures cause racial tensions but also because they are not necessary. Almost all of the things that need to be done to help Negroes also need to be done for other disadvantaged groups. This does not mean, however, that there is no need for positive action to include Negroes where they have been excluded. Because of the pervasiveness and strength of segregation, specific measures often must be taken to assure Negroes that the barriers are down and that new opportunities are available to them. But such measures obviously do not constitute preferential treatment; they merely extend to Negroes rights which they should already have but have been denied because of discrimination.

Public policy also should avoid the erroneous assumption that the Negro's problems can be solved entirely by adopting, or more rigorously enforcing, anti-discrimination measures. I do not wish to imply, however, either that discrimination is no longer a problem or that anti-discrimination laws are unnecessary; these measures are necessary and they have done a great deal to give people of goodwill an opportunity to promote equalitarian measures, they have caused considerable education concerning racial employment patterns and have reduced many racial barriers to employment. The difficulty with these measures, however, is that they change the demand for Negro employes, members and trainees but do very little to increase the supply of qualified applicants.

A preoccupation with sanctions also tends to stiffen resistance to change by many of those who, although perhaps guilty of discrimination, can defend their positions legally and who are not very much concerned with public attacks on them. But intransigence is more likely to be strengthened where the fewness of complaints or applicants causes respondents to feel that the charges against them are unfair and exaggerated.

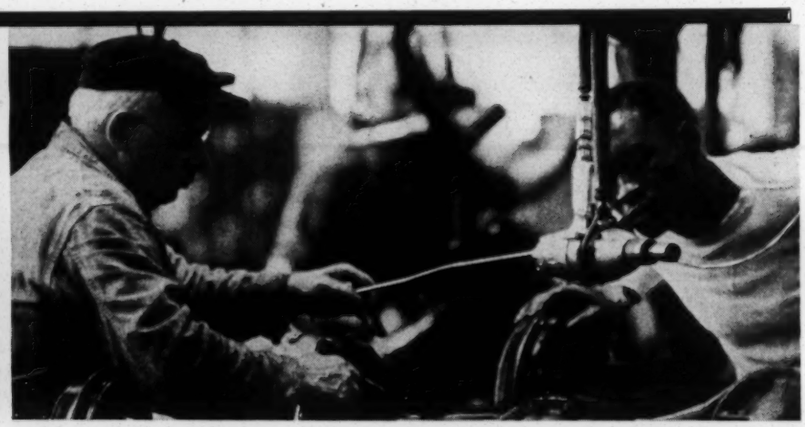
It would, therefore, seem that at this juncture public policy should emphasize measures to expand the total number of jobs through economic growth and full employment and programs to increase employment opportunities for all disadvantaged groups.

It also seems clear that this problem cannot be solved entirely by governments. Unions, employers and civil rights groups also have major responsibilities for improving employment opportunities for Negroes and other disadvantaged groups. The AFL-CIO has adopted a strong anti-discrimination policy and, although any program can be improved, the federation seems to be actively implementing that policy. The international unions bear the greatest responsibility for eradicating discrimination because they have sufficient power to accomplish this objective. The excuse of local autonomy should be no more permissible in cases of racial discrimination than it is where locals violate other trade union policies.

Unions should be encouraged to so arrange their affairs, through proper procedures and recordkeeping, that they will be able to demonstrate the fairness of their admissions procedures. Affirmative action to actively seek qualified Negro members rather than merely passively receiving applications is needed because, as noted earlier, special efforts are necessary to convince many Negroes that they are welcome. By maintaining orderly and open procedures and a willingness to discuss their affairs and by fairly administering referral admissions and training programs, unions can do much to regain some of the public support that slipped away during the 1950s and 1960s.

Union leaders at every level also might do well to establish close working relationships with civil rights organizations, based on mutual trust and understanding. Union leaders also should pay attention to the structure and objectives of various civil rights organizations in order to understand the nature of the problems these organizations face. It is surprising, for example, to hear union leaders, who would themselves never agree that they have gained enough for their members, argue that the trouble with Negro leaders is that they are never satisfied with what they have achieved or, worse still, what the "unions have done for them."

Civil rights organizations also have major responsi-



bilities in this area. They can effectively work with the Negro community to produce qualified applicants and improve the quality of information and counseling available to Negroes. If Negroes are encouraged to take advantage of the opportunities open to them, they can produce the labor supplies which experience demonstrates do more than anything else to reduce overt acts of discrimination.

Moreover, civil rights groups should pay careful attention to facts and analysis and should use poverty and manpower programs to provide training opportunities for Negroes and other disadvantaged groups.

Wherever possible, civil rights organizations might establish close working relationships with representatives of human relations agencies, companies, employers' associations and unions. These groups can do many things to promote the upgrading of Negro youngsters and many unions undoubtedly would be glad to form effective alliances with responsible civil rights groups which understood their problems and needs.

In view of the importance of cooperation to unions, Negroes and the nation, it would be tragic if the labor and civil rights movements dissipated their energies in internecine conflict. The civil rights movement might lose a very strong supporter and the labor movement could face legislation which would weaken its ability to effectively represent workers in collective bargaining and in political affairs.

There are some things that both groups can do to seek solutions to the pressing problem of inadequate job opportunities for disadvantaged groups. Unions can move to end what discrimination remains, take affirmative action to include Negroes in their programs and promote better understanding with the Negro community. Civil rights leaders can avoid forcing government officials to take measures which will unnecessarily increase the resistance of whites; they also can pay careful attention to those things which really increase opportunities for Negroes rather than those having purely symbolic or publicity value. Really effective programs will challenge discrimination, but they also will provide the means for actually getting Negroes on jobs rather than merely demonstrating an organization's militancy.

Labor's Role: Democracy on the Job

by Donald Slaiman

When it comes to making democracy complete for all Americans, this nation has, to use Abraham Lincoln's phrase, much "unfinished work."

Trade unions are crucial to this task of making democracy complete because they are closest to the people and are made up of people. The union member found long ago that, alone, he was helpless. By uniting with his fellow workers, he found he could achieve dignity, win justice, improve his conditions and defend his gains. His family and community benefited only as he did.

The individual worker learned that in union there is strength. It is in his self-interest to understand that his gains are secure only so far as he helps others to improve their condition.

For these sound trade union reasons, the labor movement supports the full integration into American life of the Negro, the Spanish-American and other minorities.

If the labor movement means anything, it means dignity for the little man, regardless of the circumstances of his birth. Unions should no more discriminate

DONALD SLAIMAN is Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights.

against a man because of the color of his skin than they should turn their backs upon a man because he was born into a poor family. Without these members, the labor movement would have lost its democratic character. With these members, labor won many victories, victories won not by the wealth or status or color of our members but by our numbers and solidarity.

When civil rights groups testified before Congress in backing up labor's effort to win repeal of Taft-Hartley's Section 14(b), one of their spokesmen commented on our mutual interests:

"We believe," said Clarence Mitchell, "that Negro workers, as do other Americans, need a strong, vigorous and democratic labor movement.

"We have worked with the leaders of the AFL-CIO and its civil rights department and with the leaders of many affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO on civil rights matters.

"They have marched with us in Washington, D.C. and in Montgomery, Alabama. They fought valiantly for what is now Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And we freely acknowledge that without their help that title would not have been included in the law."

What both the labor and civil rights movements knew was that, if democracy was to work, it had to be made to work—on the job, in the union and in the community.

The AFL-CIO is not a monolithic entity. It is made up of 129 affiliates with great diversity in their size, structure and background. These affiliates contain tens of thousands of local unions which have hundreds of thousands of elected officers and millions of members living in communities in all parts of the country. The AFL-CIO also has chartered central bodies in over 700 cities and counties and a federation in each of the 50 states.

The labor movement, especially at the national level, has a clear and firm policy on civil rights and it has helped importantly to obtain civil rights legislation. Nevertheless, as with other American institutions, there remains a variety of discrimination problems at the local level.

The mass media frequently carry news of the local union that is charged with discrimination, sometimes fairly, sometimes not fairly. Rarely, however, are there stories of the daily efforts made by local unions and international unions in their normal course of activity: negotiating non-discrimination clauses in contracts, fighting for the elimination of discriminatory pay differentials and taking up grievances against discriminatory dismissals or failure to obtain promotion under the terms of the collective bargaining agreement.

For many of both races, a trade union has been their first experience in integrated relationships. For many Negroes and other minority group workers, the trade union movement has been the area of their first organizational and democratic experience.

Shortly after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the AFL-CIO Executive Council hailed its passage and called for massive voluntary compliance.

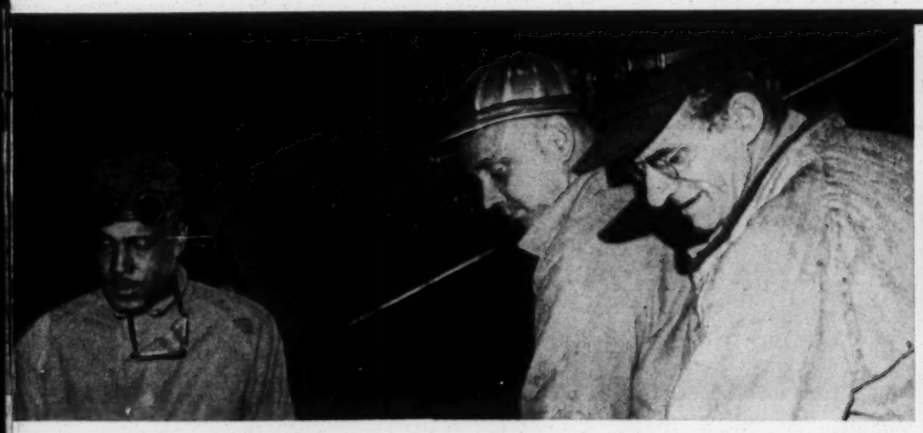
The Council warned that the implementation of the Act would not be automatic and would require not only vigilance but long effort; and further that even the complete success of the Act would not bring fulfillment of the hopes it raised without a social and economic climate and measures which would allow for the "fulfillment of the rights."

A special AFL-CIO conference met in late 1964 to work out this program:

1. an educational program for union members and other citizens as to the actual terms of the Civil Rights Act.
2. work through central bodies at the community level to create a climate for compliance.
3. special emphasis on compliance with Title VII, the fair employment section of the Act.
4. the assurance of adequate funds and staff necessary for the administration of the new law.
5. to keep under review possible need for new legislation.

The AFL-CIO felt that while legislation was passed in Washington or in state capitols its impact was felt at the community and grass roots levels and therefore the federation directed part of its compliance and implementation program to over 700 central bodies.

Even before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the AFL-CIO had called on all its central labor



bodies to create civil rights committees and develop local programs. In 1963, Meany responded to President Kennedy's appeal to private groups and established a task force which carried out pilot projects in selected cities. The AFL-CIO later developed a manual for central bodies. It spelled out the new Civil Rights Act and offered guidelines to local union leaders in dealing with civil rights problems in employment, education, housing and public accommodations. Union officials also were urged to familiarize themselves with state and federal fair employment laws so they could process complaints for workers in non-union firms.

The implementation of a law goes far beyond the question of budget and staff. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, chaired by Roy Wilkins, has been the coordinating body for civil rights, labor, religious and liberal groups which has formulated, campaigned for and lobbied civil rights bills through the Congress. Earlier this year, Wilkins appointed a special subcommittee on implementation to work with, and criticize when necessary, government agencies on policies, guidelines and problems involved in the administration of the various titles of the Act.

By 1965, the events in Selma demonstrated a need for new civil rights legislation to improve coverage of the right of minority citizens to vote. By 1966, it became evident that full utilization by citizens of existing legislation necessitated another civil rights act to deal with the question of equal protection under the laws both to safeguard from physical violence those trying to use the law and to ensure the right of Negroes to be represented fairly in the judicial process.

In addition, both civil rights groups and the Administration decided the elimination of discrimination in housing was long overdue and should be added to the civil rights measure.

The legislative record of Congress in 1966 showed that civil rights groups and the labor movement had a mutual interest not only in enactment of civil rights legislation but also on reapportionment, minimum wages and the repeal of Taft-Hartley's 14(b).

In the two items that were lost—the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and repeal of 14(b)—it was a filibuster in the Senate that prevented a vote rather than the failure to obtain a majority commitment to legislative enactment. In both cases, opposition essentially consisted of a coalition of conservatives—southern Democrats and northern Republicans.

Liaison with civil rights organizations also is an important part of labor's program.

When Dr. Martin Luther King's voter registration workers were assaulted by Sheriff Clark at the bridge in Selma, Alabama, Meany dispatched a delegation of members of the Civil Rights Committee to Selma. The labor group first went to Selma for the James Reeb memorial meeting, where it met union leaders and delegates from other international unions. We then returned for the start of the Selma to Montgomery march and again went down for the final leg of the march into Montgomery.

AFL-CIO Vice President Randolph, who was on the platform in front of the state house in Montgomery, reported at the 1965 AFL-CIO convention:

"On the very steps of the capitol of Alabama, labor's voice was raised high and clear in the name of freedom. President Meany, I participated in that historic event and I can tell you that nothing so inspired the embattled Negroes of Alabama with courage and confidence as the visible and dramatic support of the labor movement in those glorious days."

Cooperation has been a two-way street. In the last few years, particularly, civil rights leaders helped the labor movement bring the advantages of union organization to both Negro and white workers.

The Reverend Martin Luther King helped the teachers win an election in Philadelphia and the chemical workers win satisfactory settlement of a strike in Atlanta. The NAACP helped the painters win an election at a large brickwork in Augusta, Georgia. Civil rights activists in Alabama worked with retail and wholesale workers to enable them to organize an integrated local and obtain collective bargaining agreements in Selma and other cities. Campaigns to organize laundry workers and hospital workers in a number of cities by a variety of international unions have received enthusiastic support and aid from the civil rights movement.

In the field of education, there has been important

cooperation. Civil rights leaders have spoken at union institutes and educational conferences, providing direct contact as well as information for rank-and-file members and local officers. A highlight of the AFL-CIO's third Southern Staff Training Institute were two appearances by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

At the advanced southern labor school, Aaron Henry, state chairman of the Mississippi NAACP, was an invited speaker.

In 1965, Bayard Rustin spoke at a luncheon sponsored by the AFL-CIO Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, to which local union people, Negro ministers and representatives of civil rights organizations in Atlanta were invited.

Representatives of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department have spoken frequently at NAACP regional conferences, participated in training sessions of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and appear frequently at conferences of the Urban League.

Support and cooperative work is also carried on with the Southern Regional Council, the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and many other organizations.

Whitney Young of the Urban League came to the February 1966 meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and proposed a new labor education and action program to improve cooperation between the Urban League and the labor movement.

Meany and the Executive Council received the program enthusiastically, endorsed it and voted to contribute $10,000 a year for three years for its work.

Liaison also has been established with Reverend Leon Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) program in Philadelphia and the Workers Defense League program in New York City.

The AFL-CIO has worked for fair employment legislation which covered unions as well as employers and employment agencies because it has never been satisfied with the rate at which discrimination has been eliminated from the house of labor by voluntary and internal efforts. However, labor did not wait for legislation.

Shortly after its creation, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee established a compliance procedure whereby any worker could file a complaint with the Civil Rights Department, which would then receive a report from the international union whose local was involved. If the complaint was not satisfactorily settled, it would be reviewed by a compliance subcommittee of the Civil Rights Committee.

The AFL-CIO's 1959 convention called on affiliated unions to set up their own civil rights committees and machinery to work on problems of discrimination within their own unions and to mobilize support for civil rights and carry on an educational program. The AFL-CIO identified such possible areas of discrimination as segregated locals, separate lines of seniority and promotion, exclusion from membership, unequal or unfair representation or "any procedure which would deny to any worker the full benefits of union membership because of race, creed, color or national origin."

In 1962, 122 AFL-CIO unions signed a joint statement on union programs for fair practices with President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

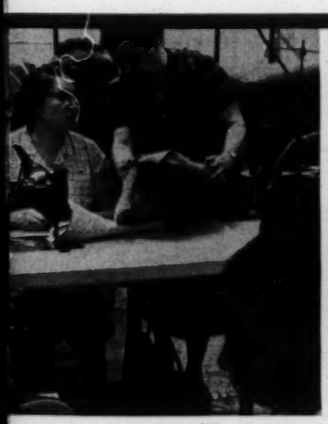
Shortly after the September Conference on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Meany asked each international union president to designate an international officer who would:

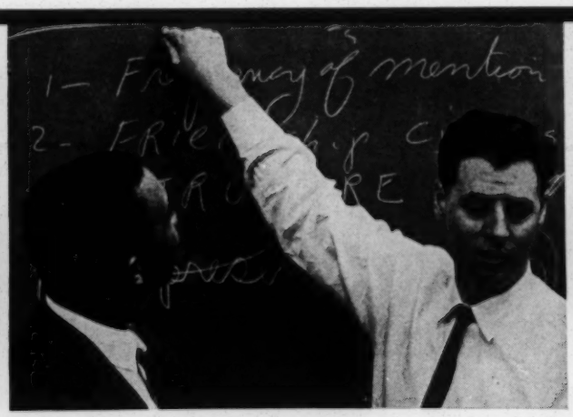
1. work with government agencies, especially the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to obtain voluntary compliance;

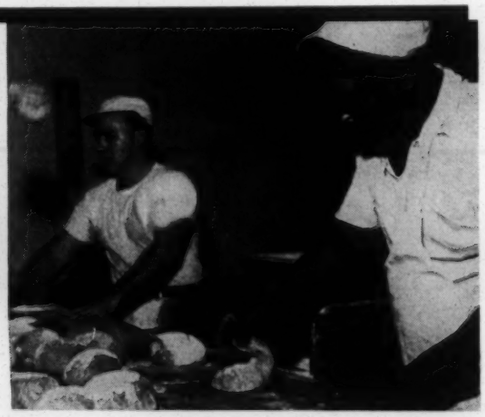
2. develop an equal opportunity program for the union internally and with companies with which it bargains.

In January 1965, the Civil Rights Department held a conference attended by representatives of 53 international unions to discuss Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and what could be done to ensure its success. In April 1965, Meany convened a larger conference which 74 international union officials attended.

To deal effectively with complaints, the AFL-CIO proposed and the EEOC adopted a two-fold procedure. In states lacking a fair employment law, a report on each complaint confirmed by a field representative would be sent to the local union involved, to its interna-







tional headquarters and to the AFL-CIO. In states with a fair employment commission, EEOC recommended that the state agency work in the same fashion with the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions.

Failure to utilize the procedures and the cooperation available from international unions has on occasion impeded the effectiveness of the Commission's work.

In December 1965, a complaint was filed in Memphis by three Negro laborers. A contractor had told them he would hire them as journeymen rodmen if the local Ironworkers would either give them a work permit or accept them into membership. The local union had no Negro members. The complaint was that the applicants could neither gain membership nor receive work permits because of their race.

The EEOC investigator could not get all the information he needed from the local union. The Civil Rights Department was asked for cooperation. It asked whether the international union had been notified. The answer was no. It then asked the EEOC to make such notification. The international union, when it heard of the complaint, sent a representative to the local. He interviewed the applicants, found they had knowledge of the trade, spoke to the local union officers and found they had no unemployed members. He convinced them to immediately give work permits to the complainants. They went to work at journeyman pay scales and conditions. Within a month they were given an examination by the local union, passed it and were accepted into membership.

The only thing left hanging in this success story is the fact that to this day the Commission has not worked out a procedure by which it could notify the international union that the case has been satisfactorily settled. There is no question that the cooperation of the international union following its notification had brought a rapid as well as satisfactory solution to this complaint. If the Commission and the complainants had taken any other route, through conciliation or the courts, no more could have been obtained and certainly the men would not have been working or admitted into membership so quickly.

One of the problems in the labor movement has been the existence of segregated locals in some industries and unions. In 1959, the AFL-CIO, by convention resolution, called on its affiliates to "take appropriate action to eliminate segregation of their local union membership on the basis of race or color. There is no blinking the fact that segregation is discrimination. Just as we cannot accept the maintenance of separate but equal schools, so we refuse to countenance the existence of separate but equal unions in the ranks of our movement. We ask for a concerted effort by each of our affiliates having local unions with membership segregated on the basis of race to eliminate such segregation with all possible speed."

Since that time, a number of international unions have merged all such separate locals, others have merged portions of the ones they have had. Several internationals have successfully obtained merger agreements, even when either the white local or the Negro local, or both, desired to maintain its separate existence.

The first guideline issued by the EEOC ruled that segregated local unions and separate lines of seniority and promotion based on race were a violation of the Act. Meany agreed with the ruling and again called on all affiliates that still had such segregated locals and/or such separate lines of seniority and promotion "to merge such separate locals without delay and to adopt contractual clauses that will eliminate barriers to equal opportunity for promotion and seniority for all workers."

While there still remain somewhere between 125 to 175 segregated locals out of over 50,000 locals in international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the Civil Rights Department will continue to work with our affiliates before complaints under the law are processed to achieve the elimination of segregated locals and any other remaining forms of discrimination.

The record shows that significant progress has been made in identifying and eliminating discrimination. But it also shows there is still a long way to go before equal rights become a reality for everyone.

For its part, labor has firm policies, clear programs and the tools with which to tackle civil rights problems. With goodwill and understanding, labor is determined to finish the job.

Making Apprenticeship Work

In New York City in 1963, the civil rights movement picketed building sites in Harlem, lower Manhattan and Brooklyn. Hundreds of activists were arrested in Brooklyn and demonstrators demanded that work on an annex to Harlem Hospital be stopped until an integrated crew could be hired. The Mayor quickly stopped construction of the hospital annex.

The City Commission on Human Rights then announced it was recruiting applicants for building trades jobs. Hundreds of youths applied. Their names were added to a list, but they were not contacted for months. Eventually the city sent them telegrams announcing some openings, but few of the original applicants responded.

Meanwhile, within the civil rights movement bitterness against the unions increased. Despite all the demonstrations, there seemed to be no more Negroes on the job. The unions, for their part, were annoyed because the civil rights movement had not brought forth qualified applicants.

The Workers Defense League, a human rights organization with strong ties to the labor movement, was disturbed by the division between the civil rights and labor movements and by the lack of progress being made. WDL Board members Bayard Rustin, Robin Myers and Katrina Barnes began discussing a program that would increase the number of minority youths in union-management apprenticeship projects.

A little research revealed there was no one place in New York City where a young man could find out about apprenticeship jobs. The City Department of Labor maintained an information office in City Hall. A young man would walk in and tell the woman in charge the trade in which he was interested. She would then give him an address of a joint committee and send him on his way. There was no follow-up.

The WDL committee decided that information about apprenticeship was desperately needed. After weeks of research and interviews, WDL was able to publish a handbook listing all joint apprenticeship programs in the city. The book described the programs in simple language and listed the places where youth could apply. The Taconic Foundation then awarded the League $35,000 to hire a staff that would recruit and place Negro youth in apprenticeship programs. An office was opened in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

The first year was spent distributing the handbooks, recruiting qualified applicants, establishing relationships with trade unions and youth agencies.

Now, after two and a half years, the WDL has a large file of Negro youth who want to be apprentices. They have been recruited from churches, civil rights groups, vocational and academic high schools and anti-poverty agencies.

Candidates are interviewed by staff and are told the benefits of union-management programs. They are tested to see how much help they'll need to qualify for a program. If they are unemployed, the staff tries to get them interim jobs. Local 99 of the Ladies' Garment Workers, Local 259 of the Auto Workers and the United Federation of Teachers have been particularly helpful in placing youth temporarily. WDL staff help the youth fill out application forms. Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union sends the forms directly to the WDL office, where young applicants fill them out before returning them to the union.

When a test date is announced, WDL begins a tutor-

ial program to prepare the candidates. Dennis Derryck, a former mathematics teacher, supervises the three to four-week study. He teaches test-taking techniques, spacial relations, mechanical reasoning and basic mathematics. If the joint apprenticeship committee requires a personal interview, WDL volunteers go through role-playing sessions with the applicants.

The staff remains in contact with the apprentice after he has been placed. When young men were admitted to unions on the basis of a father-son relationship, the youth had somebody to turn to if he were having trouble on the job, needed extra money for shoes or just felt like griping. The WDL staff plays the father role for Negro and Puerto Rican youth placed—lending them money for tools, encouraging them to keep going and counseling them on other problems.

Relations between the program and unions are excellent. Peter Brennan, President of the New York City Building Trades Council, addressed this year's WDL conference for vocational school youth and Raymond Murphy, Director of the WDL program, was guest speaker at a Building Trades Executive Council luncheon. The Secretary-Treasurer of Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union recently called the WDL office to tell the staff when the new class is to be formed.

Problems still exist, however, and it would be wrong to conclude everything is going smoothly. Nevertheless, the WDL program has scored notable successes in the two and a half years it has been in existence. More than 175 young men have been placed. Most of them would have spent the rest of their lives working on menial jobs and earning $4,000 a year. They are earning more than that today and look forward to salary increases and advancement.

The program placed the first Negro apprentices in Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers, District 15 of the Machinists and Locals 40 and 351 of the Ironworkers. A large number of youth were placed in the program of Local 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers through an imaginative program worked out by Ernest Green, assistant director of the WDL Apprenticeship Program and Harry Van Arsdale, President of Local 3 and head of the New York City Central Labor Council.

The Urban League Expands Opportunities

by Whitney Young

Since its founding 56 years ago, the National Urban League has practically reshaped the field of social welfare as far as Negroes are concerned.

It trained the first professional Negro social workers. It has made significant breaks in industrial and business employment for Negro workers. It has stimulated and channeled the interests of the general public and of educators in Negro education. It was at work for close to a half century before the current civil rights revolution began. Its job was, and is, to make the Negro a visible and fully participating part of American life.

Allowing for the natural modifications of time and growth and the constant change of social conditions, the goals of the National Urban League are not essentially different from those of 1910 when the National Urban League started in New York with a staff of two and a budget of $8,500. The organization was called into being by the beginnings of the migration of Negroes from rural areas of the South to the urban areas of the North. Its goal was to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination from American life.

The National Urban League is a charitable and edu-

WHITNEY YOUNG is Executive Director of the National Urban League.

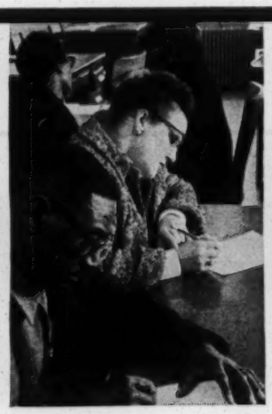
cational organization, operating as a professional community service agency using the tools and methods of social work. It has always been an interracial agency working for increased job opportunities for Negro citizens and other disadvantaged groups, for better housing, for adequate health and welfare services, for quality education and for better race relations. The League was not, and never has become, a mass membership organization; nor has it ever become an organization which lobbies for legislation or handles court cases.

Today, the League has grown way beyond its modest beginnings in 1910. It now has national headquarters in New York and affiliates in 78 cities in 31 states and the District of Columbia. It has regional offices in Akron, Atlanta, Los Angeles, New York and St. Louis, and a Washington Bureau. Its day-to-day activities are carried on by a professionally trained staff of 800 and aided by more than 8,000 volunteers who bring expert knowledge and experience to racial matters.

The Urban League's identification with labor is one of long standing. The first official contact was in 1913, when the National Urban League held its first conference with Samuel Gompers and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor to seek wider acceptance of Negroes. In 1918, the National Urban League held a Conference on Negro Labor which called upon the AFL to adopt favorable attitudes on the admission of Negroes, and upon the U.S. Department of Labor to appoint Negro represenatives to handle matters affecting the welfare of Negro wage earners in America. The conference resulted in a meeting with Gompers and, for the first time in history, the naming of three Negroes as AFL organizers. For its part, the Department of Labor established a Department of Negro Economics and selected George E. Haynes, the League's first executive, to head it.

Today, through its Economic Development and Employment Program, NUL works with management, labor and government to assist in establishing sound hiring and promotion practices; in promoting apprenticeship and job training programs; and in recruiting qualified Negro workers.

- The Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), funded by the Ford Foundation and the AFL-CIO for a three-year period, seeks to increase the participation of Negro and other minority group members in local union affairs, involve unions in community affairs of interest to local Leagues, help motivate nonwhite youth to make early vocational choices and expand their employment opportunities and encourage labor to open its doors to them. This program is operated with the assistance of a Trade Union Advisory Committee, composed of prominent national and international labor officials.
- The National Skills Bank, established in 1963, is designed to seek out and identify minority citizens across the nation who are unemployed and underemployed and place them in jobs which make full use of their skills and training. The Bank has registered and screened more than 33,000 people and placed more than 7,300 men and women in jobs. In Essex County, N.J., 1,200 Negroes have been placed in new jobs and the result has been a $2 million rise in total annual income for the Negro community.
- The League's On-Job-Training programs have contracted to provide training for 11,000 people and have already placed more than 5,500 trainees in positions with 2,500 employers.
- The Secretarial Training Program recruits and trains young women for administrative and clerical jobs in the New York area.
- A Summer Fellowship Program brings teachers in predominantly Negro colleges to work in business and industry for the summer so they become better equipped to prepare students for positions in modern industry.
- The OMAT Project, named for the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the U.S. Labor Department, is developing two experimental programs to provide training and placement for women returning to the job market.
- In cooperation with the Neighborhood Youth Corps, NUL will train and place 400 out-of-school unemployed youth in learn-and-earn positions with governmental and non-profit organizations.
- In housing, NUL consults with national, state and local housing officials, planners, builders, lenders and



real estate brokers on the housing needs of Negro families. Operation Equality, initiated in 1964, is expanding with the aid of a $1.5 million grant from the Ford Foundation and matching funds to be raised in participating cities. It is a multi-faceted program which operates storefront offices in ghetto areas as local clearing houses for information and counseling on housing opportunities; cooperates with local fair housing committees; conducts educational campaigns; and works at neighborhood stabilization to ensure that newly integrated neighborhoods don't develop into new ghettos. Operation Equality works with brokers and builders to help expand the supply of low and moderate income housing.

- In the field of education, NUL operates a Human Resources Program to prepare out-of-school, out-of-work young people for educational training and manpower development programs. In a continuing program in health education, scholarships are awarded to student nurses under the Belle Sampson Scholarship Program. Youth Community programs have been established in 32 cities to build effective leadership in young people. The NUL's Student Transfer Education Plan (STEP) makes it possible for academically gifted southern Negro youngsters to live with families in northern communities where better schools and cultural facilities are available. In addition, programs are being developed in literacy, citizenship education and college recruitment and work is being done on the establishment of southern summer schools and neighborhood youth centers.

- In the field of health and welfare, NUL is engaged in a wide variety of programs, prime among which is Project ENABLE (Education and Neighborhood Action for Better Living Environment). ENABLE is designed to break up the cycle of poverty through a program of local organization, action and supportative services concentrating on home environment and community attitudes in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Working in teams, social workers and social work aides (trained residents of the neighborhoods), will hold a series of meetings to assist people in finding ways to cope with and change a hostile environment. The program is jointly sponsored by the National Urban League, the Child Study Association of America and the Family Service Association of America and is operative in 61 cities.

The challenge to labor in the field of race relations is to put its own house fully in order. Top labor leadership has fought consistently against the evil of discrimination. But official statements from the top are not necessarily transferred into local action and unions everywhere are faced with the problem of closing the gap between policies and practices. The extent to which the Negro can be fully integrated into the mainstream of organized labor can be considered a measure of his chances for equal opportunity in a country of which he is an integral part by birth, by tradition and by personal devotion.

Civil Rights at the Crossroads

by Bayard Rustin

The nation has come through the first phase of a peaceful, democratic revolution. There is no other way to describe the sweeping changes won by the civil rights movement on the American scene in the last decade.

But now, having made historic progress, "the move-

BAYARD RUSTIN, a strategist of the civil rights movement and an organizer of the March on Washington, is on the Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy. He also is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the research foundation.

ment" is at a crossroads. One road leads to the fulfillment of our national ideals—the achievement of complete racial equality and justice in every aspect of our common life. The other road leads to failure and despair, frustration and strife. For at this very time, before the battle is half over, there are voices in Cicero—and even in the U.S. Senate—that call upon us to re-examine our fundamental commitments to equality; and there are other voices—in Watts and Harlem—proclaiming that these commitments were false and hypocritical to begin with. Where do we go from here—forward or backward?

Society rarely goes backward. It may fail to move forward, leaving problems unsolved and festering, courting new perils in the future. But once lived, the past cannot be relived.

With dignity and determination, Negroes and their white allies have left a permanent mark on the nation's landscape. Thanks to the courage of thousands of young people, acting in the best American tradition, the barriers of segregation were smashed in lunchcounters, hotels, restaurants and other public accommodations. Thanks to the Freedom Riders, and responsive legislative action, the ban on segregation in interstate travel became the practice as well as the law of the land. And, thanks to a multiplicity of pressures and actions, laws have been passed against discrimination in employment, against federal aid to segregated institutions and, perhaps most important, against disfranchisement of Negroes at the voting polls.

Throughout all of this, the Negro learned what the trade unions had learned before—that it takes mass action to get Congress, the Executive and other instruments of lawful power to act. And precisely because our gains have been won by supreme sacrifice, perseverance, sweat and tears, the overwhelming majority of the Negro community is proud of them—just as good trade unionists are proud of the unions they have built, brick by brick, and the advances they have made through countless struggles.

And when a small minority denounces our victories as empty and meaningless, we react the same way a good labor man would to the worker who stands up at a union meeting and says: "The union hasn't done enough for me! What good is it?" The answer is: "Sure, not enough has been done—far from it. But we don't get to the roof by tearing down the foundation. We don't make further progress by destroying what we have built."

Take, for example, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With all of its inadequacies in enforcement—and many improvements are necessary—the fact is that since the passage of this Act, 1,874,000 Negroes have been added to the voting rolls in the southern states covered by the Act, for a total at present of 2,969,392. True, hundreds of thousands of Negroes of voting age have yet to be enrolled and many still face harassment and intimidation; but these problems are neither clarified nor overcome by pooh-poohing the positive results of the Act, which have begun to be felt in Atlanta, Birmingham and other parts of the South. This is a step toward what President Johnson has called "democratic power"—which by definition means the realization of the Negro's full participation in the political process.

Yet, if such substantial progress has been made, why are our cities torn by riots, why the violent rhetoric of "black power"; why the ugly "white backlash"?

To explain this apparent contradiction, we must remember that the Negro has suffered discrimination and exploitation on two counts: color and class. Negroes are not only dark-skinned (hence a more visible target for persistent discrimination than other minority groups); they are also poor. About 50 percent of all the Negro families in America have incomes of less than $4,000 a year! They are poor not only in income but in housing, education, medical care and other social services enjoyed by most Americans.

Like the AFL-CIO, many of us foresaw that the removal of color barriers was not enough, that unless the fundamental social and economic problems besetting the Negro were solved, our movement, and the nation, would be in deep trouble. In early 1964, I wrote:

"The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of de facto segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than

in 1954 and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 percent to 54 percent of whites. . . . More Negroes attend de facto segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision. . . . And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in an unimaginable demoralization . . . these are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement."

The facts of life have not basically changed since these words were written. Government statistics show, for example, that despite the overall drop in unemployment, joblessness among Negro youth (male) has actually risen in the last year. Their unemployment rate in Watts, Harlem and other ghettos is at depression levels and worse.

To anticipate, as so many young Negroes have, that the civil rights revolution would usher in a new day of dignity and status, a place in the sun, only to find that the daily conditions of life in the ghetto remain cruelly the same—this is a bitter experience. It gives rise to a desperate politics of frustration, whose ultimate expression is the slogan "black power."

Behind "black power" is the belief that cooperation between Negroes and white liberals has failed, that whites cannot be trusted, that integration is either meaningless or a dilution of the Negro's potential militancy. Negroes, the advocates of this philosophy argue, must look only to themselves for their own salvation.

Now, of course, every group of people, to win freedom, must fight for itself. The Negro can no more expect his rights to be handed to him than the labor movement could rely on the paternal benevolence of management. But, in struggling for its rights against management, the labor movement sought the support of other segments of society, including government, from which it won protective legislation.

To anyone who knows history, it is clear that "black power," for all its verbal militancy and violent rhetoric, is a step toward conservatism, a retreat from the battle. It goes back to the nadir of the Negro's struggle, to the days of Booker T. Washington, who advised Negroes to forget political and social equality and to "cast down your bucket where you are." It is a withdrawal back into the ghettos, wounded and bitter, there to develop isolated enclaves of Negro power.

It is not surprising that "black power" has been endorsed by such rightwing luminaries as Barry Goldwater and William Buckley. For they understand, perhaps better than its Negro spokesmen, that this strategy makes no real demand on the rest of society. It lets white people off the hook; it poses no challenge to corporate wealth; it requires no changes of our political institutions; it leaves segregated housing intact; it demands no massive social investments in schools, hospitals and so forth.

Thus "black power," the politics of frustration, is not a program but a slogan, not a step forward but a retreat, not a confrontation but a "cop-out." Unfortunately, it must be said, this cop-out is duplicated by many white liberals who felt comfortable in the civil rights movement in the earlier days, when simple color barriers were the target and the moral issues seemed clear-cut, but who are now confused or overwhelmed by the complex social and economic problems that block the road to full equality. *Their* retreat is all the more tragic because it comes in the midst of a growing white backlash, intensified by the riots and the rhetoric of black power and encompassing many working class and lower-middle class whites who are ensnarled in many of the same problems that face the Negro.

It is difficult for a Negro to have any sympathy for those white people of Cicero who, their faces filled with hate, attacked peaceful Negroes demonstrating for open housing. Yet these whites have only barely made it themselves; they are only a few years removed from the hard struggle for a decent home, in an economy where decent, modestly-priced housing is hard to come by. It is a sad commentary upon our society that their struggle against want and scarcity has brought out the ugliest traits of selfishness, tenacious greed and fanatical survivalism.

But this is an old story in our "melting pot" society. Those who have just "made it" the hard way, desper-

ately fearful of sliding back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder beneath them. Haunted by insecurity, the haves made scapegoats of the have-nots.

And so, a vicious cycle is set in motion. Failing to deal with the social and economic roadblocks to equality, we stoke the fires of frustration in the ghettos; violent riots and cries of "black power" in turn feed a white backlash, which makes constructive solutions to the problems of blacks *and* whites more difficult. Finally, the backlash only confirms Negro isolationists' hostility to white America.

We are indeed at the crossroad. For if this cycle is not broken, it will propel us all into a racial nightmare. How do we break it?

On June 2nd, 1966, at the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph, who was honorary chairman of the event, announced that he would meet with prominent economists, social scientists and other experts to draw up a "Freedom Budget for All Americans." Now completed, this historic proposal calls upon the federal government, in cooperation with the private sector of the economy, to carry out a massive $100 billion program to abolish poverty by 1975.

This Budget is not for the Negro alone. It is for all the poor—75 percent of whom are white. And, in the largest sense, it is for all Americans because all of us are affected—by the persistence of poverty—in the conditions of our neighborhoods and schools, in our tax rates and public services, in the quality of our lives. The Freedom Budget recognizes that the Negro can make the most progress when society as a whole is advancing toward economic democracy.

Recognizing that fully 40 percent of U.S. poverty results from excessive unemployment, the Freedom Budget sets top priority upon achieving full employment and full production by early 1968. And, since an additional 20 percent of our poverty problem is due to low wages, the Budget demands rapid advance toward a federal minimum wage of $2 an hour.

Toward these ends, the federal government—which alone has the resources—must sponsor massive job-creating activities. This is an enormous task, for it is estimated that achieving full employment may entail creation of a gross total of 22 to 27 million new jobs by 1975.

But the Freedom Budget demonstrates that these jobs can be created if the nation will turn not only its attention but its tremendous resources to its crying social needs. Foremost among these is the removal of the slum ghettos which infect our cities. It is estimated that in our metropolitan centers, 60 percent of renting families with income under $3,000 live in unsound housing. Indeed, throughout the country, at least 20 percent of all Americans are ill-housed.

Replacing slums is an *end* in itself because substandard housing is both a cause and by-product of poverty. But it is also a *means* toward full employment, for a rapid expansion of home construction can contribute perhaps half of the 22 to 27 million new jobs we need by 1975.

We have other pressing needs as well. In the field of education, we need a hundred thousand new classrooms a year for the next six years and an equal number of new teachers. There are now at least 200,000 young people who are ready for college but lack the means; and our institutions of higher learning lack the facilities and personnel to absorb the doubling of the student enrollment between 1963 and 1975.

Outlays for hospital construction must be doubled in the next ten years merely to keep pace with the population growth. By 1975 we must increase the number of physician graduates by 50 percent and double the number of dentist graduates—just to maintain present unsatisfactory ratios of health personnel to population.

These are but a sampling of our needs. They cannot be met in a piecemeal, harum-scarum way. They cannot be left to the market system or to the private sector. The federal government must take the lead in formulating a coherent national economic policy which quantifies our needs and the resources to meet them, and which matches both in a system of priorities.

There are those who will argue that, because of the war in Viet Nam, we cannot afford to pursue this investment in social justice at home. These backsliders and reactionaries in patriotic dress hope we will

forget that they opposed such a program even before the escalation of the war. In any case, the fact is that the war accounts for less than 3 percent of our gross national product.

If the principles of the Freedom Budget are put into effect, then, as a consequence of the resulting full employment and full production, we can expect the gross national product to rise from $663 billion in 1965 to about $1,120 billion by 1975.

This, the wealthiest nation in human history, poised on the threshold of still greater abundance, has not lacked the resources for the abolition of poverty and social injustice. We have lacked the will, the sense of urgency. We have let our economy drift rather than harness it to humane purposes. We have viewed poverty as an isolated phenomenon and focused on the personal characteristics of its victims. We have, above all, sought to solve the problem through uncoordinated, piecemeal programs aimed at this or that head of the many-headed monster; chop one off and another appears in its place.

Of all the institutions in America, the labor movement has been foremost in recognizing the limitations of this approach. While supporting the specialized anti-poverty programs, it has continued to insist upon the federal government's responsibility to live up to the Employment Act of 1946, to raise minimum wages and expand coverage to the working poor, to build new housing, to sponsor public works, to outlaw "right-to-work" laws. It did so even though many of these demands were of immediate benefit less to union members than to the unorganized working poor.

The Negro has come to a similar recognition. He has seen how difficult it is to integrate schools when our housing is segregated. He sees how difficult it is to escape the racial ghetto when decent housing is in short supply and when his income is inadequate to purchase what is available. And he sees how difficult it is for his children to hope for better jobs and income in a technologically advancing economy when they come from inferior, segregated schools. Here again, a vicious cycle. Here again, the crossroads.

Having knocked their heads against brick walls, some Negroes will decide they have had it; they will go the road of "black power," comforted by its militant rhetoric, untroubled by its emptiness of program.

But the great majority of the civil rights movement will press forward, seeking allies against great odds. In their search, they will remember the support of the AFL-CIO in winning the civil rights legislative victories of the last few years. And when they contemplate the obstacles ahead, they will remember that both the repeal of Taft-Hartley's Section 14(b) and the 1966 civil rights bill, though backed by majorities in the Senate, were defeated by filibusters launched by the reactionary coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans. Against that coalition, our common enemy, we need to strengthen the coalition of Negroes, labor and liberals in the interest of a new social program for America.

The alternative is social chaos.

Negroes and Jobs

by Nathaniel Goldfinger

Unemployment among Negroes remains high at about 8 percent despite the generally improved job picture in recent years. And Negro teenage unemployment persists at disastrous levels. To understand these trends, one must look at the record of the postwar period.

In the early postwar years, the job market for pro-

duction and maintenance workers—mainly unskilled and semi-skilled workers—was fairly good. Industrial production and construction increased rather rapidly. Moreover, the GI Bill provided veterans with money to resume their schooling—formal education and vocational training.

Under these conditions, unemployment generally was low by comparison with conditions during most of the 1950s and early 1960s. For example, in 1948 there were 2.3 million unemployed or 3.8 percent of the entire civilian labor force. In 1953, the number of unemployed was 1.9 million or 2.9 percent of the labor force.

During those years, Negro unemployment was also relatively low—5.9 percent of the Negro labor force was jobless in 1948 and 4.5 percent in 1953. Moreover, Negro unemployment in those years was somewhat less than double the white unemployment rate of 3.6 percent in 1948 and 2.7 percent in 1953. This was far from an ideal condition, but it represented a solid foundation for hope in the future.

However, this hopeful foundation began to crumble in the latter months of 1953 and 1954. After the end of the Korean War in mid-1953, the general level of unemployment rose sharply—from 2.9 percent of the labor force in 1953 to 5.6 percent in the recession year 1954. Moreover, when the unemployment situation improved after the 1954 recession, it did not decline all the way down to the previous level but settled at about 4.3 percent of the labor force in 1955-1957.

In the 1954 recession, Negro unemployment rose somewhat more rapidly than white unemployment. And, in the 1955-57 general economic pick-up, Negro unemployment declined somewhat more slowly than white unemployment. There were similar trends in the 1958 recession and the weak pick-up that followed, as well as in the recession of 1960-61 and the early part of the economic upturn in 1962-63.

The general deterioration of employment opportunities for white workers after the end of the Korean War, in mid-1953, brought even worse deterioration

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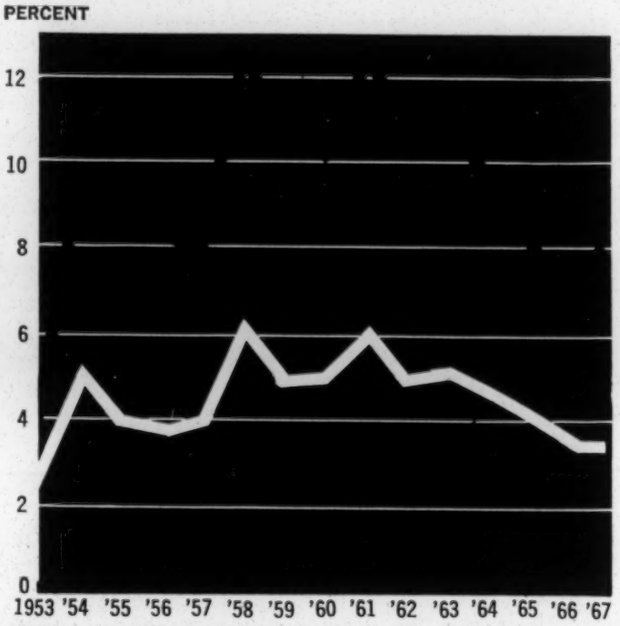
NEGRO AND WHITE UNEMPLOYMENT,* 1953-1966



*White and non-white unemployed as percent of whites and non-whites in the labor force.
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor.

for the Negro workers. As a result, Negro unemployment was more than twice the level of white joblessness in 1955 and has remained more than twice the level of white unemployment ever since.

Between 1953 and 1963, unemployment was in a rising trend generally—from 1.9 million unemployed or 2.9 percent of the labor force in 1953, to 4.2 million or 5.7 percent of the labor force in 1963—with even higher levels of joblessness during the recessions of 1958 and 1960-61.

Negro workers were especially vulnerable to the recessions, economic stagnation and radical changes in technology during the decade, 1953-1963. In those 10 years, farm employment dropped 1.6 million or 24 percent. Hundreds of thousands of families, many of them Negroes, left the farms and rural areas to

seek jobs and homes in the cities, particularly the cities of northern and western states.

Almost 1.5 million Negroes left the South in the 1950-60 decade, according to government estimates. But the traditional types of employment that had provided job opportunities for previous migrants from the rural areas and immigrants from foreign countries were shrinking at the very same time. Hundreds of thousands of better-paid, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs were being wiped out by the combined impact of automation and economic stagnation.

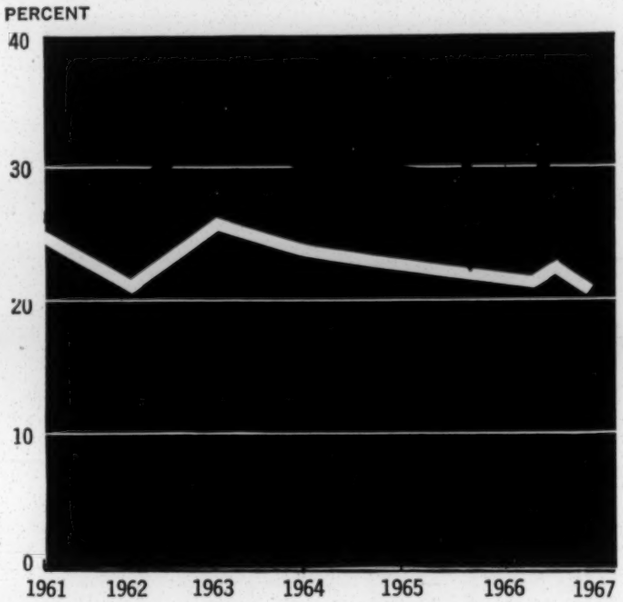
The number of factory production and maintenance jobs dropped 1.5 million or 11 percent between 1953 and 1963. In that same period, the number of non-supervisory employes in mining was cut 267,000 or 35 percent; employment of production and related workers in soft coal mining alone dropped about 60 percent. And railroad employment fell 530,000 or approximately 44 percent.

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers generally, and Negro workers in particular, were hit hardest by these trends. The heaviest blows fell on the new migrants to the cities, who were displaced from employment in farming—especially unskilled Negroes from the southern rural areas, with little if any education or vocational training and confronted by discrimination in employment and housing.

However, in 1963 the rise of economic activities began to pick up substantially. Between 1963 and 1965, the real volume of total national production increased at a yearly rate of about 5.5 percent, in contrast to an annual economic growth rate of only about 3 percent in the previous 10 years. And this upturn of national production was concentrated in heavy goods industries, construction and related activities, which employ large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Since production and maintenance type jobs picked up significantly in 1963-65, Negro unemployment as well as joblessness among whites moved down. This improvement continued into the early months of 1966. In the January-March quarter of 1966, the number of unemployed was down to 2.9 million or 3.8 percent of the labor force—down from 4.8 million unemployed or 6.7 percent of the labor force in 1961 and 4 million jobless or 5.7 percent of the labor force in 1963.

THE SHOCKINGLY HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG NEGRO TEENAGERS*

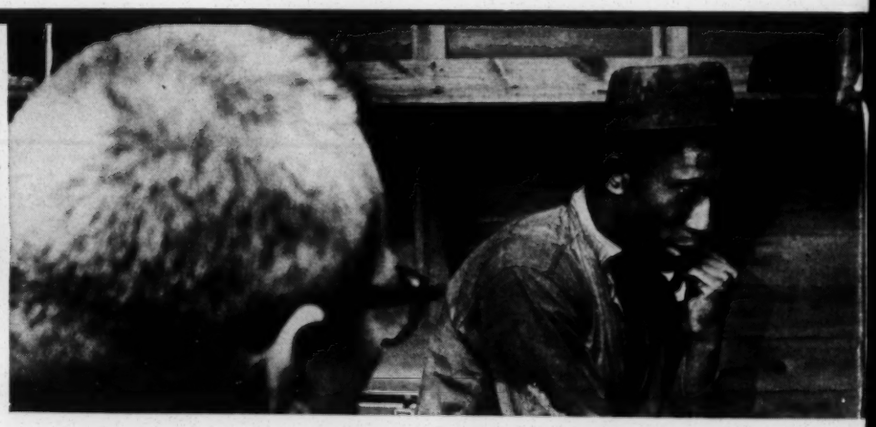


*Unemployed non-white teenagers as percent of non-white teenagers in the labor force.
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor.

This general improvement in production and employment was accompanied by a drop in Negro unemployment as well—from a 12.5 percent jobless rate in 1961 to 10.9 percent in 1963 to 7.1 percent in the early months of 1966. Nevertheless, even in the January-March quarter of 1966, unemployment among Negroes remained somewhat more than double the 3.4 percent jobless rate for whites.

But there is a good deal more to the employment and unemployment situation among Negroes during the past several years.

The substantial decline in the unemployment rate for Negroes—from the recession year 1961 to the early months of 1966—was concentrated among adults, mainly among adult men. However, there was prac-



tically no improvement among Negro teenagers. Gains in employment for Negro teenagers were not great enough to offset the rising number of Negro youth entering the job market.

Among Negro adult men 20 years of age and over, the unemployment rate dropped from 11.7 percent in 1961 to 9.2 percent in 1963 and down to 4.8 percent in January-March 1966. This was a substantial and most welcome improvement.

Unemployment among Negro adult women 20 years of age and over also declined, although at a slower pace than the substantial improvement among adult men. The unemployment rate for Negro adult women declined from 10.6 percent in 1961 to 9.4 percent in 1963 to 5.9 percent in the January-March quarter of 1966.

However, Negro teenage unemployment remained at disastrous levels. Among Negro young men 14 to 19 years of age, there was hardly any improvement at all —from a 24.7 percent unemployment rate in 1961 to 25.4 percent in 1963 to 21.2 percent in January-March 1966.

And among Negro women in the teenage group, the unemployment situation was no better in the early months of 1966 than in the recession year of 1961. The unemployment rate among Negro young women rose from 26.6 percent in 1961 to 33.1 percent in 1963 and was 27.8 percent in January-March 1966.

Much of the reason for these divergent trends can be found in an examination of economic developments.

As the general rise of sales and production proceeded from the bottom of the most recent recession, in the early months of 1961, companies boosted their working hours back towards full workweeks and began to recall workers on layoff. Up to the fall of 1963, general improvements in employment were modest and recalled employes were, for the most part, those with long years of seniority. Among Negroes, it was primarily those workers with long seniority and previous work experience who were recalled or hired. This was reflected in the small decline of Negro adult unemployment, while Negro teenage unemployment actually increased.

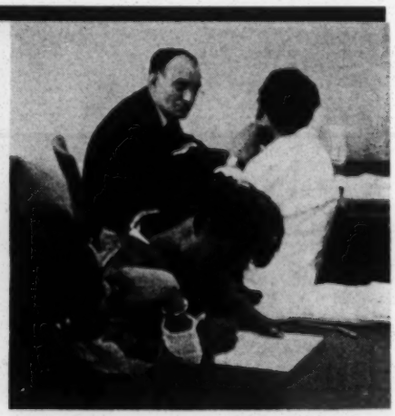
Between 1963 and the early months of 1966, the general economic improvement picked up steam. The faster pace of economic growth—under the impact of the tax cut of 1964, followed in mid-1965 by the additional impact of rising military spending as well—was concentrated in heavy goods manufacturing, construction and related activities. This brought the first significant improvement in factory production and maintenance jobs since 1953. It also brought the first significant increase of construction employment since 1956, with a related rise of job opportunities in the production and distribution of building materials and equipment.

The number of factory production and maintenance jobs, which had dropped 1.5 million between 1953 and 1963, rose about 1.5 million between 1963 and May 1966. Jobs in contract construction, which had increased 400,000 between 1953 and 1956 and then leveled off for seven years, rose 220,000 between 1963 and 1965, with further improvements in early 1966. In addition, the decline of employment in mining and on the railroads slowed down.

This pick-up of economic activities generally, with a concentrated improvement of production and maintenance type employment, brought substantial improvement in the employment situation among Negro adults, especially men. By 1965 and the early months of 1966, most unemployed workers with seniority rights and previous work experience were recalled or hired in most major industrial centers.

Left out, for the most part, were the unskilled generally and unskilled youth in particular—those with little, if any, education, vocational training and regular work experience. Unfortunately, this is a larger group than the Labor Department's unemployment statistics indicate since there is considerable hidden unemployment among the poor and particularly among the Negro poor.

Obviously, the effects of 10 years of a rising trend of unemployment in 1953-1963 and a continuing period of technological revolution and migration from rural areas to the cities—on top of several generations of segregation and discrimination, after more than two centuries of slavery—could not be wiped out in



less than three years of general economic improvement.

The Labor Department's Report on Manpower, issued in March 1966, underscores the fact that the general economic advance had not lasted long enough, or gone deep enough, to prod employers to hire large numbers of unskilled Negro workers—both young people and adults—with little, if any, skills, education, vocational training or regular work experience. Moreover, it verifies the persistence of discrimination in hiring.

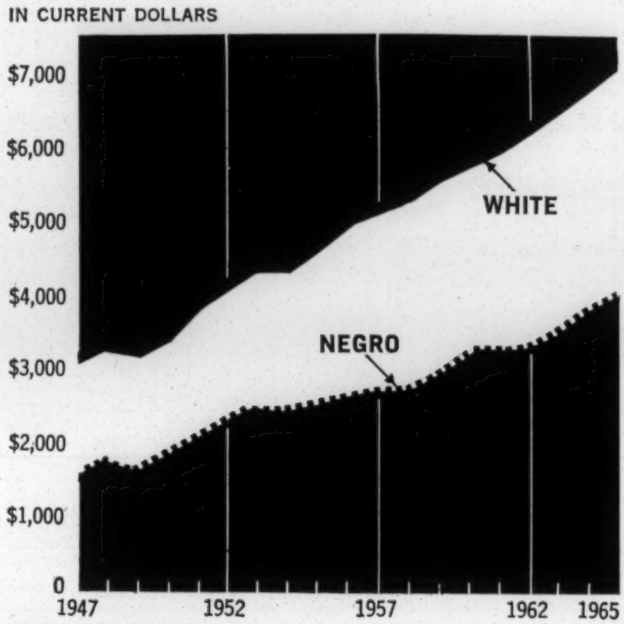
By the early months of 1966, with the jobless rate among adult Negro men down to 4.8 percent, the economic advance had generated job opportunities for the vast majority of Negro workers who had some skills, education, vocational training, seniority or regular work experience. But a continued rapid advance of economic activities—and elimination of discrimination in hiring—was required before the job markets would get tight enough to provide substantial numbers of jobs for the most disadvantaged Negro adults and young people.

However, the pace of rising economic activities slowed down in the April-June quarter of 1966. The increase of employment among Negroes—which had proceeded at a faster pace than among white workers during the previous year—halted immediately. And the improvement of Negro unemployment halted, too.

As a result, unemployment rose from 7.1 percent of the Negro labor force in the early months of the year to 8 percent in the July-September quarter of 1966.

Among Negro adult men, who had benefited most substantially and directly from the rapid economic advance, the jobless rate moved up slightly from 4.8 percent to 4.9 percent. Unemployment among adult women increased to a greater degree. And unemployment among Negro teenagers, which had persisted at disastrous levels even during the economic advance, was 20.6 percent for young men and rose to 33.9 percent for young women in the July-September quarter of 1966. This would mean that, in the summer months of 1966, there were neighborhoods in the Negro areas of the major cities where over 10 percent of the adults and 50 percent or more of the teenagers were unemployed!

THE GAP BETWEEN NEGRO AND WHITE FAMILY INCOME* 1947-1965



*Median family income.
SOURCE OF DATA: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Negro workers hardly needed this additional lesson that the employment and unemployment conditions of the Negro labor force respond quickly and directly to a slowing of economic activities—particularly when it is concentrated in heavy goods industries, home-building and related activities. Moreover, it underscored the fact that another full-blown recession could be a calamity for Negroes by displacing experienced adult workers and sharply reducing the pace of new job opportunities for the growing number of youngsters entering the job market.

Since jobs are the key issue, the creation of job opportunities is the major necessity—obviously accompanied by effective enforcement of the fair employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act to wipe out racial discrimination in hiring and employment practices. Full and fair employment should be the goal.

The most effective action the federal government could take to reach full employment and maintain it would be the creation of job opportunities in the construction and improvement of public facilities and services such as schools, health centers, mass transit systems and the rebuilding of the cities. These programs are needed by a rapidly growing and increasingly urban population.

The planned expansion of such a federal effort is needed in the next 10 years—with federal leadership and adequate federal funds—to improve the quality of life for all Americans while creating job opportunities for an expanding labor force. Planned programs along these lines can create large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, as well as skilled, in building the facilities, producing and distributing the materials and equipment and in providing additional services.

However, the record of recent years also shows that such foundation of general economic policies must be supplemented by special measures if Negro unemployment is to be driven down to minimum levels in the near future and kept there.

For example, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, with its part-time jobs for youngsters, could be expanded considerably and enriched with an emphasis on vocational training and guidance. The operation of the new GI Bill adopted in 1966 should be followed closely, with an eye on improving its effectiveness. Government and private groups should encourage the development of programs to prepare young people for job-entry qualifying exams, such as civil service and apprenticeship entry tests. Adult education and training programs that emphasize literacy and basic arithmetic should be stepped up.

Since education and vocational training are essential to improve a person's ability to compete in the job market, a continuing emphasis on providing Negroes with full and fair opportunities for top quality education and vocational training is fundamental. But the basic prerequisite is an environment of sustained full and fair employment—with expanding employment and increasing opportunities for upgrading and promotion.

Making Equal Rights Laws Work

by Walter G. Davis

The public policy of the United States has declared an end to any and all discrimination against any citizen because of race, color, religion or national origin.

In the last 12 years, each branch of the federal government has played a significant role in fashioning remedies to deal with the overt practices of discrimination which have persisted over the past century.

The federal courts, beginning with the historic 1954 school decision, have been whittling away at the concept of the separate but equal doctrine legally initiated by the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision in 1896.

The Congress of the United States, after its meager beginning in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, has responded to the pressure of public opinion with the enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 1960, 1964 and 1965.

The executive branch of government, under the leadership of the President, has been irrevocably involved in the implementation of programs enacted into law and created by executive orders.

A simple historical analysis of the plight and suffer-

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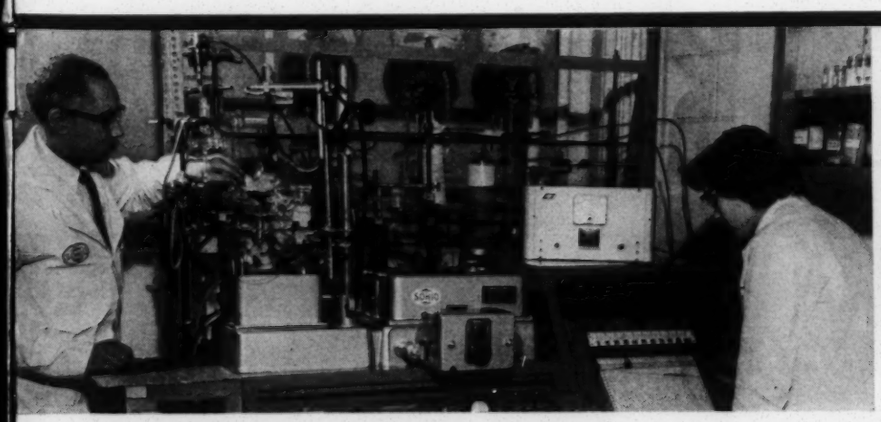


ing of the American Negro over the past 100 years can, indeed, serve as a frame of reference for the problems of the 1960s. We are now engaged in correcting the wrongs of the past in the context of a highly sophisticated society, with all its political, economic and international implications. So complete has been the separation of the races, both physical and otherwise, the social change of the magnitude called for today cannot realistically occur on a piecemeal basis.

Yet that is our present approach and it is a major reason for the frustration in the large Negro ghettos—the frustration that inevitably leads to the unrealistic "let's go it alone" cries of some civil rights leaders.

The present federal government effort must be regarded as only the beginning in a long struggle to make real the goals of our public policy. We also must recognize that laws and federal programs by themselves are not self-implementing and are not always immediately beneficial. These laws and programs require a high degree of citizen participation and goodwill, for we are dealing today with subtle discrimination difficult to attack and even more difficult to detect.

In any event, it will be helpful to examine the existing federal government programs in the field of civil rights. These are the responsible agencies and their functions:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

The Commission was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Its responsibilities were expanded by the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964. It is an independent, bipartisan, fact-finding agency.

The Commission is the national clearinghouse for information on the denial of federal rights because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to, the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, use of public facilities and transportation and the administration of justice, including police-community relations.

The Commission collects, publishes and disseminates information to promote a better understanding of constitutional and statutory requirements relating to civil rights. Its recommendations for corrective actions are made directly to the President and to the Congress. Complaints which it receives with respect to denial of rights are referred to appropriate federal agencies having jurisdiction over such complaints. The Commission also has developed a network of state advisory committees to meet within the respective states periodically to evaluate the problems within the state. In some states, subcommittees are formed to study specific problem areas and to hold hearings which result in the highlighting of discriminatory practices within the state or in local communities. Generally, the state advisory committees represent a broad cross-section of labor, business, civil rights and religious organizations.

The Commission performs a valuable service to other federal agencies in the field. Of its recommendations to the President and to the Congress, approximately 75 percent have been put into effect either by legislation or executive order. Its information role creates a better climate for other federal agencies to move ahead in the field.

Like most other federal civil rights agencies, the Commission lacks adequate funds and staff to enable it to further decentralize its efforts to the grass roots.

Department of Justice—Civil Rights Division

The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, enforces all federal statutes affecting civil rights. The Division, under authority granted by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, can initiate civil suits to prevent and get relief from racial discrimination in voting. The Division institutes investigations and takes legal actions in connection with complaints that citizens are being coerced, threatened or intimidated either by officials or by private persons, in the exercise of their rights to vote for candidates for federal office.

Under authority of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Attorney General may assign federal examiners to register voters in those states and/or counties covered by the Act.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Attorney General may file suits to end patterns or practices of job discrimination; to require the desegregation of public facilities and public institutions such as schools; and to desegregate and to stop interference with the

desegregation of public accommodations, including hotels, motels or restaurants. He also may take legal action to enforce non-discrimination requirements on programs or activities receiving federal funds.

The Division also is responsible for the enforcement of federal criminal statutes dealing with unlawful obstruction of justice, and barring peonage and slavery, and on any illegal use of search warrants. The Division can investigate and prosecute federal, state or local law enforcement officers whenever there is reason to believe they have deliberately misused their authority to deprive a citizen of his constitutional rights. The Division also initiates the necessary action to protect the integrity of orders of federal courts in civil rights cases.

Community Relations Service

Created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and originally placed within the Department of Commerce, the Community Relations Service was transferred in September 1965 to the Department of Justice under the President's realignment of federal responsibilities.

The mission of the Community Relations Service is to help communities cope with disputes and difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin. CRS thus helps communities make peaceful progress toward securing justice and equal opportunity for all their citizens. The agency not only aids in resolving disputes after they have erupted, but also assists communities in achieving the kind of progress in race relations which will enable them to avoid serious upheavals. The latter task requires concern about those deprivations occurring in the lives of minority group citizens which help cause community conflict.

Currently, members of the field staff are working in 43 cities on a regular and part-time basis in large metropolitan areas which have heavy concentrations of minority group citizens. The CRS aim is to help guide social change within the local community without relieving local leadership of its responsibility. As CRS views big city problems, there are several universal characteristics. The most important is the debasing nature of ghetto life. High unemployment among Negro youth and the problem of de facto school segregation also rank high.

CRS provides a valuable aid to local communities because its professional staff is skilled in intergroup relations and is trained to anticipate disputes which may erupt into violence and disorder far in advance of the occurrences. It is the policy of the Service to encourage the formation and strengthening of local human relations commissions. CRS provides on the spot information and materials about existing federal programs and performs a valuable task in putting other federal agencies in communication with local community leaders.

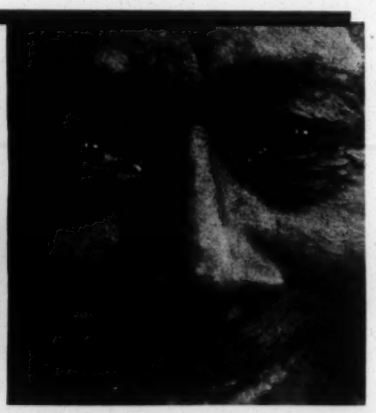
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the EEOC was activated one year later on July 2, 1965. Title VII prohibits employers and unions with 75 or more employes or members from discriminating because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin except in those instances where sex or religion is a bona fide occupational qualification. The law also prohibits discrimination by employment agencies.

The Commission's procedures involve the receipt of complaints from aggrieved persons, analysis of complaints to determine jurisdiction, investigation and the finding of reasonable cause where the complaint is valid. When a cause finding is made, attempts to conciliate the matter are immediately begun between the charging parties and respondents. The Commission cannot initiate legal action to resolve a complaint but it can recommend to the Attorney General that he intervene in a private proceeding brought by the complainant or respondent or that he on his own initiative bring suit where he finds a pattern of practice of employment discrimination.

Independent of the complaint procedure, the Commission promotes affirmative action by employers and unions. Such affirmative action programs relate to the process of hiring, promotion, admission to on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs either unilaterally administered by the employer or those administered by a joint labor-management committee.

To provide racial data for the development of



affirmative action programs, the Commission has distributed a questionnaire to some 78,000 employers—the EEO1 Report Form. It has recently completed Report Form EEO2, which will provide racial data on existing apprenticeship training programs. It plans to develop Report Form EEO3 for data regarding union involvement in the hiring process. Information gathered with respect to the latter form will come from unions which operate hiring halls and job referral systems.

The Commission recently activated a field program in 10 major U.S. cities and hopes to expand it.

Among the basic problems plaguing the EEOC are budget and staff limitations which limit the scope of its activities and the lack of definition of what is or what is not a violation of Title VII in many situations.

The agency welcomes the cooperation of the trade union movement and the business community in reaching equitable settlements to the valid complaints before it. Quite often when communication breaks down at the local level, contacts made with the national union headquarters and corporate headquarters facilitate the handling of complaints during the investigation and conciliation stages.

Another major problem facing the Commission is that much of its work places it within the collective bargaining process—a sore point with both business and labor. Unions are concerned that the law does not tamper with valid rights and benefits gained through collective bargaining. Employers, on the other hand, are concerned about the encroachment upon what they consider traditional management prerogatives.

The AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, recognizing the difficulties facing the Commission, has maintained close liaison with its operations over the past year. The need to refine procedures in support of a joint cooperative effort between the Commission, labor and management is high on the Commission's agenda.

U.S. Department of Labor—Office of Federal Contract Compliance

The Department of Labor is charged, among other things, with ensuring that federal government contractors and subcontractors do not discriminate against any employe or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin and that employes are treated, during employment, without regard to any racial, religious or ethnic factors.

Non-discriminatory requirements extend to employment, promotion, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay; and selection for training, including apprenticeship.

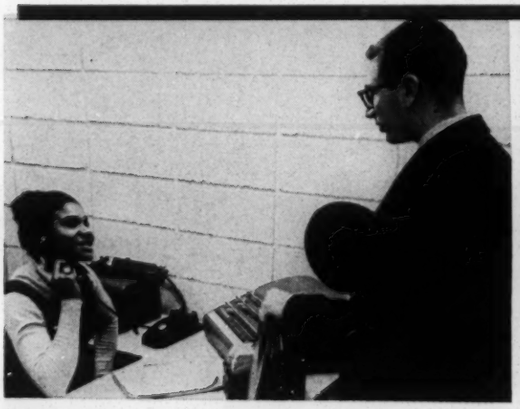
The Office of Federal Contract Compliance is responsible for carrying out the responsibilities assigned the Secretary of Labor by executive order regarding non-discrimination in federally assisted construction, contracts or subcontracting, e.g., contracts made by states to build highways, hospitals or homes with federal assistance. The Office is further assigned the jobs of developing and recommending to the Secretary of Labor rules and regulations necessary and appropriate to achieve non-discrimination goals; coordinating with the EEOC and the Department of Justice on matters relating to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and maintaining liaison with other agencies having civil rights and equal employment opportunity activities.

In another area of the Department's civil rights responsibilities, Manpower Administration Order No. 22-65, dated July 15, 1965, was issued "to establish the organization, define responsibilities and specify procedures for achieving compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Department's Non-discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs Regulations." The manpower order covers activities in Employment Service programs, the Manpower Development and Training Act, work training under the Economic Opportunity Act and other government-sponsored training.

President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing

One of the responsibilities of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing is to encourage educational programs to eliminate racial discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with federal assistance.

Established by executive order, the Committee also is charged with the supervision and coordination of activities of the various federal departments and agencies



in preventing discrimination in housing and related facilities they own and operate and in housing and facilities assisted by programs they administer.

U.S. Civil Service Commission

The U.S. Civil Service Commission is responsible for supervising and providing leadership and guidance in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs for the civilian employes of and applicants for employment within the executive departments and agencies of the federal government.

It is the policy of the federal government to provide equal opportunity in federal employment for all qualified persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin and to promote equal employment opportunity through a positive, continuing program in each executive department and agency.

The Commission has the responsibility of providing for the prompt, fair and impartial consideration of all complaints of discrimination in federal employment on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin.

To carry out its civil rights responsibilities, the Commission issues regulations, orders and instructions it deems necessary and appropriate and the head of each executive department and agency is required to comply with the regulations, orders and instructions issued by the Commission in the discharge of its functions.

In reality, all federal departments and agencies are responsible for compliance with the civil rights laws and regulations as they affect programs administered by the governmental units, but the main ones can be highlighted:

- The new Department of Housing and Urban Development is responsible for securing compliance with the executive order and federal laws which require non-discrimination in the sale and rental of federal and federally-assisted housing, including public housing, urban renewal, college housing, Federal Housing Administration-insured homes and community facilities.
- The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for enforcement of federal laws and executive orders outlawing racial discrimination in the numerous programs administered by its scores of offices and bureaus. The Department's Office of Education, for example, is responsible for assuring non-discrimination in federal aid-to-education programs, including aid to colleges and universities, elementary and secondary schools and libraries.

The Department is charged with the responsibility of administering other major programs such as Medicare, Hill-Burton hospital construction grants and vocational education projects.

The Office of Special Assistant for Civil Rights in the Secretary's office coordinates the departmental civil rights policies and programs, including contracts, federal employment and construction projects.

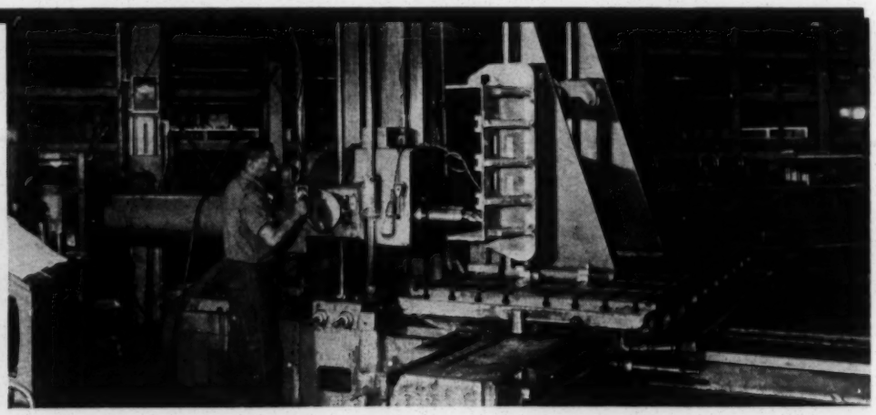
- The Department of Defense has responsibility for implementing programs requiring equal opportunity in the recruitment, training and promotion of military personnel; carries out programs designed to secure equal treatment of military personnel in off-base facilities near military installations and implements regulations requiring non-discrimination in employment under contracts it lets.

The Department of Defense is by far the largest of the contracting agencies in terms of federal dollars spent.

The record shows there is deep involvement by the government in civil rights matters. There is, however, a competitive spirit between agencies which tends to cause some breakdowns in communications. Sometimes the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing. This is a real problem in the employment field.

For example, with each department contracting for goods and services with large business firms, the public policy on employment discrimination sometimes gets lost in the shuffle. What constitutes compliance might be one thing for the contracting agency, another for the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and still another for the Title VII Commission. This leads to confusion and chaos for the business firm and the union with which it deals. The tragic result quite often is a loss of goodwill and cooperation from the private sector, a condition which inhibits the effective implementation of the laws and executive orders.

It would be valuable for the total effort if each



agency involved worked toward improving its liaison functions. Otherwise, there should be reestablished an umbrella organization of the type formerly headed by Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

The beneficiaries of civil rights legislation obviously are America's minority groups. We must encourage the utilization of the programs developed by each agency, especially those programs which include the right of grievance. Through stepped-up education programs which portray a total picture of the nation's public policy in this field, all citizens will be better served. It will also help put the aspirations of Negroes and Spanish-American citizens into proper perspective in terms of what they can expect from their government.

The NAACP and the New Strategy

by Roy Wilkins

The forward momentum of the civil rights movement, as viewed nationally, has clearly slowed. There are two main reasons for this, one a matter of basic strategy, the other a temporary stiffening of resistance on the part of the majority population, dismayed and confused by the "black power" cry and by repeated instances of destructive rioting by Negroes in a number of large cities.

ROY WILKINS is Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

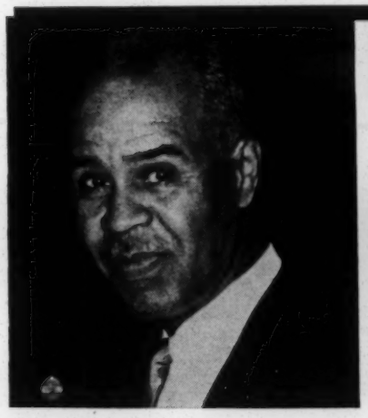
It would be easy, in the latter case, to sound a retreat or a reduction of effort on the theory that the way to deal with the so-called white backlash is to appease it. To take this course, however, would be as self-defeating as it would be tragic and the NAACP rejects such a choice. What is called for, nevertheless, is a sober assessment of the means to be employed—in concert with enlightened white leadership (business, labor, religion and others) in bringing the white majority to a recognition of its obligations in the fight for racial equality. This is an easily stated goal, but difficult of accomplishment. Its accomplishment, however, is vital if the basic strategy is to have any chance of success.

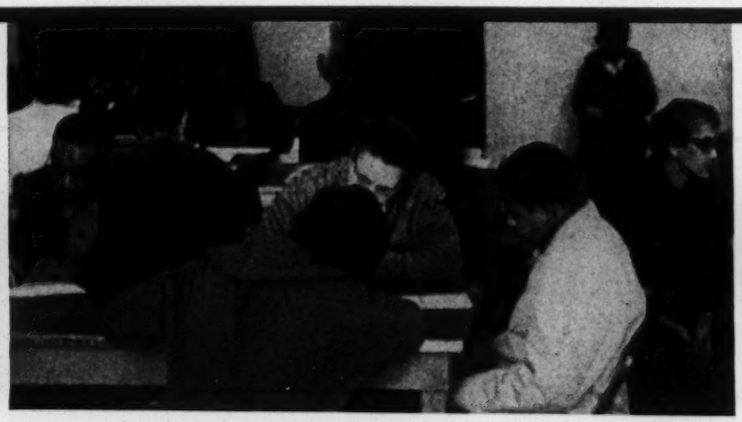
This strategy is based upon the obvious fact that, however much remains to be done in guaranteeing the Negro enjoyment of his constitutional rights, their fulfillment requires a massive upgrading of Negro economic status. The complex of unemployment and under-employment, of poverty and dependency, of low skills and low pay which characterize the Negro community must be radically changed. Since a sizable component of the white population is similarly afflicted, the problem is national, not racial.

The development of solutions for this national problem and the formulation of the interdependent goals and tactics have occupied national civil rights attention for a number of months. Unified effort behind the "Freedom Budget" will almost certainly be a prime element in the programs of the NAACP and other groups in the forseeable future. Again, while the objectives are easily stated, their attainment will demand both comprehension and cooperation by all our constituencies on an unprecedented scale.

At the same time, and especially for the NAACP, the day-to-day job of implementing and extending the civil rights of Negro Americans in a thousand cities and towns must go on. Access to public accommodations, legal redress of all kinds, police brutality complaints, school desegregation and upgrading, citizenship training, job discrimination, voting and housing bias will continue to occupy the energies and resources of our membership, aided by our field and consultant staff.

Because experience has shown that accurate knowl-





edge and understanding of the NAACP, its structure and its operations cannot be taken for granted, a brief discussion of the Association itself is in order here.

It is difficult to understand the NAACP without some knowledge of its institutional function as distinct from its role as a vehicle for day-to-day agitation and protest.

There is no counterpart in the organization spectrum of civil rights for the NAACP's nationwide structure of state and local units, including youth and student groups, and numbering over 1,600. A few big city branches maintain their own offices and paid personnel, but most are volunteer-manned. All the units are served by a national headquarters staff of 75 in New York City, by a Washington Bureau in the nation's capital, by professionally staffed voter registration offices in Richmond and Memphis, and by 18 field and regional offices with paid professional personnel. The paid-up membership at the close of 1965 was some 445,000.

Even allowing for wide variations in the effectiveness of individual NAACP units and for the occasional delays in mobilizing local leaders whose personal capabilities often differ widely, it would be hard to overestimate the strength of the aggregate organizational resource at the NAACP's disposal.

Thus, while the NAACP's leadership may not be everywhere and at all times paramount, the NAACP and its units have collectively borne the lion's share of the burden. This is the case whether the target has been in housing, in employment, in vote denials, in school segregation or in public accommodations.

During 1960, most of the young people arrested in sit-in demonstrations were NAACP youth and college members; indeed, it was the NAACP youth groups in Oklahoma City and Wichita who first applied the sit-in technique on a massive scale to desegregate large numbers of restaurants in 1958 and 1959.

Most of the Negro pupils who desegregated public schools in the South following the 1954 decision depended on NAACP legal and other assistance in order to do so. Most of the Negro voters added to the registration books in southern states during this period were placed there in the course of NAACP campaigns.

NAACP units have sponsored a majority of the marches, boycotts and other "direct" actions of the recent past.

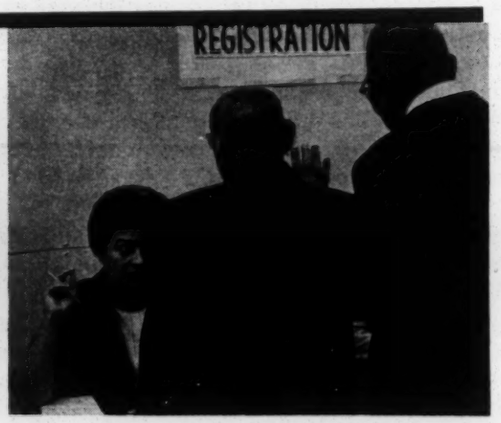
A substantial proportion of the Association's energies is devoted to its organizational maintenance—fund raising, membership solicitation, staff recruitment and training and the complex array of concerns entailed in administering a large enterprise.

The general public addresses between 50,000 and 60,000 letters a year to the national office of the NAACP, seeking assistance with literally every conceivable problem, offering every conceivable kind of advice or suggestion. Hundreds of visitors are seen every year, including newspapermen, radio and television interviewers, writers, students, government officials and foreign observers.

The staff, including specialists in training, housing, labor, public relations, voter registration and education, annually travel hundreds of thousands of miles, conferring with local NAACP leaders, making speeches and investigating complaints. The two-way flow of information, both written and oral, between the staff and the Negro community is constant and prodigious.

The organizational influence of the NAACP is much more than the collective weight of its membership applied to a boycott or other action. It is also an obscure branch in a small southern town, concealing its membership from a bitterly hostile white community, but maintaining from year to year a nucleus of people dedicated to the ideal of racial justice, without which there would be total wasteland.

The Association had small beginnings. Some 60 leaders, representative of both races and three faiths, established the NAACP in 1909, following a national conference in New York City to examine the plight of the Negro. Disfranchised by force and subterfuge in the South, where 90 percent of Negroes resided, and without an effective voice in the North, the Negro was being lynched at the rate of two per week and was being slaughtered in larger numbers in increasingly violent race riots. He was at the bottom of the economic pile, ill-educated if, indeed, he received any schooling and destined, in the view of some social



experts, to extinction within a couple of generations.

The years before 1909 had seen numerous efforts to found viable national organizations to advance the Negro's cause, but none had survived more than a brief few years. One of the reasons for the NAACP's success where others had failed was its early decision to establish local branches throughout the country and to pursue the work of the Association equally on local and national levels. As early as 1918, there were 165 branches, 69 of them in southern states, including South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Legal action was an essential first strategy because, lacking both political and economic power, the Negro's most promising means of achieving change was to revive the constitutional guarantees developed to safeguard the freedmen after Emancipation but virtually nullified by the courts in the late nineteenth century.

This strategy paid off well and, in a succession of carefully planned, brilliantly argued NAACP cases, the basic rights of Negroes were creatively reaffirmed and expanded. The culmination was the U.S. Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling of May 17, 1954.

The NAACP is a membership corporation under the laws of New York State. It is governed by a national board of directors numbering 60 members, 42 of whom are elected directly by the local units—with regional, youth and at-large representation—and 18 by the board itself. During the NAACP's first two decades, membership on the board was entirely determined within the board. Side by side with this democratization, the proportion of Negro board members has increased from a minority to a majority of more than four-fifths.

Basic policy is established at annual conventions of delegates elected by the branches. Policies adopted by the convention are submitted to the board of directors before taking effect and may be disapproved by a two-thirds vote in the board; such disapproval can be overridden by majority vote of the branches.

The NAACP operates on a budget which, for the past two or three years, has been in excess of a million and a half dollars a year. The principal source of income is annual membership dues, ranging upward from a minimum of $2.00 (by far the majority), contributions and fundraising by the branches. Until April 1964, the NAACP was unable to receive tax-exempt contributions and gifts have always been small. Treasury approval has now been secured for a Special Contribution Fund, to which tax-deductible gifts can be made for most of the NAACP's programs.

The Association's goal is substantially unchanged since the beginning, namely, the complete elimination of racial discrimination from all aspects of American life. The methods have included every legitimate instrument of protest, agitation and propaganda and remedial action has been sought through courts, legislative bodies and executive authority. Direct action against discrimination will continue to be used wherever it will be effective.

The period ahead will find the NAACP increasingly concerned with matters beyond the confines of civil rights activity, narrowly defined. It is evident that the Negro's advancement depends not only on getting his rightful share, but upon an economy strong enough to ensure him a meaningful share. This has led to a policy expansion in which the problem of poverty will become a major concern. It is also clear that emergence into an integrated society imposes certain demands and obligations upon a Negro community which in some respects has been ill-prepared by segregation to assume them. Here, too, the Association will find additional challenges and will seek new remedies.

Labor's Civil Rights Committee

Following are the members of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee:

- William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO, Chairman
- William H. Bowe, Secretary-Treasurer, Sleeping Car Porters
- Max Greenberg, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union
- George M. Harrison, Chief Executive Officer, Railway Clerks
- Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers
- Paul L. Jennings, President, Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
- Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
- Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer, United Auto Workers
- Lee Minton, President, Glass Bottle Blowers
- Joseph Maloney, Vice President, Steelworkers
- Thomas Murphy, President, Bricklayers
- Frederick O'Neal, President, Actors' Equity
- William Pollock, President, Textile Workers Union of America
- Robert E. Powell, Vice President, Laborers
- P. L. Siemiller, President, Machinists
- Louis Simon, Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers
- James A. Suffridge, President, Retail Clerks
- David Sullivan, President, Building Service Employes
- Richard F. Walsh, President, Theatrical Stage Employes
- Hunter P. Wharton, President, Operating Engineers
- Charles Zimmerman, General Manager, Dress Joint Board, Ladies' Garment Workers

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department consists of four fulltime staff members at federation headquarters and a southern area director located in Atlanta, Georgia.

Books, Films and Pamphlets

The Negro and Organized Labor.

By Ray Marshall. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 605 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 1965. 320 pages. $6.95.

In this balanced work, Professor Marshall reports that "discrimination—by unions and in the larger society—has declined markedly since 1940 and significantly since 1960." But Professor Marshall, who teaches economics at the University of Texas, also notes that progress was long in coming. He traces the historical background, defines problem areas remaining and suggests what can be done. This study grew out of a research program at the University of California.

A Common Goal—Equal Opportunity.

AFL-CIO Pamphlet 8D. 12 pages. Free in limited quantities.

The resolution on civil rights passed by the Sixth AFL-CIO convention in December 1965 is reprinted in this pamphlet. It sets forth the federation's policy on equal educational opportunity, open occupancy, equal employment rights, voting and legal rights.

Changing Employment Practices in the Construction Industry.

Community Relations Service, U.S. Conference of Mayors. Available from AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Free in limited quantities.

A background paper designed to acquaint mayors and other government officials with the problems of the building and construction unions and the reason for their concern over job control.

Civil Rights, Employment and the Social Status of American Negroes.

By Harold L. Sheppard and Herbert E. Striner. W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 300 S. Westnedge Ave., Kalamazoo, Michigan. 85 pages. Single copy free.

This study emerges from work done earlier under contract with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It reviews present relationships of employment, earnings and family structure to the civil rights of Negroes.

Black Power and Coalition.

By Bayard Rustin. Reprint from Commentary magazine, September 1966. Available from A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 W. 125th St., New York, N.Y. 8 pages. 15 cents.

Rustin argues in this article that the "black power" appeal among ghetto Negroes reflects despair over the lack of progress towards integration. He observes that legislative and judicial gains of the past decade have been great, but that economic gains have been nil.

The Watts "Manifesto" and the McCone Report.

By Bayard Rustin. Reprinted from Commentary magazine. Available from League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y. 8 pages. 25 cents.

Rustin points out certain misconceptions in the McCone Report. He says the report shows little understanding of the causes of the riot. He makes some limited proposals, especially in the area of jobs.

The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South.

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. 40 pages. Single copy free.

Despite press reports of peaceful progress in school integration throughout the South, a recent survey by the Southern Regional Council and the American Friends Service Committee indicates there was little progress made in integration and retaliation against Negroes was often severe.

Films on Civil Rights.

AFL-CIO pamphlet. 8 pages. Single copy free.

This catalog describes 26 films on civil rights and is available from the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education.

(Available from AFL-CIO Film Library)

For Fair Play.

Pennsylvania State Commission on Industrial Race Relations. 30 minutes. 1955. Rental $3.

A white machinist becomes concerned about the inability of a Negro machinist to find a job and initiates a community-wide program to fight such discrimination.

Burden of Truth.

United Steelworkers. 68 minutes. 1958. Rental $3.

The attempt of a Negro couple to move into a new house in a white neighborhood and the conflict which follows is the central theme of this film.

Union and Freedom.

Chemical Workers. 13 minutes. 1964. Rental $3.

Union and civil rights forces unite to win a strike in Atlanta, Georgia, against the Scripto company.

Face of the South.

Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. 26 minutes. Color. 1956. Rental $3.

This film presents a chalk talk by George Mitchell, former director of the Southern Regional Council, on the historical, cultural and economic background of current problems in the South.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

What we, the citizens of today, do will shape the world our children will inherit tomorrow.◆◆◆◆ If they are to be free and secure and enjoy happiness, we must lay the groundwork.◆◆◆◆It is to building this better world that the AFL-CIO is dedicated – to the ultimate good of all mankind.◆◆

12/19/66

Letter from

Somebody ought to tell Memphis Labor leaders + Union Members. - The AFL members + RAILROAD BROTHERS are worse than the old CIO unions but MOST ARE BAD & very few signs of improvement. My guess is that is that its just as bad in all Southern States and in ATLANTA -

Edmund Orgill
1490 Linden
Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Via

Somebody ought to tell Labor leaders — the AFL-CIO — the Brotherhoods are worse than the AFL-CIO unions but very few members of the AFL-CIO are aware of this. Why guess is bad in all Southern States as well as Atlanta

The Southern Regional Council's Labor Program is pleased to send you the enclosed copy of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST (November, 1966).

You will note that the entire magazine is devoted to civil rights issues. The articles focus primarily on jobs, unions, and training in the context of what is happening in the struggle for equal opportunity and in the economy.

The magazine as a whole is one expression of the labor movement's recognition of the seriousness of race related problems and a call to find those policies and channels for action which can make equality real.

I would welcome any reactions which you have to this special issue.

Sincerely yours,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Cismont, Va 22928
Dec 15, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council Inc
5 Forsyth St NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr Via:

Thank you very much for sending me the Nov 1966 issue of the American Federationist. I shall use it as a reference for a long time.

I am wondering if I can be of help in seeing that this issue is more widely read in Charlottesville?

Sincerely,

Mrs. T. H. Hunter

Temple B'nai Israel
Capitol Avenue and Broadway
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 15, 1966

Office of the Rabbi
Elijah E. Palnick, Th.D., M.A.H.L.

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I was delighted to receive the magazine. Certainly you are addressing an important group if civil rights for all our citizens are to be peaceably secure in the tradition of American political alliances.

Sincerely,

Elijah E. Palnick

ELIJAH E. PALNICK

EEP:dl

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
School of Education
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
AREA 212 777-2000

Center for Human Relations and Community Studies

December 15, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I found the November, 1966 copy of the AMERICAN FEDERALIST extremely interesting. Could you please send me ten extra copies for my staff here at the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies?

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Dan W. Dodson

Dan W. Dodson
Director

bb

Rec'd Dec 19, 1966

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

December 16, 1966

George Meany, Director of Publications
AF of L - CIO Building
815 - 16th Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Meany:

Through the courtesy of the Southern Regional Council I have just received a copy of your monthly magazine which was devoted to the top of Equal Rights. I would like to congratulate you and your organization on this publication. The articles in the journal are well written but even more important they get to the heart of the problem of equal rights.

I would like to also take this opportunity to congratulate you and your organization on the stand that you have taken in this very difficult and complicated problem which is facing our country. Certainly the support that your group is giving will assist us in moving down the road towards the solution of some of the many problems which face us before all American citizens have equal opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert W. Wey
Associate Dean

HWW:ivs
Dict. 12.15.66

cc: Emory F. Via
Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

COPY

TENNESSEE A. AND I. STATE UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

December 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

I have read with interest and commend you for the circulation of American Federationist for November 1966 which deals with the current Civil Rights issue.

If at all possible I would appreciate receiving at least 45 copies of the issue for use with a class which I conduct.

I will be able to use the copies for subsequent classes.

Thank you for whatever consideration you may give this request.

Yours truly,

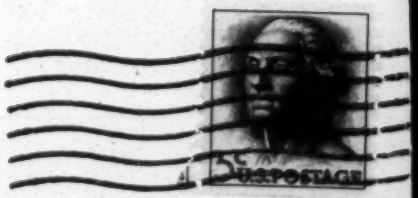
Earl L. Sasser

Earl L. Sasser
Professor of English

sent 12/19/66

Federal Court Reporter

DENTON, TX
DEC 19
PM
1966



Mr. Emory F. Via,
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta,
Ga.
30303

So.
Reg.
Email

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IV
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

OFFICE OF
THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

December 20, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The November 1966 American Federationist Magazine on Equal Rights: "To Realize the Promise" is a valuable presentation because it reemphasizes the moral basis of Civil Rights and further confirms the dedication of the AFL-CIO to equality in a democracy.

Thanks for sending me a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Younge

Samuel L. Younge
Program Coordination Officer, CR

Received 12/20/66

The Southern Regional Council's Labor Program is pleased to send you the enclosed copy of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST (November, 1966).

You will note that the entire magazine is devoted to civil rights issues. The articles focus primarily on jobs, unions, and training in the context of what is happening in the struggle for equal opportunity and in the economy.

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I would welcome any reactions which you have to this special issue.

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Very interesting & informative.
Please send me your AFL-CIO pamphlet listing "Films on Civil Rights." (?)

Anne Hamilton
Dept. of Ed. Library
State Office Bldg
Frankfort, Ky.

ordered from Ed. Dept

MORRIS J. SMALL

450 CAMERON STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

TELEPHONE CL 3-5113

December 22, 1966

Emory F. Via Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sir:
Please accept my thanks for the copy of "The American Federationist" for the month of November 1966.

You asked for my reactions.

In my view, the forthright articles written by the several participants support the fact that there is a Great Universal Intelligence,at the source of all creation. Those who are illumined by this Great Intelligence, to mind compare with a light bulb that is in contact with the generator,or power plant, show that they are in contact with it.

In fact the several articles and editoral could not have been forthcoming without this kind of contact. In the face of facts as I see them the writers of these articles put this contact into reality.

Some others whom I think were in this kind of contact are: (1) Paul who wrote to the church; Galatian (6:7) "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. (2) The scientist who says that for every act there is an equal and opposite reaction. (3) The moralist who says that for every privilege there is a responsibility. (4) The man who wrote no man is an island--each man is my brother each man is my friend. (5)The writers of the declaration of independence "When in the course of human events,------Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them etc."

There are two attacks which I consider vital from these articles: One, the use of the law as a doorway to establishing the opportunities for right action and for justice.

The other is to confront forthrightly and candidly the issues that plague our times in such way that the opressed and deprived peoples of the world can recognize a strong support in favor of right. I view the content of this issue of the Federationist as a sort of creed which when digested from the total writings could be disseminated among our growing generation in order to break down or even remove the present day apathy which make our youth and young adults feel that they have no chance to work and share in the development of this world as well as to enjoy the fruits of their labors.

I do believe that a much more nearly perfect world is in themaking. Those who help to bring it about will be rewarded accordingly. Those who have a chance to build their world will enrich it because such people will earn the citizenship for which they will prove worthy. In fact it is imperative that people work and share in the development and promotion of their own livelihood.

"For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night"

Gratefully yours

Morris J. Small

ST. MARY'S CHURCH
YAZOO CITY, MISSISSIPPI

December 22
1966

Mr Emory F Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the copy of the November issue of the Federationist. I had no idea the AFL-CIO is so committed to human rights. I am subscribing for a few copies each month.

Yours sincerely,
Chas C Hunter
Pastor

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Governor's Commission On Human Rights

902 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
1 WEST WILSON STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53702
PHONE: (608) 266-1231

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December 22, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I much appreciate your sending me a copy of the American Federationist for November, 1966. For anyone who is interested or involved in the civil rights movement this issue includes a great deal of valuable material, both historical and current, but most encouraging is the expression of organized labor's commitment to full equality.

It was good to see you at the White House Conference. Best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

Aubrey

G. Aubrey Young, Director

GAY:ss

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Los Angeles Chapter

590 North Vermont Avenue • Suite 259, Los Angeles, California 90004 • NOrmandy 3-2185

December 23, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Please send me 5 copies of the November 1966 issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, which was devoted to civil rights. I thought this was very well done and I am planning to make it available within the AJC structure.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

Jack Panitz

Jack Panitz
Community Relations Coordinator

Sent 12/27/66

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Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Please send me 10 copies of the November

Federationist.

Signed Paul Wahrhaftig

Organization Georgia Council on Human Relations

12/27/66

To: All State Councils on Human Relations

From: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council

By now you have probably seen a copy of the enclosed Federationist (published by the AFL-CIO).

Would you be interested in extra copies?

For: Unions and union leaders -- many do not subscribe to the magazine 10

Persons interested in civil rights who should know of labor's similar interest 30 Board of Directors N.C.C.H.R.

General informational purposes. ~~5~~ 10

Within some limits I can provide you with extra copies free of charge on a first come first serve basis.

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Please send me 50 copies of the November Federationist.

Signed W. C. Allred, Jr.

Organization N. C. Council on Human Relations

Emory: Rept 12/28/66

Convention, if possible, fifty!

Will

Thanks!

We are still fairly closely involved with TWUA and Local mills!

WCA

Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
INCORPORATED
Reynolda
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

December 28, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I have scanned most of your recent publication (that is, the one you sent me, the Federationist) with great interest. I read with some care two or three articles, and particularly profited from reading Nathan Goldfinger's piece on "Negroes and Jobs."

That we have had discrimination against the Negro in the South and elsewhere in the Nation for years and years is an undeniable fact. I deplore this as much as anybody could. I do not know how we can wipe it out until we can change the hearts of men, but there is something that can be done, and should be done, to make it possible for the Negro to compete in the struggle for good jobs and equal treatment. I refer here simply to the most urgent need of trying to improve educational facilities, and thus educational backgrounds of the Negro. Having spent more than thirty years in higher education, and having become quite cognizant of the nature of our institutions of higher learning for Negro youth in this State, I know that the Negro boy and girl go to the college with real disadvantages. He is anywhere from one to four years behind his white counterpart, and of course, through no fault of his own. He has been forced to participate in a cruel, duel system which automatically denied him an opportunity to compete with the best in the land. Even so, I think something, some way must be found to improve the Negro institutions, which cannot be wiped out overnight, in order to improve the educational qualifications of the graduates of these institutions. One could also include vocational schools or technical schools of all kinds and still be speaking relevantly to the issue at hand.

The City of Winston-Salem, where I now reside, has a good record in trying to provide equal employment opportunities. Industries here, and that includes businesses of all kinds, have tried, generally, to be fair and square about this matter. They, meaning the leaders of these industries and businesses, are frequently frustrated simply because they cannot find qualified Negroes to take jobs. This leads me to my point: Can we not, all of us, find some way to improve educational opportunities for Negroes? We have no right to expect business, industry, or Government, for that matter, to employ people who cannot do the job. A double standard is no answer and would only lead us into more difficulty.

How can a foundation be of assistance in this gigantic problem?

Sincerely,

Wm. C. Archie

Wm. C. Archie
Executive Director

jb

Transcribed and signed in the
Director's absence to avoid delay

Fed

THE METROPOLITAN BAPTIST CHURCH
767 WALKER AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

29 December 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thanks for the Copy of the American Federationist which has recently come to my desk. I glanced over it at once and then returned to the careful perusal of it, for to me, it is a very interesting presentation of what is taking place under the guidance of the AFL - CIO.

The editorial - "Labor's Commitment" - presented over the signature of Mr. George Meany is a document which expresses all and more than the federal constitution of the United States does. Every constituent of the National Congress should have a copy of the same. In fact he and she should be required to submit a written comment on his or her attitude on the democracy they stand for. Genuine Americans deplore the actions and expressions of the demagogues who are anxious to capitalize upon the much rioting that has been so prevalent here in the country in recent times. We hope for a curbing of that which grows out of unreasoning selfishness.

Thanks for the articles in this edition from the pens of worthy men of nationally known organizations that are doing a good job for the purpose of helping to solve the vital problems of race, education and economics and other forms of democracy affecting the United States of America.

Congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. Owen

S. A. Owen

Fedwa

GENERAL BROTHERHOOD BOARD / 1451 DUNDEE AVENUE / ELGIN, ILLINOIS 60120 / PHONE (312) 742-5100

Church of the Brethren

December 30, 1966

Emory F. Via, Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for the copy of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST and for calling this issue to our attention.

It is a very good item and I am sure I will find it helpful in my work. I may need to order more copies.

Thank you again and a very Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Lee

Lee G. Whipple, Director
Social Welfare and Race Relations

LGW:ba

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

January 3, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

The copy of the November AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST which you sent out is excellent (I receive AFL-CIO publications regularly, and had already seen a copy).

Enclosed is some information about PROJECT EQUALITY which should interest you. This program is being instituted in Tennessee in the spring, and presentations have been made in Virginia on an interfaith basis and in Miami and New Orleans.

I will look forward to meeting you when I attend the Interagency meeting January 18-19.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Sisson

John P. Sisson

Enclosures

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Joseph N. Clemens, vice chairman

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185 North Wabash Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60601
Phone 744-4045
executive director **Charles P. Livermore**

City of Chicago
Richard J. Daley, mayor

January 5, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, H.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Happy New Year!

Your memo with the special AFL-CIO Federationist of November 1966, sent to our Research Department, was referred to me. It came the day after the letter from Ted Ruhig from Hawaii which told me that he is now Executive Secretary of that State's Manpower Commission.

In my opinion, the Equal Rights issue is fine as far as it goes. However, there is need for the AFL-CIO and its affiliated international unions to program in greater depth into urban area problems. There are great opportunities for pioneering in projects that would make basic impact upon equal opportunities, such as with community councils, youth program, public safety and family life.

The experiences of this Commission would be very valuable. As community organization and planning specialists, we have implemented many significant joint government and non-government efforts that have made telling effects upon large numbers of families, youth, and local community agencies.

(more)

You will be interested to know that the Executive Director of this agency, Charles Livermore, was an early staff member of national CIO's community services program and had other labor union experiences.

Important non-government bodies, other than organized labor, are addressing themselves to, and participating, in, local community projects. Organized labor will need to move forthrightly to keep up with them. (an issue of the Federationist might be devoted to such activities that organized labor bodies are already engaged in.)

Please give my best to your wife and son. Our new address is 6630 North Newgard, Chicago, Illinois, 60626.

My work here is most interesting and challenging.

This department has four excellent professionals and good, conscientious clerical staff members.

When are you visiting Chicago? Please let me know.

With warmest good wishes

Cordially yours,

Archie

Aaron Aronin
Director
Department of City-Wide Services

AA:dab

Federationist

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WELFARE

January 5, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Dr. Coyle E. Moore, Dean of the school of Social Welfare circulated a copy of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, November 1966 to some of the members of the faculty.

I am especially interested in this special issue and feel it calls to attention the fact that the labor unions do have not only a strong commitment to full equality for all citizens but that their interests in eliminating slums, building better homes, providing better health care, etc. are in line with social welfare's goals for the citizens of this country.

In addition to letting you know that I am personally delighted to see such a statement of commitment being circulated, I also wanted to let you know that we have a group of students in our Department of Social Work that are planning with the help of faculty to bring several speakers to our campus on the general subject of the goals of labor unions and the goals of social work. Mr. Hal Farrier, a graduate student now working on his MSW will be writing you about several specifics, I hope that you will find it possible to be of some assistance to him and to the school in finding the best speakers.

May I also ask if it would be possible to get additional copies of the November issue of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. It may not be possible for you to supply us with 100 copies for the on campus student body but any number would help. We can place it in the library for all to read.

Sincerely yours,

Walter H. Ehlers

Walter H. Ehlers, D.S.W.
Professor of Social Work

CC: Dr. Levine

Effective Teaching and School Desegregation

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203

Federationist

January 6, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for the Civil Rights Issue of the American Federationist. I believe the articles included in this issue brings one up to date on a significant area of life within our community. I can call this material to the attention of a group of teachers who have spent summers at Fisk considering programs aiming out of school desegregation.

I appreciate you sending this to my desk.

Sincerely,

Wilson Q. Welch, Jr.

WQW/ke

Xlad

January 9, 1967

Dr. Walter H. Ehlers
Professor of Social Work
Department of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Dr. Ehlers:

Thank you for your response to the mailing of the Federationist.

I will be happy to be of such assistante to Mr. Farrier as I can.

Under separate cover I am sending you 100 copies of the magazine for your use at the University.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Personal
already
ck
to
Jane

Interracial Association of Binghamton, Inc.

45 CARROLL STREET BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

DR. CHARLES Z. WILSON
President

WINIFRED G. McDUFFIE
Director
Education and Employment

PHONE RA 3-8381
RA 3-8382

HAND in HAND WORK AND PLAY INTERRACIAL - ASSOCIATION

January 9, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

We were delighted to hear from you and Margaret at Christmas, but terribly disappointed to realize that we might have had a chance to see you last year when we were in Chapel Hill. We did make several trips to LaGrange to see my parents.

We are very interested to know that you are back in Atlanta, and as you can see, our mutual interests are still strong. I am enjoying this job most days, except when recently we got the word that our tutorial program, involving about 160 kids, has received a low priority from O.E.O. for next year. We've appealed and are hoping. Most of my time is spent in the education area, and thus far I've done very little in the employment field. The copy of AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST was fascinating --- thanks.

For slamin

Regarding mailings from the Council, we are receiving two copies of each (one at school for Bruce, another at home). Could you ask the Chief Mailer to cancel the mailing to Bruce at Harpur College, State University of New York; change our home address from 21 Moore Ave. to 316 Murray Hill Road, Binghamton, N.Y. 13903; and send a second mailing to me at this office address. We do appreciate very much the chance to keep in touch with doings in the New South through your publications.

6 9-66
Mr. Bruce McDuffie

Our kids are rapidly growing up; Susan, almost fifteen, has a great interest and, we think, some talent in art. John, at fourteen, is a long-haired electric guitarist --- and in the loudest combo this side of the Atlantic. Judy, almost ten, is an interesting combination of wise old owl and growing girl. Bruce, at forty-five, is busy with chemistry, revived by his sabbatical year, and enjoying chopping wood in the yard of our new house, which adjoins the campus of Harpur. He is looking forward to his 25th Tiger reunion at Princeton this June. As for myself, approaching forty, I think life gets more interesting and possibly less hectic, even with a full-time job. We would love to see all of you --- perhaps next summer, if we come down.

With best regards,

Wini

WILLIAM A. SMALLWOOD
1925 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Federationist

Jan 13, 1967

Dear Emory-

Thank you for remembering me & advising that the Nov. 1966 issue of the AFL-CIO Federationist had been distributed throughout the South-

I sincerely hope thru it you may be able to reach some "opinion makers" who have the courage to speak-

Thanks again

Sincerely

Bill

The Calvin Presbyterian Church
2901 E. LITTLE CREEK ROAD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23518
JOHN H. LAMOTTE, MINISTER
PHONES: JUSTICE 7-1591 - 7-8370

Federationist

January 13, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I have just finished reading the copy of the November 1966 issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Publication which you sent to the Library of Calvin Presbyterian Church. I have found the material included in this issue most enlightening and instructive. My imagination has been stimulated by some of the practical efforts to face problems of negro employment, particularly by the article on "Making Apprenticeship Work". It seems to me that these ideas should be seminal for starting similar programs in many other areas.

I'd be very happy to have two or three additional copies of this publication to distribute to members of my congregation who should have the information and might act upon the ideas contained therein. I certainly thank you for including it so that we might have the benefit of it.

Sincerely yours,

John H. LaMotte

John H. LaMotte

JHL:bd

Send 10 - 1/27/67

Federationist

January 17, 1967

Mr. Wm. C. Archie,
Executive Director
Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, Inc.
Reynolda,
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Archie:

I have your thoughtful letter of December 28, 1966, in response to the November Federationist. Thanks so very much for taking the time to write.

The press of travel and program has kept me from answering sooner, and even this note is to let you know that I will be in touch with you further. Your letter deserves, and will receive, a fuller answer.

There are solid suggestions available as to what all of us can do to improve the employability and employment opportunities of the disadvantaged and I look forward to a further exchange with you regarding them.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Ed. Marks

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

PEACHTREE-SEVENTH BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30323

Room 645

Office of the Regional Administrator
REGION III

January 18, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for providing me copies of the American Federationist November issue.

I sent these with copies of the enclosed excerpt of the Southern California Chapter of A.G.C. to 141 prime contractors in this region. Each contractor has a $1 million or more HUD Federally assisted project.

Both publications were sent to provide these contractors with information on the organized labor viewpoint as well as the viewpoint of a large group of organized contractors. It is expected that use of the information may have some effect in local affirmative actions.

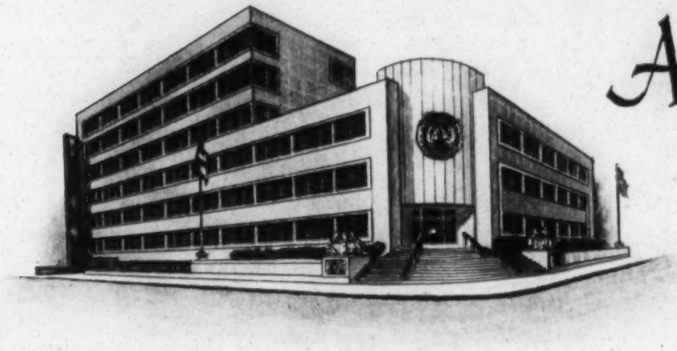
Sincerely yours,

A. Frederick Smith

A. Frederick Smith
Regional Equal Employment
Opportunity Officer

Enclosure

50 copies E.F.V.



Amalgamated
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen
OF NORTH AMERICA

2800 N. SHERIDAN ROAD CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60657

THOMAS J. LLOYD
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
PATRICK E. GORMAN
INTERNATIONAL SECY.-TREAS.

January 20, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Via:

We receive the American Federationist regularly. November's issue is a particularly good one. On civil rights it is in line with the consistent policy of our International Union for the past seventy years.

With all good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Patrick E. Gorman

PEG:ca

Secretary-Treasurer

Federationist

PATRICK E
GORMAN

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

Federationist

January 24, 1967

Mr. Gene Pokorny
1138 Abel Hall
860 N. 17th Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508

Dear Mr. Pokorny:

My records do not show that I answered your thoughtful letter regarding the mailing of the Federationist for November. Thanks for your response and I will pass on your comments to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

Under separate cover I am sending you the current issue of The New South, and several other publications including the Continuing Crisis, "What Happened In The South, 1966", "School Desegregation, 1966: The Slow Undoing", and " A Home of Our Own". ~~The~~

The Council is a non-partisan, non-profit organization dedicated to the achievement of equal opportunity for all people in the South. The Council is literaly a Board of Directors of one hundred Southerners, bi-racial, from a variety of walks of life. We rely heavily on research and the strategic use of information. Our program is quite varied both in terms of substantive areas of interest and the techniques which we employ. Besides our research and information activities we have an extensive voter education program, a program in housing and planing, a self-help community organization project, a juvenile delinquency and criminal rehabilitation program, a women's work program, a labor project, and a field program which works cooperatively with the various State Councils on Human Relations.

Again, my thanks for your response to the mailings.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

1138 Abel Hall
860 N. 17th Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I received the copy of the American Federationist that you sent and found it very interesting. Two things bothered me in the articles that were in the magazine. First, the negative attitude taken toward the "black power" movement. I have been involved with civil rights work for the last three years, mostly with SNCC and its work in Mississippi. Thus, perhaps my sympathies go more with their thinking on black power. I regret many things SNCC has done, and think they are wrong in some of their attitudes, but on the whole I think what they are saying about black power is more significant than the writers in the American Federationist make it out to be. I would rather see Wilkins, Rustin, and Randolph for instance discuss what black power is saying, rather than have them pass it off as mere conservatism and negativism.

Second, I was disappointed to see nowhere in the magazine a mention of the fact that the goal of our society should be the institution of a guaranteed annual income. The writers all seem to be saying our goal is full employment which seems to be an old, and I think unrealistic goal. This line of thought runs counter to what many economists seem to be saying, Galbraith and those who worked on the Triple Revolution Report. It seems to me that labor should be leading the way in starting a national debate on the issue of a guaranteed income.

Both these responses on my part to the magazine are personal. I am a history and philosophy major at the University of Nebraska (junior) this year, and thus view much of what is happening around us in this light. To me then black power is very positive (or, rather, it has a great potential for being constructive, depending on the response it illicits from the white majority), and also a guaranteed annual income is our most important societal goal of the next decade. I don't know if my reactions to the magazine are helpful or not, but you asked for them.

I would like some help from you now. I only very recently heard of the activities of the Southern Regional Council, so am ignorant of its work. Can you inform me about it and what it does. I've gotten one issue of the New South, but that's all. Also could you send me a copy of the pamphlet referred to in the magazine you sent, The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South. Any other material you could send would be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

And thanks for sending the copy of the American Federationist. I

enjoyed it.

Sincerely,

Gene Pokorny

Gene Pokorny
1138 Abel Hall
860 N. 17th Street
Lincoln, Nebraska
68508

Mills Memorial Library

Rollins College

Winter Park, Florida

The Library of Rollins College has the Honor of acknowledging receipt of the following gift:

The American Federationist, vol. 73, no. 11, Nov., 1966. A publication of The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

from Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the College and of the Library, to express our thanks and appreciation.

Alice E. Hansen Librarian

February 1, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

2/3/67

Please send me 50 if possible copies of the November Federationist.

Signed Elijah Adam

Organization Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Ave.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Please send an equal number of Occupational Outlook Quarterly December, 1966

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206

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Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta,
Georgia 30303

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ALEXANDER D. WAINWRIGHT, *Assistant Librarian for Acquisitions*

att. Mrs. Maurice Lee 2-6H-2

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director. Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Streeet, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Quite some time ago you sent us a letter informing us that you were enclosing, (with this letter) a copy of the American Federationist. There was no copy enclosed, and I thought that maybe you had meant under separate cover. However, as I said that was at least a month ago, and I have yet to see the November '66 issue. As it is apparently devoted to civil rights issues, I am naturally anxious to obtain one for my files. We are starting a project on the American Negro here at the Library, could you send me this mysterious magazine.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

H. Lee

(Mrs. Maurice Lee)2-6H-2

Feb.7,1967

Did not answer a subsequent letter to this.

write letter

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

February 10, 1967

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Kindly send us 25 copies of your pamphlet, "Know Your Rights", for use in our AFSCME Staff Intern Program.

2 smith 10¢

Sincerely,

Betty Miller

(Mrs.) Betty Miller
ASIP Administrator

BM:rbf

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PRESIDENT

JOSEPH L. AMES
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Also
Min Wage
Federal
Ments

JAMES M. HOWARD
2606 Sunrise Boulevard
Fort Pierce, Florida, 33450

March 30, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

It was weeks ago -- perhaps months? -- that I received the copy of THE AMERICAN FEDERALIST for November, 1966.

You asked for any reactions. I thought it was a most informative and interesting periodical.

I turned my copy over to the Librarian at the Indian River Junior College, a four-county school located here in Fort Pierce. I shouldn't be surprised if this library would subscribe, if there are to be more issues of this nature.

If there are still copies of that issue available, I would be glad to see that three other libraries here get them: The St. Lucie-Okeechobee Regional Library, the Dan McCarty High School and Lincoln Park Academy Libraries.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Howard.

Please send 5 copies

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

WILLIAM S. DIX, *Librarian*

att. Mrs. M.Lee 2-6H-2

Mr. Emory F. Via Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Back in the beginning of January we got a mimeographed sheet from you in which you were pleased to send us 'the enclosed copy of the American Federationist (November,1966)'. There was no enclosed copy'. I wrote on Feb. 7th to tell you this, but I assume that my letter got lost in the 'so called' postoffice. Could you please send us that November issue? I am very curious to see it as you say that the entire magazine is devoted to civil rights issues. As I am collecting for the Library on just this subject I am most interested.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and to receive my copy, I am,

Yours truly,

H. Lee

(Mrs. M.Lee)2-6H-2
American Negro Project

April 12,1967

Rec'd 4-17-67

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 22, 1967

Mr. Jack Flagler
Labor Education Service
Industrial Relations Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Jack:

The enclosed copy of the American Federationist (November 1966) you have already seen. I have several hundred extra copies. Would your program be interested in having one or two hundred (free of charge) for use this summer?

Please let me know.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via /jd

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

enclosure

Dear Emory:
We would appreciate receiving 200 copies of the November issue of the Federationist for use in our summer programs.
Best wishes — Jack

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE (217) 333-1482
INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
504 EAST ARMORY AVENUE, CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS 61820

May 24, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We will be very happy to have 100 or 200 copies, whichever you can spare, of the November 1966 American Federationist.

It is nice to hear from you. I hope things are going well and that our paths will cross again before long.

Sincerely,

Phillips L. Garman
Coordinator of Labor Programs

PLG:saw

Sent

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YEAR 1967-68

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Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Please send me 5 copies of the November Federationist.

Signed Patricia B. Miller

Organization La Council on Human Relations

filed

Thanks for the
American Federationist.
After Christmas, will
read it more carefully.
Seems quite encouraging
by it. Wasn't aware
they were doing so
much for the Negro.

May perfect peace

Within your heart abide

And His great love be yours

This Christmastide

Eugene Byrne

RAZOR-
SRC
Board

L

PRAYER OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI
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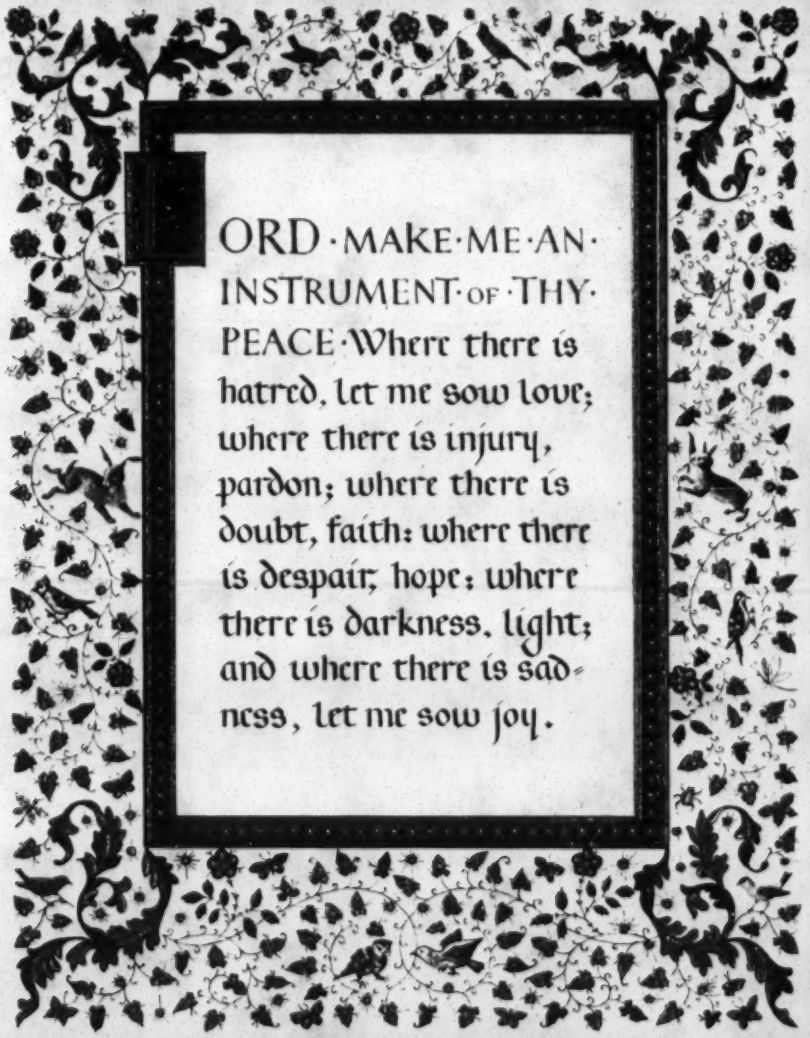

MEMO

from the desk of _____

Federation mailing —

Summary response for working SRC staff

Copies of letters plus summaries of those excluded for full copying — such as Babcock foundation

→ To Slaman

Ask Slaman to circulate his committee and give SRC's mailing a mention

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RULES GOVERNING

AFL-CIO Local Central Bodies

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AFL CIO

Issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council Sept. 21, 1965, to amend the rules issued Feb. 14, 1956 as amended June 7, 1956.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th STREET N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C.

GEORGE MEANY,
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER,
Secretary-Treasurer

Publication No. 13
Revised October 1965

17 17

1. Status of Rules.

These rules are issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pursuant to the provisions of Article XIV of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and supersede the rules adopted on December 5, 1955 and the rules issued Feb. 14, 1956 as amended June 7, 1956. These rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO shall govern the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of all local central bodies of the AFL-CIO and provide the procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers by the AFL-CIO. These rules may be amended at any time by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, subject only to the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

2. Definitions.

When used in these rules, the term "local union" shall include local lodges, local brotherhoods or other local units of affiliated national or international unions or organizing committees which, in such unions, perform the functions of local unions.

When used in these rules, the term "president," unless otherwise specified, shall mean the president of the AFL-CIO, and the term "secretary-treasurer," unless otherwise specified, shall mean the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

3. Composition of Local Central Bodies.

(a) Local Central Bodies shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions and local councils chartered by the trade and industrial departments of the AFL-CIO. Joint boards, district councils and similar subordinate organizations within the geographical limits of the local central body which are duly chartered by an affiliate of the AFL-CIO may affiliate where the constitution of the local central body so provides. Any question that may arise with respect to the proper local central body or bodies to which local unions or other subordinate bodies are to affiliate or the extent of such affiliation shall be determined by the President of the AFL-CIO.

(b) It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO to instruct their local unions to join local central bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions will be given by the AFL-CIO to all local unions affiliated directly with it.

(c) Women's auxiliaries may be admitted to fraternal affiliation, where the constitution of the local central body so provides, but without voice or vote. No fees shall be charged such affiliated auxiliaries.

4. Purposes of Local Central Bodies.

Local central bodies, as chartered organizations of the AFL-CIO, shall conform their activities on state matters to the policies of their respective state central bodies, and on national affairs to the policies of the AFL-CIO. The functions and responsibilities of local central bodies within their respective areas shall be:

(a) To assist in furthering the appropriate objects and policies of the AFL-CIO, or of organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO (provided such objects or policies are not inconsistent with the objects or policies of the AFL-CIO).

(b) To serve as a means of exchanging information among affiliated bodies on matters of common interest.

(c) To provide aid, cooperation and assistance to affiliated local unions and other affiliated bodies in their common and individual endeavors.

(d) To propose, support and promote legislation favorable to and to oppose legislation detrimental to the interest of workers and organized labor.

(e) To encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

(f) To engage in such other activities as are consistent with the objects and principles set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and the policies of the AFL-CIO.

5. Charters.

Charters shall be issued to local central bodies by the President on behalf of the Executive Council. Such charters may be refused, revoked or suspended pursuant to the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and these rules. The rights conferred by a charter upon any local central body in respect to the name and territory of such body are revocable and the President may, for good cause shown, after notice and hearing, change such name and territory. Any charter that has been revoked, suspended or amended shall be surrendered to the President.

6. Annual Fees to AFL-CIO.

Each local central body shall pay to the AFL-CIO an annual fee of $20.00.

7. Membership.

(a) Local central bodies shall admit into membership, upon the payment of such membership fee as may be required by the constitution or bylaws of such body, all local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO or affiliated with national or international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

(b) No local central body shall admit or retain in membership any organization not affiliated with the AFL-CIO or with an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, or any organization that has been suspended or expelled by a parent body affiliated with the AFL-CIO or by the AFL-CIO.

(c) Any local central body shall have the power to suspend or expel any organization affiliated with it upon conviction, after charges, notice and hearing, of having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.

8. Constitutions and Bylaws.

Each local central body shall adopt a constitution and/or bylaws consistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and with these rules. Such constitutions and bylaws, and any amendments thereto, shall be subject to approval by the Presi-

dent and two copies thereof shall be submitted to the President upon their adoption.

The President may, at any time, require any local central body to formally amend its constitution or bylaws in order to bring them into conformity with the provisions of these rules and of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

9. Delegate Meetings.

Local central bodies shall hold delegate meetings at least once a month. The President or his designee may, for good cause shown, permit exceptions to this rule. Each local central body shall report to the President the times and places of its regular meetings.

10. Representation and Voting.

(a) The constitution or bylaws of local central bodies shall provide, among other things, for the holding of meetings, the selection of delegates to such meetings, and the basis of representation therein. They shall provide for representation and voting procedures on a basis which will be equitable and which will assure the representative character of the local central body, and shall provide for a roll-call vote on any pending question, including elections, upon demand of a reasonable fixed percentage or number of delegates, which percentage or number shall not exceed thirty (30) percent of the delegates present. The number of votes to which a local union is entitled on roll-calls shall be equal to, or directly proportional to, the average membership of the local union as determined by the per capita tax payments to the central body for the preceding two calendar quarters, or such longer reasonable period as the central body's constitution may prescribe, but not to exceed the number of months between elections. The average membership of a local union affiliated for less than the prescribed period shall be computed from the month of affiliation and shall be determined by dividing the total per capita tax paid for all months affiliated by the number of months affiliated or by the number of months in the prescribed period whichever is greater. The votes of a local union shall be divided equally among all its accredited delegates present and each delegate shall be entitled to cast only his

assigned number of votes, except that one delegate may be permitted to cast all the votes of the delegates representing his local union when such procedure is properly provided for in the local central body's constitution. Organizations other than local unions affiliated with the local central body shall be allotted one delegate and one vote for each such organization.

(b) A roll-call on elections may be conducted orally, or it may be conducted by written or printed ballots where deemed desirable to expedite the holding of the election, provided each ballot clearly shows the name, organization and number of votes of the delegate casting the ballot. Such ballots shall become part of the records of the central body and shall be preserved and available for examination by any delegate or officer of an affiliated organization for a period of not less than six months.

11. Delegates.

(a) No person shall be eligible to serve as a delegate to a local central body unless he is a member of a local union affiliated with such local central body or, if the constitution or bylaws of the central body so provides, unless he is a national or international union representative regularly servicing such a local union, nor shall any person be eligible to serve as a delegate who holds a salaried position, or any other position of administrative or executive authority, in a union or any subordinate branch of a union which has been suspended or expelled from the AFL-CIO.

(b) No local central body shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegate who is eligible to be a delegate under the provisions of paragraph (a) of this rule.

(c) Any delegate to a local central body may, upon conviction, after charge, notice and hearing, be expelled or suspended from such body for having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the local central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.

12. Officers and Agents.

(a) The constitution or bylaws of each local central body shall provide for the election of of-

ficers, the filling of vacancies of office, the duties of officers and their terms of office, and shall set forth the requirements for eligibility for office.

(b) No individual shall be eligible to serve as an officer, member of the executive board or committee or other governing body of, or any other committee of, or as a delegate from, or as a representative, agent or employee of any local central body who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

(c) No person shall be eligible to serve in any of the capacities enumerated in paragraph (b) of this rule, who holds a salaried position or any other position of administrative or executive authority in a union, or any subordinate branch of a union, which has been suspended or expelled from the AFL-CIO.

13. Removal of Officers.

Any local central body, acting through its delegate body, may suspend or remove any officer or member of its executive board, executive committee or other governing body, on written charges, notice and hearing for violation of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or these rules, or the constitution or bylaws of the local central body, or for conduct unbecoming an officer of the local central body, misappropriation of funds, malfeasance in office or neglect of duty. Appropriate provisions for such removal of officers shall be contained in the constitution or bylaws of the local central body.

14. Records and Reports.

Local central bodies shall keep such records and file such reports in such manner and at such times as may be required by the President by regulation or otherwise, and shall produce their books and records on demand of the President.

15. Revenue of Local Central Bodies.

The constitution or bylaws of each local central body shall prescribe the per capita tax and fees

payable to such local central body and the penalties including suspension or expulsion for failure to pay such tax or fees. The fees of local unions shall be on a per capita basis and shall be uniformly applied to all local unions, with no maximum or minimum, and shall be based on the actual number of dues-paying members of such local unions. The fees of subordinate bodies other than local unions shall be fixed on a uniform basis, which shall not exceed $15.00 per year.

16. Expenditures.

The funds of a local central body shall be expended only pursuant to authorization by the procedures set forth in its constitution or bylaws. The funds shall be used only for legitimate expenditures in furtherance of the objectives of such body or of the AFL-CIO.

17. Financial Practices, Reports and Audits.

Local central bodies shall follow such financial practices and keep such records as will ensure that their funds and properties will be safeguarded and will be expended only for authorized purposes. The Secretary-Treasurer may require any local central body to amend its financial practices and procedures so as to come into conformity with the provisions of this rule. The Secretary-Treasurer may at any time require any local central body to submit financial reports, and may cause a full audit to be made of the books, records, funds, property or accounts of any local central body and may require the local central body to bear the expenses thereof.

18. Bonds.

All officers and agents of any local central body having a financial responsibility shall be covered by a fidelity bond. The Secretary-Treasurer may determine the amount in which such officers and agents shall be bonded and may require that additional bonds be secured at the expense of the local central body in a sum sufficient to protect the funds of the local central body. Upon the discovery of any irregularity or deficiency in the accounts or transactions of the local central body or any officer or agent thereof, the person making such discovery shall immediately report such

irregularity or deficiency to the Secretary-Treasurer.

19. Organizing.

Local central bodies should lend all possible assistance to the organizing activities of local unions and their parent national or international unions or organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

20. Strikes.

No local central body shall have the authority or power to order any local union or other organization to strike or to take a strike vote. This prohibition, however, shall not prevent such central body from giving proper assistance to such local union or such other organization with the approval of its parent body, so long as such assistance is not inconsistent with the objects, principles and policies of the AFL-CIO.

21. Collective Bargaining.

No local central body shall take part in any collective bargaining activities or in any labor dispute involving any affiliated local union except upon the request or consent of the national or international union or organizing committee with which such local union is affiliated or, in the case of local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO, except upon the request or consent of the President.

22. Boycotts and Unfair Lists.

No local central body shall have power or authority to originate a boycott or to initiate action to place an employer on an "unfair" or "do not patronize" list. All such action shall be taken only on written request of the aggrieved union or in response to an action of the AFL-CIO.

When such action is requested by an aggrieved union, the central body shall be governed by the following regulations:

(a) Disputes affecting contractual interests of other unions—If the requested action is directed against an employer which has a contract or working agreement with any union or unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, other than the aggrieved union, then the written consent of such other

union or unions shall be required. If such consent is not given, no further action shall be taken by the central body, except as authorized by the President or by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

(b) Local Disputes—If the requested action is directed against an employer for a dispute arising within the area of the local central body which does not involve the contractual interests of other AFL-CIO unions, the local central body may take the requested action if, in its judgment, such action is warranted.

(c) Disputes in areas of other central bodies—If the requested action is directed against an employer for a dispute arising wholly outside the area of the central body, no action shall be taken unless the local central body, or state central body, in whose area the dispute arose has first acted favorably on the request of the aggrieved union in keeping with applicable rules.

(d) National and regional disputes—If the requested action is directed against an employer for a dispute which is national or regional in scope, no action shall be taken by the central body unless the national or international union involved has first secured approval of the AFL-CIO.

23. Publications and Advertising.

Experience has demonstrated that irresponsible publishers of so-called labor papers, yearbooks and directories and/or unscrupulous solicitors of advertising have, on occasion, exploited the name and good reputation of the AFL-CIO to further their own selfish ends, and to the detriment of the best interests of organized labor. It should be clearly understood that labor publications should exist for the sole purpose of furthering the best interests of the labor movement, not as a source of additional revenue. Therefore, advertising should be accepted in labor publications only if it is necessary to the publications' existence. No local central body shall be associated with any publication except in conformity with this rule:

(a) Any publication, including newspapers, bulletins, yearbooks, directories, programs or any other form of publication owned, in whole or in part either directly or through a corporation, by

a central body, or which is issued in the name of, or which is endorsed, authorized or given official approval by a central body, shall be required by the central body to conform to the provisions of this rule and to such ethical trade union standards as may be determined by the President by regulation or otherwise. The central body shall furnish to the responsible officer or manager of any such publication a copy of this rule and a copy of the ethical trade union standards as determined by the President of the AFL-CIO.

(b) No local central body shall authorize or permit any such publication to claim or imply by use of geographical or other terms in its name or title, or in any other way, that it is the publication of any other local central body or of a state central body unless the publication is also officially endorsed by such other local central body or the state central body, as the case may be.

(c) No local central body shall authorize or permit such publication to solicit local advertising (as distinguished from national advertising) outside the regular area of circulation of the publication, which area of circulation shall not include any part of the geographic jurisdiction of any other local central body without the written consent and approval of such other local central body.

(d) Any contract made by a local central body for the production of such publication shall incorporate this rule as an integral part of the contract.

24. Lists.

All lists of affiliates or members of affiliates in possession of the local central body shall be used exclusively in carrying out the authorized programs and work of the local central body and shall not be released to any person or organization for any other purpose unless such release has been duly authorized by the central body and the appropriate officers of the affiliate or affiliates involved. Officers of organizations affiliated with the local central body shall be entitled to access at the place where the records are kept and at reasonable times to full information concerning the names of delegates and the number of votes of each affiliated organization.

25. Discipline of Local Central Bodies and Their Officers by the AFL-CIO.

(a) The President is authorized to take disciplinary action against local central bodies, including the authority to suspend or expel any officer thereof, and to suspend such organizations or revoke their charters. Such disciplinary action may be taken against any such organization or officer, when such organization or officer violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or of these rules, or engages in any activity or course of conduct which is contrary or detrimental to the welfare or the best interests of the AFL-CIO, or when any such organization fails to conform its policies to the policies of the AFL-CIO.

(b) In any case where disciplinary action is taken under this rule the organization or any officer charged shall first be given reasonable notice of the nature of the charges and shall be afforded a full hearing either by the President or by a person or persons delegated by the President to act for him as a Hearing Officer or Officers. In the latter event, such Hearing Officer or Officers shall, as soon as practicable after the close of the hearing, make a report, either oral or in writing, to the President who shall make the ultimate decision. The decision of the President shall be in full force and effect unless or until reversed or changed upon appeal as provided in paragraph (g) of this rule.

(c) In cases of emergency, where the interests of the AFL-CIO reasonably require such action, the President is empowered to suspend any officer and establish a trusteeship over the property of local central bodies prior to the hearing provided for in paragraph (b) of this rule. In such case, the hearing shall be conducted as soon as practicable after such emergency action, but in no event later than 45 days following such action, unless a postponement of such hearing is granted by the President upon proper request.

(d) In any case where a local central body has been suspended under the provisions of this rule, the President shall have the power to assume charge of the affairs and business of such suspended body, suspend any or all of the officers thereof, appoint temporary officers under the

supervision of a trustee, and to appoint a trustee for the purpose of taking charge of and conducting the business of such local central body during the period of suspension. Such trustee shall have the right, in the name of the AFL-CIO, upon demand, to all of the funds, properties, books and assets of the suspended body for the period he is in charge of such body, such funds and properties to be held in trust for the benefit of the suspended body and to be expended only to the extent necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the suspended body. A trustee appointed under this rule may be removed with or without cause by the President at any time and a successor trustee appointed.

(e) Wherever the charter or certificate of affiliation of a local central body shall have been revoked or suspended, all funds, properties, books and assets of such local central body shall become the property of the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President, and the AFL-CIO shall have the right to immediate possession of all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time as the organization whose charter or certificate of affiliation has been suspended or revoked may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the Constitution and the laws of the AFL-CIO.

(f) Whenever a demand has been made under this rule or the Constitution of the AFL-CIO for the funds, properties, books and assets of any local central body, and such demand is refused, then all expenses of whatever nature incurred by the AFL-CIO in recovering such funds, properties, books and assets shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and, on recovery thereof, the AFL-CIO shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

(g) Any disciplinary action taken by the President under this rule may be appealed by the individual or organization involved to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the disciplinary action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in

support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council on any appeal taken pursuant to this paragraph may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. An appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention.

26. Exhaustion of Remedies.

No organization or individual subject to these rules shall resort to any court until all relief within the AFL-CIO as provided for within these rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO is exhausted.

27. Appeals.

Any final decision of a local central body in a matter requiring a hearing within the central body under these rules may be appealed to the President within 30 days after the decision appealed from. The decision of the President may thereafter be appealed to the Executive Council. Any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. The appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention. During any such appeal the original decision of the local central body, or of the President, or of the Executive

Council, as the case may be, shall remain in effect unless reversed, modified or temporarily stayed.

28. Dissolution.

A local central body may dissolve only with the approval of the President. Upon such dissolution, all funds, properties, books and assets of such body shall revert to the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President. The AFL-CIO will hold all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time that the local central body involved can be reorganized or reconstituted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the AFL-CIO.

LOCAL	No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
Act. & Artists Assoc.	1	Dec 68	
ACWA 365	12	Dec 68	Faitha Harris 753-4543 (W) Margaret Riner PO-7-6756 Gail Barton G. D. Shepard 755-8943 Evelyn Cook Lucille Guthas Sallie Huff Nannie Oliver Alternate Jeanette Downs Eula Rutherford Laura Mackin
ACWA 829	1	Dec 68	James Jordan
ACWA 844	1	Dec 68	Ann Carter Ernestine Hunter Alternate
AFTRA Atlanta	2	Dec 68	Herb Myers 351-4238
AMAL. TRANSIT 732	9	Dec 68	C. J. Jacobs TR-3-1739 (W) W. L. Boyd " " C. H. Evans Joe Hagin W. G. Brittain P. T. Owens W. W. Haley T. H. Williamson Alternate
Bakery Wkrs 42	4	Feb 69	M. E. Hollis, Jr. R. S. Pate W. P. Ware W. W. Darnell, Jr. (H) 461-7242 755-3226 (W)
Barbers Local 23	1	Sep 68	C. C. Jenkins Lloyd D. Sheffield
Bookbinders Local 96	5	Jan 69	Truitt Crunkleton 524-2712 Mrs. Clifford Brady Larry Smith Peggy Baggett Harold Carr
Brewery & Distillery Local 357	1	Jan 69	Geo. P. Ricketts Carl E. Huber Curt C. Dearing Walt Geminn 366-5248
Bldg. Serv Emp 554	6	Sep 68 VAL COX 762-1424	Pearl Bennett Clarence A. Strong Edmund Dumas
Carpenters 225	16	Dec 68	Louie J. Collins Robt L. Norton L. R. Ross Austin Smith Clarence F. Strickland, Sr. H. D. Cross W. L. Worley TR-5-9758 622-3081
Carpenters 1263	2	Mar 69	E. B. Satterfield J. L. Cooper R. E. King
Carpenters (Millwrights) 2281	1	Jul '70	D. R. Bolton Ray Alexander
Chemical Wkrs Local 722	3	Jun 68	L. D. McAllister

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LOCAL	No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
IBEW 1193	1	April 69	George W. Magdich
Elevator Constructors 32	2	Feb 69	P. J. Butler [illegible]
Engineers Local 926	8	Jan 69	L. D. Archer [illegible] Don Suddeth Al Williams W. B. Woody Johnnie C. Howard Alternate
Fire Fighters 134	2	Dec 68	R. L. Ellington J. G. McEver J. C. Whitley 874-2372 Paul Johnson J. T. Pittman 948-1191 Talmadge Hooper Alternate
Fire Fighters 1460	1	Aug 69	Edgar H. Pounds Nelson V. Pettit Thos G. Parker Alternates Ralph L. Bagley
Fire Fighters 1492	2	Jan 69	Jas R. Maine Jack R. Gober D. R. Boots T. O. Merritt Alternates F. R. Smith A. W. Long
Garment Wkrs 29	2	Jan 69	Lois Redwine Maude Ireland
Garment Wkrs 122	3	Jun 68	Beatrice Henderson
Glass Bottle Blowers Assoc 101	6	Nov 68	Jas H. Wilson 766-2290 (H) Geraldine Q. Wilson WIFE Jas H. York Mary Lou Hilburn Frank Lesley 762-1868 Kathryn Langford 767-4497 (H) Mary Ann York
Glass Bottle Blowers 148	2	Dec 68	NICK NEWTON 478-2123 LEROY BROWN 794-4816
Government Employees Local 1145	3	Nov 68	R. D. Stancil Taylor Langley Grover Laite H. H. Lawrence Henry L. Tibbitts Alternate
Hatters & Millinery 95	2	Jan 69	Edna Webb Evie Moon Estelle White Luke Kennedy
Hotel & Restaurant Emp. 151	1	Jan 69	M. B. Race Roberta Piercy
Hotel & Restaurant Emp. 832	2	Dec 68	Louise Wells Elsie Head Ruth Hand Mary Bolan Alternates Otella Bramlett Patricia Roberson
Iron Wkrs 387		—	G. C. Gable 524-0814 G. B. Caudelle 874-7041 Y. F. Geeslin Chas Wise C. J. Clements E. P. Baize Alternates ~~J. T.~~ Gay DEAD P. G. Adamson

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LOCAL		No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
Chemical Wkrs #754	----------	6	Jul 68	Coleman Lyon, Jr. Stanley Ham Daisy Mann Donald Hunt Clyde Dixon Barbara Turner Henry Askew
CWA 3204	----------	33	Nov 68	G. J. Barron H. J. Blair J. R. Broom Hazel Burrell W. J. Coggin Edgel Crook Martha Eison H. I. Flowers Florence Franklin H. D. Gibson Grace Gipson Evelyn L. Hall Gladys Hardegree R. B. Harper J. R. Jones J. W. Langston Jacqueline Lynch Violet McFalls Martha Ponder W. R. Powell Irma Rampley Martha Reid Virginia Samples Merle Stanley C. L. Scruggs Lawson Sewell R. D. Speck Emma L. Speights Martha True Betty J. Underwood Sarah Watson B. B. Wingo
CWA 3290	----------	2	Mar 69	John Wright C. C. Daniel A. D. Walker W. J. Cook Alternates J. J. Gay H. E. Hendon W. J. Wilson
CWA 3295	----------	2	Dec 68	Bobby Joe Pierce B. Lightsey Lee Conner
IBEW #84	----------	14	June 69	Amos Lowery 875-0746 J. R. Holmes A. G. Kennedy PL-5-9493 J. W. Giles G. S. Cash
IBEW 613	----------	18	June 69	W. C. Bradford D. R. Cook J. J. Bell J. D. Bridwell Horace Wade F. F. Maxwell H. F. Ellington Floyd N. Adams W. T. Gower John Marshall Frank Brazelle W. H. Harrell Joel Justice Harold Drew Harry Bexley W. H. Dean Clyde McKinney

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LOCAL	No Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
Painters 193 ----------	7	Dec 68	J. O. Moore A. [illegible] Haynes [illegible] [illegible] McNeil John S. [illegible] [illegible] Mize
Painters 1940 ----------	1	Jun 68	Ronald Miller
Paper Handlers Local 28 ----------	1	Nov 68	Lorenzo Clark Robert S. Nicen
Papermakers & Paperworkers LU 700	2	June 68	
Papermakers & Paperwkrs 702 ----------	2	Nov 68	Manuel Wills Elizabeth Pitts.
Plasterers & Cement Masons Local 148 ----	2	Dec 68	Ed Couch 525-1233
Plumbing & Pipefitting Ind Local 72 -----	8	Jan 69	T.H. Backus R. L. Coker V. B. Harper S. W. Jones J. E. Lee M. A. Lee
Postal Clerks Local 32 ----------	10	Oct 68	Bland L. Batey Asberry Fears C. L. Heard M. O'Neal W. E. Shifflett C. E. Simmers Thos H. Smith Tom W. Kelly W. Baldwin, Jr. Alternate
Printing Pressmen Local 8 ----------	6	Dec 68	W. S. Stephens 874-4290 Howard Ward Lloyd Willbanks, Sr. Albert W. Jones J. D. Harp
Printing Pressmen Local 10 ----------	2	Dec 68	R. T. Payne J. T. Miller
Printing Specialties Local 527 ----------	10	Nov 68	Ralph Meers (w) 525-1638 948- Charles Moss Joe Russell Barron Watkins Raymond Brown Samuel Durham J. D. Reynolds Jas Taylor Billy Riner Alternate
Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union 315--	7	Jul 68 758-0865	Douglas W. McRae Laddie Moore Clifford Hite Michael Dane
Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Un.343 ----	2	Jan 69	Donnie M. Dennison Wendell H. Gresham
Sheet Metal Wkrs 85 ----------	5	Sep 69	Roy Norton Melvin Britt
I A T S E (Stage Emp.) Local 41 ----------	1	Mar 69	Richard W. Gossett O. L. Freeman Alternate
I A T S E (Stage Emp.) Local 225 --------	1	Jun 69	C. B. Baldwin C. W. Ledford Alternate W. L. Daniel E. T. Fields
I A T S E (Stage Emp.) Local 859 ---------	1	Dec 68	Eleanor Baldwin K. G. Spradlin (Alternate
I A T S E (Stage Emp.) Local 901 ---------	1	Dec 68	--

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LOCAL	No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
State, County & Munic. Emp. 3 ----------	2	Dec 68	David L. Harris
State, County & Munic. Emp. 4 ---------	1	Nov 68	Mike Lunin Arthur Bowen M. R. Swanson - Alternate Fred Hardage L. H. Stewart - Alternate
State, County & Munic Emp. 315 ----------	4	Dec 68	W. E. Buckner W. E. King Steve C. McGarity Grace Alvarez
State, County & Munic Emp. 359 ----------	3	Nov 68	B. F. Wages C. E. Fuller Hill Freeman Alternates Columbus Hill
Service Employees Int'l Un. Local 579 ----	1	Jan 69	Bill Niebrand
State, County & Munic Emp. 1202 ---------	1	Jul 68	Jas. Wallace Gene Lyon Billy Webb - Alternates Claude Griffin
District Council 14 AFSCME ----------	1		-
Atlanta Ga Public Employees 1644 ----------	24	Nov 68	Edith Bennett Essie Bigsby Raymond Byner James Howard Elouise Winston Janet Biggs Annie Blalock Pauline Washington Albert I. Gross Michael Botelho F. E. Sanders John B. Nix Julius White Alton P. Lee Richard D. Jones W. O. Bullard Joe Cannady Robert Fain - Alternate Davis Bidwell Thead Minter E. C. Copenhaver
Steelworkers Local 2401 ----------	12	Jun 68 ON STRIKE	H. F. Burger J. H. Howell R. M. Howell R. E. Adcock I. L. Richards E. C. Hicks Chas. Mathias
Steelworkers Local 3323 ----------	3	Jan 69	Charlie Smith 284-5353 Willie Williams 344-6215 Charlie Riggins Alternates Carl Elder, Jr.
Stereotypers & Electrotypers Local 42---	1	Dec 68	J. Harold Belote Olin P. Burdette, Jr.

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LOCAL	No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
Iron Wkrs Int'l Shopmen 616 ----------	[illegible]	Dec 68	W. W. Hudson 872-8868
Laborers Int'l 138 ----------	8	Dec 68	R. J. Bennett Pres [illegible] Woodgrass [illegible] Gallaher [illegible] Garrett Russell A. Williams 522-5872 Hester Shingles Alternates J. B. Underwood 522-5872
Leather Goods Plastics & Novelty 349-----	1	Jan 69	FRED HALSTEAD 753-7200
Letter Carriers Local 73 ----------	1	Dec 68	C. G. Ezzard J. G. Barr
Lithographers & Photoengravers 251--------	4		John W. Marler 872-9996 Wm Bowden Lloyd McClure Raymond Pilgrim Steve Harmon Alternate
Machinists #2----------	6	Dec 68	Roy M. Bond 523-6946 F. H. King Scott Walters Davis L. Miller Wm G. Smith
Machinists #35 ----------	1	Dec 68	H. H. Hogue
Machinists #709 ----------	10	Mar 69	Howard Elrod J. C. Majors Mavis McDaniel W. B. Carter W. E. Headrick A. M. Carter Norman E. Jones Mrs. W. E. Headrick Elisc Carter Betty Godwin 428-8501 Samson Hayes Alternate Bill Padgett
Meat Cutters Local 442 ----------	1	Jun 69	Chas E. Williams 758-7282 (w) Joseph W. Veach " Roy Williams Alternate Marie Slappey
Musicians Local 148-462 ----------	10	Dec 68	Jack Almand W. C. Hammer C. L. Sneed 688-2044 J. E. Thomas P. S. Cooke
No. Ga. Bldg Trades Council ----------	1	Dec 68	
Office & Professional Emp Local 21 ------	1	Dec 68	Leola Lassetter
Oil,Chemical & Atomic Wkr #116 ----------	1	Dec 68	
~~Oil=Chemical=&=Atomic=Wkrs=262==========~~	~~1~~		
Packinghouse, Food & Allied Wkrs 275 -----	2	Aug 68	
inquire Loyd RAMSEY 753-6615			
Painters 102 ----------	1	Dec 68	Wm Clark

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LOCAL	No. Votes	Pd thru	Delegates & Alternates
Textile Wkrs Local 375 ----------	2	June 68	Rosetta Kemp Bessie Jenkins Myra Stubblefield Morse Jesus Weldon Joyce Billings, Alternates Lillian Usher Ira Lawrence Evelyn Miller Ann Davenport
Textile Wkrs Local 1459 ----------	1	Dec 68	Joseph Varnadoe
Typographical Union 48 ----------	6	Dec 68 OFFICE 873-2732 ASK MARIER	Doyle Ellington John H. Daley C. E. Horn Louis T. Ponder, Jr. R. B. Randall
Upholsterers Int'l 63 ----------	5	Nov 68	Hubert W. Bell Earl C. Walton Kimsey Orr Tommie Davis

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Unions: Atlatà Labor Council

May 2, 1966

AFL-CIO Committee on
Political Education
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Gentlemen:

Please send twenty-five copies of your "Register and Vote Manual" and enclose your invoice if there is a charge for the manuals.

Yours truly,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

EV:

Thad would like 500 of these for a meeting in Macon, Georgia in early June. Attached is an invoice showing that we were not charged for 25; he of course would like to get the ~~k~~ 500 without charge. Could you talk to him about this?

jb.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

TO
Joan C. Browning, Admin. Secr. Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

C 21829

INVOICE

RETURN REQUESTED

85

ORDER DATE 5/5/66 SHIPPING DATE _____ VIA _____ SHIPPING COST _____

QUANTITY	PUB. NO.	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
25		#127C	n/c

IMPORTANT: MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: AFL-CIO COPE

KINDLY IDENTIFY INVOICE NUMBER WITH REMITTANCE

May 27, 1966

Mr. Al Barkan, Director
Committee on Political Education,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Barkan:

C.O.P.E. recently sent us twenty-five copies of a "Step-by-Step Plan" for registration and voting campaigns. Our Voter Education Project could make excellent use of 500 copies of this publication.

It would be a real help if these could be sent without charge. They will serve a variety of good purposes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

May 30, 1966

Mr. Daniel A. Powell, Director
Area V, Committee on Political
Education, AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan:

We do not have breakdowns by precincts for the Alabama vote. Al Kehrer said you would be interested in having them. I am sending you the county and the Montgomery precinct breakdowns. I am still hoping we will get further reports; if so, I'll share them with you.

Somewhere along the line I received a favorable report on a manual which you used in Memphis either for political education purposes or for registration and voting. Does this ring a bell with you? If so, could you share a copy with me?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO

815 16th St., N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

TO

Emory F. Via, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc., Labor Program
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

C 21991

INVOICE

RETURN REQUESTED

85

ORDER DATE 6/1/66 SHIPPING DATE _____ VIA _____ SHIPPING COST _____

QUANTITY	PUB. NO.	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
300		#127C (LIMITED SUPPLY)	n/c

Acknowledged 6/13/66

IMPORTANT: MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: AFL-CIO COPE

KINDLY IDENTIFY INVOICE NUMBER WITH REMITTANCE

DEAD

COPE
1966

June 14, 1966

Mr. Al Barkan, Director
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Barkan:

You recently sent us 300 copies of your pamphlet # 127-C, "A Step By Step Plan," on organizing registration and voting campaigns.

This note is simply to say thanks. Both my own program and our Voter Education Project greatly appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

COPE
AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer
ALEXANDER E. BARKAN national director

AREA NO. 5
ALABAMA
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA

FROM THE OFFICE OF
DANIEL A. POWELL
AREA DIRECTOR
COPE AREA NO. 5
5298 REVERE ROAD
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38117
PHONE: 683-2522

June 16, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Program Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for the precinct returns on Montgomery and Montgomery County.

I believe the manual you referred to was one we used in the three-day COPE schools which we held in Tennessee in 1957 or 1958. While this manual is probably badly out-of-date now, if you want it, I will see if I can find a copy in the files. However, I am leaving within the hour on a one week trip to North Carolina, so the search for the manual will have to wait until I return to the office.

As always, it was very good to see and talk with you again at the ILGWU conference.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely and fraternally,

Dan

Daniel A. Powell, Director
COPE Area #5

DAP:dp

AFL-CIO
COPE REGISTER AND
VOTE MANUAL

A STEP BY STEP PLAN FOR ORGANIZING AND CONDUCTING AN EFFECTIVE REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

ISSUED BY THE AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
815 16th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

FOR AFL-CIO

- Central Labor Bodies
- City and County COPEs
- Congressional District and Ward COPEs
- Register and Vote Campaign Organizers
- Precinct Workers

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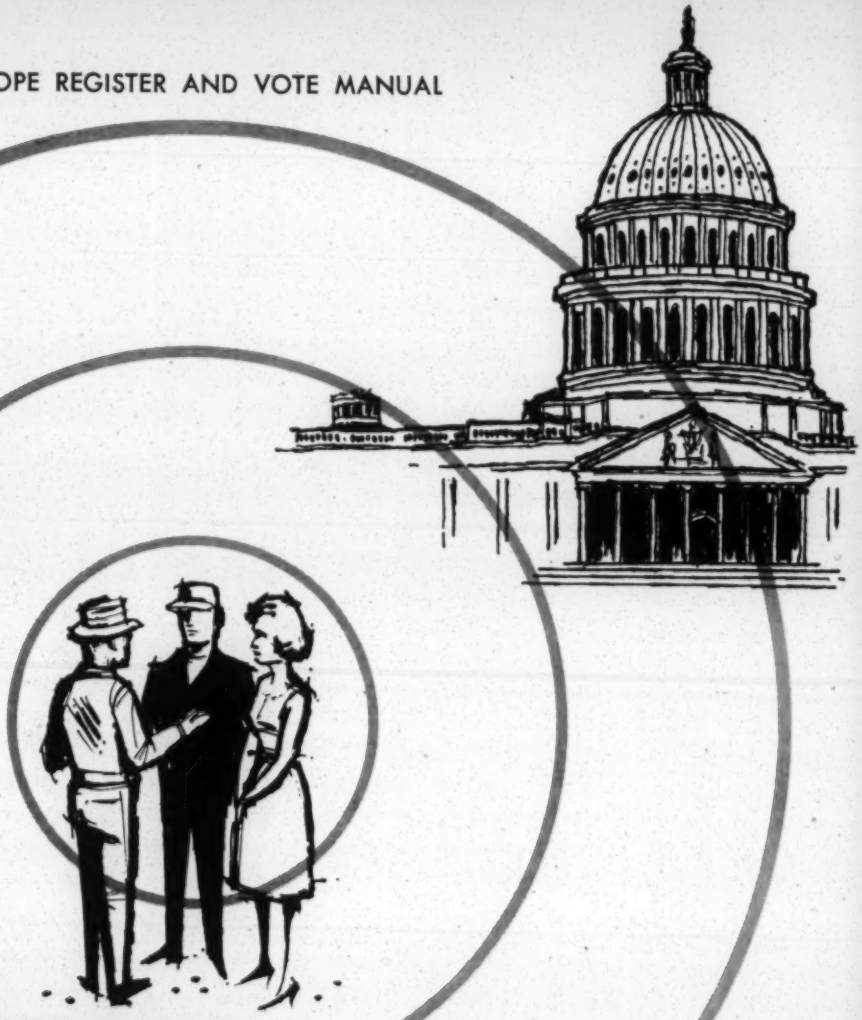
General Register and Vote Campaign Activities — Section V 21



INTRODUCTION

A number of AFL-CIO unions have done an excellent job in stimulating the political awareness of their members on issues and the importance of registering and voting. Due to the basic structure of unions, such efforts have in the main been conducted on the job site (plants, shops, offices, stores, etc.) and at union meetings. These efforts must be continued and strengthened.

This Manual, however, is primarily concerned with activity at another level — the community level. It has often been said that elections are won or lost in the precincts. It is also true that most people register in the precinct or at least make their decision in the precinct to register or not, and to vote or not.

If the Labor Movement is to reach the majority of Americans — even a majority of Americans who work for a living — it must do

so where they live. The overwhelming majority of the 37 million adults who did not vote in the 1960 Presidential election, including the 22½ million who failed even to register, are the natural allies and friends of the Labor Movement. A good percentage are our members and their families.

This Manual offers a flexible plan whereby AFL-CIO unions operating through AFL-CIO Central Labor Bodies may reach our natural allies and friends, members and their families, in the communities in which they live in the hope of getting them to register and to vote.

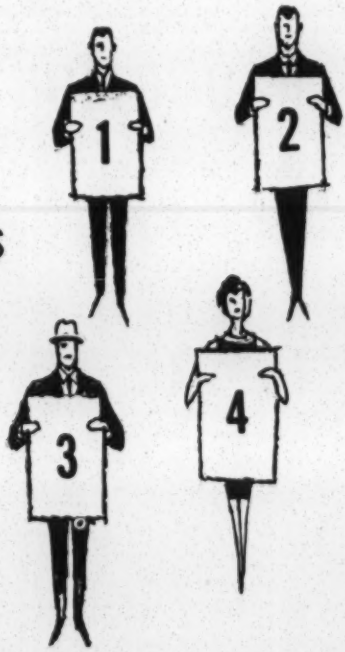
Historically, the number of citizens who register and the number who vote decreases drastically in the so-called off-year (non-Presidential) elections. 1962 is such a year. Our best hope of offsetting this traditional fall-off in voter participation is solid organization at the community level.

The sections in the Manual on Organization (Section I), Recruitment (Section II), A Check List for Organizers (Section III), and General Campaign Activities (Section V) are designed for use in Get Out the Vote Campaigns as well as Voter Registration Drives. **Consequently, these sections will still be useful in those areas where the Voter Registration Drive is over or about to be concluded.** Only Section IV, A Guide for Precinct Registration Workers, is designed exclusively for the registration campaign.

ATTENTION:

AFL-CIO CENTRAL LABOR BODIES

Your attention is called at the very outset to four general recommendations which can most effectively be implemented by the AFL-CIO Central Labor Body and the City-Wide AFL-CIO Register and Vote Committee. They are as follows:



URGE PUBLIC OFFICIALS TO EXPAND AND IMPROVE REGISTRATION OPPORTUNITIES:

One of the first steps your Registration Committee should take is an evaluation of registration procedures in your area. **Failure to register is generally not an indication of a lack of interest in voting. It is in many cities a result of inconvenience of hours and location of the place of registration.** In most big cities the only place you can register is at City Hall or Board of Elections between 9:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. This makes it very difficult for most working people to register.

Since both parties are calling for the greatest possible turnout of voters, you should **urge your city or county election officials to approve the following:**

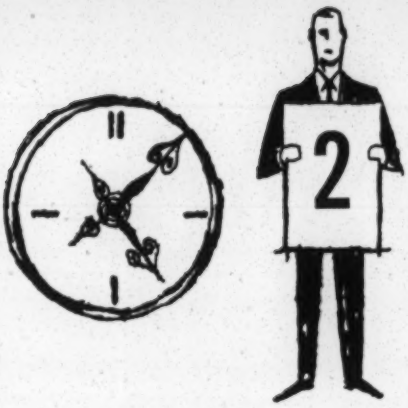
A. Extension of the **number of days** registration will be held in the precincts as well as **the hours** in the day precinct registration places will be open.

B. Temporary expansion of the number of neighborhood registration places to include schools, fire and police stations, and libraries.

C. Appointment of "Roving Registrars" who can register citizens in their homes, door to door.

D. Approval of a plan to move registrars from neighborhood to neighborhood in mobile trailers, where other facilities are lacking.

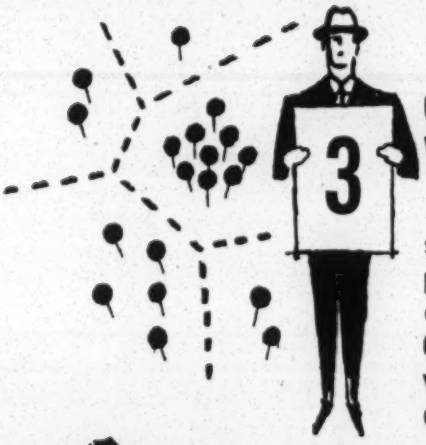
E. Sending deputized registrars to plant gates; offices; hospitals; fraternal, church, and union meetings; picnics; county and state fairs; shopping centers; or any other place where there will be large numbers of people.



TIME YOUR DRIVE PROPERLY:

Like any other campaign, your registration drive must be properly timed. Your committee should work out a registration campaign schedule so that the main effort is concentrated during the period when the special and expanded neighborhood registration facilities are in operation.

When the registration drive is over, the emphasis — organizationally and operationally—should be shifted **immediately** to the Get Out the Vote Campaign.



CONCENTRATE YOUR REGISTER AND VOTE DRIVE IN KEY WARDS:

Get precinct and ward maps showing street boundaries. Mark the wards and precincts where the highest percentage of workers and unregistered voters live. **Concentrate your main register and vote efforts in these wards and precincts on a door-to-door basis.**

RECOGNIZE WOMEN AND MINORITY GROUPS:

It is imperative that women and minority groups be encouraged to participate fully in the Register and Vote Campaign. They should be an integral part of this effort and represented at the various levels of the campaign's organizational structure. In the case of women, make certain existing women's committees, auxiliaries, and divisions are fully utilized.

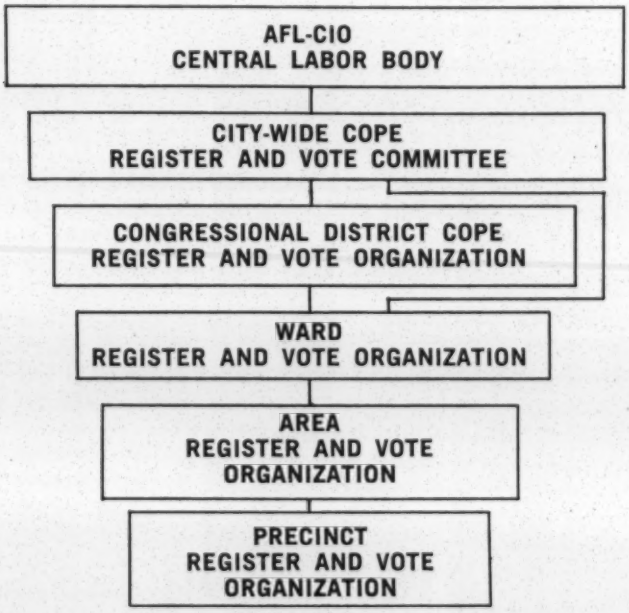
SECTION 1

ORGANIZATION

The smooth and efficient operation of any large endeavor depends to a great degree upon how well it is organized and how sensibly it is structured. We, in the Labor Movement, have learned this truth the hard way. Yet, in the field of political education we do not always apply this lesson.

The political process of canvassing voters, registering the unregistered, and getting out the vote remains fundamentally an operation most successfully conducted at the community and neighborhood level. Therefore, Labor's Register and Vote Campaigns, to be truly effective, must be organizationally structured so as to be functional at the ward and precinct level.

Set forth below is a suggested organizational structure for a community register and vote campaign flexible enough to be adapted to local conditions:



STEP 1

The Central Labor Body Should Establish A City or County-wide AFL-CIO COPE Register and Vote Committee

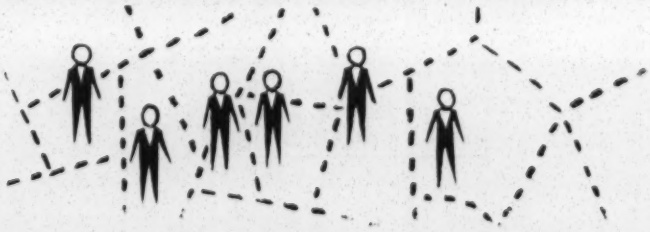
Composition: This top committee should include representatives designated by AFL-CIO unions within the city or county as well as the officers of the central labor body. Where an existing city or county COPE is directly charged with the conduct of the register and vote campaign, it should be enlarged to include such representation. If desirable, a smaller and more functional steering committee could then be selected from the broader group.

Major Sub-Committees: Appropriate sub-committees headed by experienced people should be appointed to plan and handle such essential over-all features of the Register and Vote Campaign as:

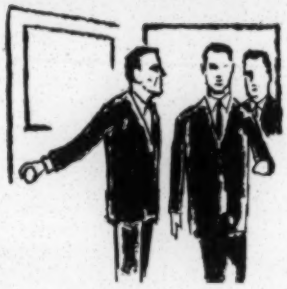
Publicity and Literature
Recruitment of Volunteer Workers
A Speakers' Bureau
Organization at the Community and Precinct Level
Finances and Fund Raising
Transportation
Telephone Crew

Personnel: A full-time person should be appointed to direct and coordinate the over-all Register and Vote Campaign. Because of budgetary considerations as well as the need for selecting an experienced person, the central labor body or international unions in the area should be contacted in the hope of obtaining the release of a qualified staff member to serve as Campaign Director. Sufficient clerical help should be made available to help insure an efficient operation.

Headquarters: A central headquarters with sufficient space should be maintained from which the Register and Vote Campaign may be properly conducted and coordinated. If the central labor body has adequate space and facilities available, the Campaign headquarters should be located in its offices.



STEP 2



The Now-Established City or County COPE Register and Vote Committee Should Set Up a Cope Register and Vote Committee In Each Congressional District, Ward, or Township Within Its Jurisdiction

Selection of Congressional District, Ward, or Township Leadership: In each district, ward, or township a chairman or co-chairmen should be appointed and a steering committee selected. This should be done in consultation with leaders of international unions within the area with the view of obtaining staff members or other key personnel who might be released or assigned full or part-time to help organize the district or ward register and vote campaign.

In any event, unions with membership in the district, ward, or township should be entitled to designate an official representative to serve on the steering committee.

Where Congressional District Structure Is Used: In cities or counties where the Register and Vote Campaign is organized and structured on a congressional district basis, the district steering committee should divide the congressional district into smaller organizational units such as wards or in the case of suburban areas into townships. In such cases, the district steering committee should appoint the ward or township chairmen.

The ward or township chairmen should be selected from the district steering committee. Those not selected from the steering committee should be added to it.

The Ward or Township Organization: The chairman and steering committee of the ward or township unit should have the responsibility of organizing and conducting the Register and Vote Campaign within the unit's jurisdiction subject to the general supervision of the county, city, or congressional district steering committee.

The ward or township should be divided into smaller compact areas consisting of from six to ten precincts and a leader appointed over each such area. These area leaders should be selected from the steering committee members. Where only the ward or township chairman has been appointed and no steering committee exists, the chairman should select the area leaders who would then comprise the nucleus of the ward or township steering committee.

The Area Organization: The area leader should be responsible for the organization and conduct of register and vote activities within his assigned area. This would include the recruitment, appointment, and supervision of precinct leaders in the six to ten precincts assigned to him, subject to the approval of the ward or township chairman. The area leader together with his precinct leaders would comprise the area organization.

The Precinct Organization: The precinct leader is the key to the success of the entire register and vote campaign. It is he who will locate, contact, and get to register the unregistered voter and get him out to vote. He should attempt to enlist additional volunteers to assist him and should be responsible for the conduct of register and vote activities within his precinct. The precinct leader together with any other volunteer workers in his precinct would comprise the precinct organization.

Register and Vote Headquarters in the Community: Where the Register and Vote Campaign is organized on a congressional district basis, a centrally located headquarters should be set up and maintained within the congressional district.

Where ward or township units have been established, unions with headquarters in these areas should be urged to make office and meeting space available for the operation of ward and township units.

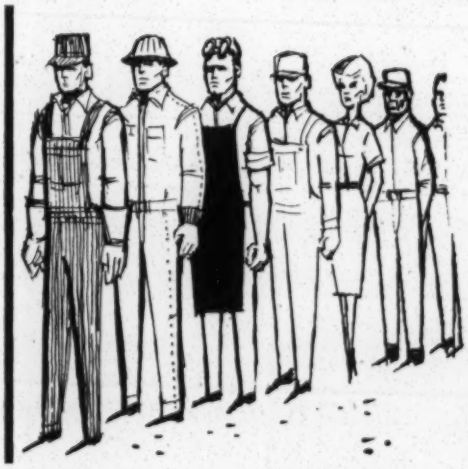
Special Committees — Special Assignments: Certain essential functions should be planned and coordinated at the congressional district, ward, or township level. The appropriate steering committee should appoint special committees or assign individuals to organize and handle such specific operations as:

Recruitment of Volunteers
Publicity and Literature
Relations with Community Groups
Transportation
Speakers Bureau
Telephone Crews
Baby Sitting
Sound Truck

THE OPERATIONS LISTED ABOVE SHOULD BE PLANNED AND COORDINATED WITH THE CITY OR COUNTY COPE REGISTER AND VOTE COMMITTEE AND FOR THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF ASSISTING THE PRECINCT LEADER IN REGISTERING THE UNREGISTERED CITIZENS IN HIS PRECINCT AND GETTING THEM OUT TO VOTE.

SECTION 2

RECRUITMENT



The success of the Register and Vote Campaign will be determined by the number of precinct workers recruited. This is why the AFL-CIO has issued a nation-wide call for 100,000 volunteer workers to join the AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps.

Maximum use should be made of the AFL-CIO Volunteer Worker's Card. The card, illustrated below, can be duplicated locally and distributed in quantity.

VOLUNTEER WORKER'S CARD
AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps

I wish to join the AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps and volunteer to work on registration and getting out the vote in my neighborhood. You may contact me at the address listed below.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

PHONE.....

UNION..... LOCAL.....

(If not certain, do not fill in space below.)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.....

WARD OR TOWNSHIP.....

PRECINCT (ELECTION DISTRICT).....

Where the Volunteer Worker's Card is to be sent through the mail, a business reply envelope or fold-over card may be used as illustrated on the following page.

Postage Will be Paid by Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

First Class Permit

COPE REGISTER AND VOTE COMMITTEE
Central Labor Body, AFL-CIO

(address)

(city) (zone) (state)

REMEMBER! The AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps is not confined to Union Members. Wives, husbands, sisters, brothers, fathers, and mothers should be urged to volunteer. A special effort should be made to recruit retired workers and the unemployed.

STEP 1

RECRUITMENT AT THE CITY OR COUNTY LEVEL

What the Central Labor Body, City, or County COPE Register and Vote Committee should do:

- Have printed or mimeographed in sufficient quantity the Volunteer Worker's Card.

- Send a letter to all delegates to the Central Labor Body urging them to join the AFL-CIO Volunteer Register and Vote Corps. Enclose in the mailing the Volunteer Worker's Card and a business reply envelope, or fold-over card.

- Prepare a sample Volunteer Recruitment Leaflet suitable for reproduction and plant distribution which would include a copy of the Volunteer Worker's Card or to which the card could be attached.

• Send a letter to all Affiliated Locals and International Unions in the area urging them to order or reproduce the Volunteer Worker's Card and Recruitment Leaflet for recruiting volunteer workers at:

(a) local executive board meetings
(b) steward and committee meetings
(c) membership meetings

and by:

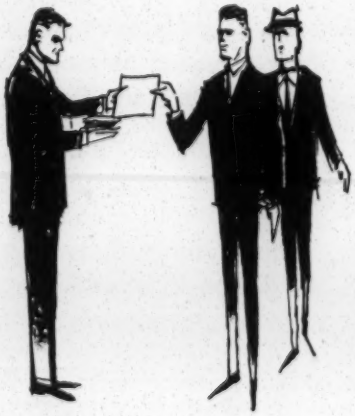
(c) selected mailings to key members, retirees, and laid-off workers
(b) plant gate distribution

• Members of the City or County COPE Register and Vote Committee should follow through on recruitment within their respective unions and should always have a supply of Volunteer Cards to sign up members at union meetings and functions they attend.

• When Volunteer Worker's Cards are returned to the AFL-CIO city-wide central register and vote headquarters, the information on the cards should be recorded or the cards duplicated and the original card immediately forwarded to the appropriate congressional district, ward, or township registration committee with instructions to immediately contact and assign the volunteer worker.

STEP 2

RECRUITMENT AT THE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, WARD, AREA, AND PRECINCT LEVEL



Each congressional district or ward register and vote committee should plan and conduct a drive to recruit volunteer workers among union members living within its jurisdiction. This activity should be coordinated by the special committee on volunteer recruitment. Listed below are some suggestions which could be followed in the recruitment of volunteer workers:

• An ample supply of Volunteer Worker's Cards should always be on hand in all register and vote headquarters and available at all meetings.

• The subject of volunteer recruitment should be included on the agenda of each meeting and the drive to recruit volunteer workers conducted at all structural levels of the organization as indicated below:

(a) **The Congressional District Level:** Each member of the congressional district steering committee should assume the major responsibility for launching a recruitment drive among members of his own local and international union known to reside within the congressional district or ward. Membership lists previously submitted by cooperating unions should be broken down by ward (township), area and precinct and the names and addresses submitted to the appropriate ward, area and precinct unit for recruitment purposes.

(b) **The Ward Level:** The leadership of the ward organization should be specifically charged with the responsibility of recruiting volunteer workers among union members living within the ward. They should work from the ward membership lists concentrating on those areas of the ward where few or no members have volunteered as precinct workers.

(c) **The Area Level:** Each area leader has the responsibility of recruiting and assigning precinct leaders and workers for every precinct under his jurisdiction. This is his first task. As he recruits and assigns precinct leaders, the area leader should in turn enlist their aid in recruiting volunteer workers in the uncovered precincts.

(d) **The Precinct Level:** The precinct leader, during the course of his door-to-door canvassing, should make an all-out effort to recruit additional volunteers to assist him. Whether such new volunteers agree to handle a block, a part of a block, or only a building, this additional help would lighten the load of the precinct leader and help assure a more complete registration and "get out the vote" effort in the precinct. Where available, the precinct leader should be provided with a list of union members living within his precinct.

• A special effort should be made to enlist the aid of unions with offices and/or membership in the district or ward (township) as outlined in paragraph I on page 11.

• Those who have signed the Volunteer Worker's Card should be requested to recruit additional volunteers in their respective local unions and in their neighborhoods.

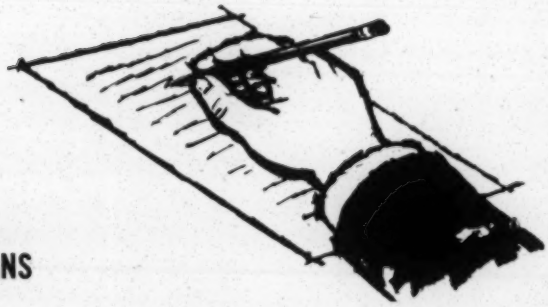
• A selected mailing based on a geographical division of the district or ward could be sent out from membership lists previously obtained from cooperating unions. Such a mailing should include the Volunteer Worker's Card and an announcement and invitation to attend the next meeting of precinct workers.

• If feasible, a sign could be displayed in the headquarters visible from the street with such wording as:

UNION MEMBERS VOLUNTEER HERE
AFL-CIO REGISTER AND VOTE CORPS

SECTION 3

A CHECK LIST



For ORGANIZERS
CHAIRMEN and
DIRECTORS of AFL-CIO
REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGNS

This Check List is designed to direct your attention to information you need to obtain, sources available to you, and those things you should do in organizing and conducting an effective Register and Vote Drive in the area to which you have been assigned.

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION YOU NEED TO KNOW

YES	NO	
☐	☐	1. Do you know the actual boundaries of the area you are responsible for (precinct, ward, township, congressional district)?
☐	☐	2. Do you know when and where (date, time, place[s]) residents of your assigned area may now register?
☐	☐	3. Do you know the **final day** for voter registration in your area, where it will be held, and during what hours?
☐	☐	4. Do you know the major legal requirements for residents of your area to be eligible to register?
☐	☐	5. Do you know what unions have offices, halls, plants, shops, etc., located in your area?
☐	☐	6. Do you know what precincts in your assigned area have the highest concentration of unregistered citizens?

ESSENTIAL PRELIMINARY MATERIAL — WHERE TO GET IT

YES NO

7. Have you visited the office of the local election officials (city, town, or county) to obtain the following:

☐ ☐ (A) Precinct list of registered voters for each precinct within your assigned area (if available)?

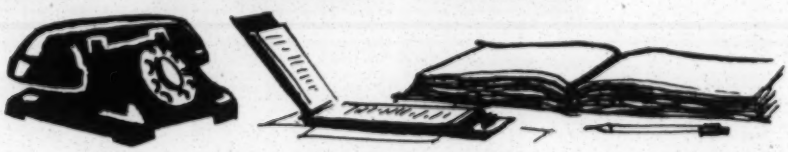
☐ ☐ (B) Congressional district map?

☐ ☐ (C) Ward maps of city or town, or township maps?

☐ ☐ (D) Ward or township **precinct** maps of wards or townships within your assigned area?

☐ ☐ (E) Literature available on voter registration?

ORGANIZATION — UNION RESOURCES — RECRUITMENT



☐ ☐ 8. Have you thought through and decided on the organizational structure you will use for the register and vote campaign?

☐ ☐ Have you read the section in the AFL-CIO Register and Vote Manual on Organization?

9. Have you contacted these three major groups: (1) the AFL-CIO Central Labor Body; (2) District or Regional Offices of International Unions within the city, town, or county; (3) Local Unions with offices and/or membership in your assigned area for any of the following purposes:

☐ ☐ (A) To obtain official representation from these groups on your area-wide campaign committee?

☐ ☐ (B) To obtain names, addresses, and phone numbers of officials, delegates, and key members of these groups living within your area who may be assigned or recruited for registration work and getting out the vote?

☐ ☐ (C) To obtain lists of names and addresses of union members of these groups residing in your assigned area, and where available, broken down as to registered and unregistered?

☐ ☐ (D) To ascertain availability of union headquarters in your area for area or neighborhood meetings, office space, clerical help, etc.?

☐ ☐ (E) To arrange speaking engagements at union meetings of these groups (membership, steward, and local executive board, etc.) to recruit volunteers and stress importance of the register and vote campaign?

☐ ☐ 10. In your recruitment of volunteers in the Campaign, are you making maximum use of the AFL-CIO Volunteer Worker's Card (illustrated below)?

VOLUNTEER WORKER'S CARD
AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps

I wish to join the AFL-CIO Register and Vote Corps and volunteer to work on registration and getting out the vote in my neighborhood. You may contact me at the address listed below.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

PHONE.....

UNION..... LOCAL.....

(If not certain, do not fill in space below.)

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.....

WARD OR TOWNSHIP.....

PRECINCT (ELECTION DISTRICT).....

EXPLORING COMMUNITY RESOURCES

YES NO

☐ ☐ 11. Do you know what community, civic, and neighborhood organizations are located or are active in your assigned area?

☐ ☐ 12. Do you know what community, language, and neighborhood newspapers are circulated in your assigned area?

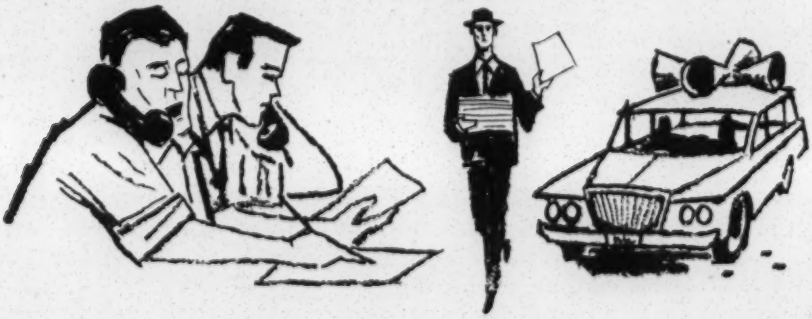
☐ ☐ 13. Have you contacted community, civic, and neighborhood organizations active in your assigned area to discuss their cooperation in a joint community-wide register and vote campaign?

☐ ☐ 14. Have you contacted editors of community, language, and neighborhood newspapers circulated in your assigned area seeking their cooperation in your register and vote drive (future news articles, editorials, feature stories, press releases, pictorials)?

THAT FIRST MEETING — DECISION ON OPERATIONS

YES	NO	
		15. In calling the first organizational meetings in your assigned area, have you notified by mail the following:
☐	☐	(A) Unions with offices and/or membership in your assigned area as well as individuals officially designated by such unions to represent them in the area?
☐	☐	(B) All persons residing in the area who have signed the Volunteer Worker's Card?
☐	☐	(C) A selected number of union members chosen on a geographical basis within the area from general membership lists previously submitted by cooperating unions?
☐	☐	16. Have you prepared an agenda for your first meeting?
☐	☐	Have you thought through what you wish to accomplish at the meeting and how to go about it?
		17. Which of the following operations do you intend to employ in your area register and vote campaign:
☐	☐	(A) Door-to-door canvassing using precinct lists of registered voters;
☐	☐	(B) Door-to-door canvassing aided by union membership lists;
☐	☐	(C) Door-to-door canvassing without the use of any lists;
☐	☐	(D) Sound trucks;
☐	☐	(E) Leaflet distributions;
☐	☐	(F) Telephone crews;
☐	☐	(G) Baby-sitting services;
☐	☐	(H) Transportation services.
☐	☐	Have you decided how you intend to organize and maintain these operations? . . . What help you will need? . . . Where to get it?

NOTE: Where there is other information you need to know or additional material you should have, contact the city-wide Register and Vote Committee of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Body in your city or county.



SECTION 4

A GUIDE FOR THE AFL-CIO VOLUNTEER PRECINCT REGISTRATION WORKER

So, you have volunteered to work on registration in your precinct. Congratulations!

You are now the most valuable cog in the entire AFL-CIO Voter Registration Drive — the key to a successful registration campaign. But what is even more important, you are about to help your neighbors place themselves in a position where they may exercise perhaps the most vital of all their citizenship rights — the right to vote!

In the 1960 Presidential election, over 37 million adult Americans did not vote and over 22½ million failed even to register. It should be a source of personal satisfaction to know that you are reducing this tragic number of ineffective citizens among your friends and neighbors. It should also be a comfort to know that thousands of your AFL-CIO sisters and brothers are doing the same thing in precincts across the nation.

EXACTLY WHAT DOES A PRECINCT REGISTRATION WORKER DO?

Your job as a precinct registration worker can best be explained by reducing your operation into its two essential parts:

1. You **locate** the persons in your precinct who are **not** registered voters.
2. You, then, **get them to register** at the **place of registration.**

You do this in a well-planned and organized way. Of course, this does not tell the whole story, but it does reduce to its essentials the nature of your task. We will later deal with these essential functions in detail.

INFORMATION AND MATERIAL IMPORTANT TO YOUR JOB

- **Precinct Boundaries:** You should know the actual physical boundaries of your precinct. Most cities issue ward precinct maps which show the street boundaries for each precinct within a given ward. Your ward or area registration leader should have such a map. If not, you can obtain one in most cases from the office of the city or county election officials.
- **Legal Requirements:** The offices of city and county election officials publish folders setting forth the legal requirements for voter registration such as age, citizenship, length of residence in the state, county, and precinct, etc. This is information you should know. For ready reference, you should have this folder with you while canvassing your precinct.
- **When and Where to Register:** In order to properly inform the unregistered voter, you must know:

  A. Where he may register during the period you talk to him — the exact address, room or office;

  B. The days in the week he may register at that location;

  C. The hours he may register during each day.

You must also know when and where **registration will be held in the precinct or other place(s) in the community** as well as the **final day of registration,** the hours, and the location.

• **Precinct Register of Voters and Union Membership Lists:** Many cities publish a list of registered voters in each precinct of every ward within the city. Make sure you obtain the precinct list of registered voters for your precinct where such lists are available. As will be explained later, **no other item will be more valuable to you.**

In a number of cities, unions have made available their membership lists for registration purposes. Make sure you are given the names and addresses of union members from these lists who live in your precinct. This is important whether the lists are broken down into registered and unregistered members or not.

NOTE: IF NO LIST OF ANY KIND IS AVAILABLE, YOU CAN STILL DO AN EFFECTIVE REGISTRATION JOB BY THE SAME PROCESS OF DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING (EXPLAINED LATER).

• **Change of Address Cards:** Many registered voters who move to a new address **within the same** city or town often fail to notify election officials of their change of address. This failure prevents them from voting in subsequent elections. Election officials in most cities and counties issue "Change of Address Cards" which, when properly filled out and mailed to their offices, will continue the voter's registration at his new address. You should obtain a supply of these cards and always have some on hand when canvassing your precinct.

LOCATING UNREGISTERED VOTERS

There are tricks, or more accurately, techniques to every trade. This is true in canvassing your precinct for registration or any other purpose. **Precinct canvassing is simply a systematic process of visiting each home in a precinct for a specific and predetermined purpose.** Certain things are particularly important to remember such as your appearance, approach, attitude, etc. However, before dealing with these matters, let us first discuss how you will proceed when canvassing from a precinct list of registered voters and then how to proceed where no such list is available.

• **Canvassing from the Precinct Register of Voters:** While there may be a small percentage of omission errors in the precinct register of voters, it is safe to work from the premise that persons living in the precinct whose names do not appear on the precinct register are, in fact, not registered from that address.

There are four main advantages in canvassing from a precinct register of voters:

1. You can ask for the registered voter by name.
2. You can thus **locate through a registered voter** the names of other adults in the household who are not registered.
3. You can **show** every name listed or not listed at that address on the precinct register.
4. In apartment buildings or other multiple dwelling units, you can check the names appearing on mail boxes or name-plates against the precinct register of voters in further locating unregistered persons.

• **Canvassing Without a Precinct Register of Voters:** If there is no list of registered voters available for your precinct, you must canvass door-to-door without the benefit of knowing in advance who is registered. You must therefore:

1. Inquire of **all** persons visited whether or not they are registered voters.
2. At each address visited, first **check** and **record** the names appearing on mail boxes or door bells. You may then ask for them by name and after the visit make a notation as to whether or not they are registered voters.
3. Make certain — once having made contact in a house — you find out what other adults live in the household and whether or not they are registered. Be sure to record this information also.

By following the steps outlined above, you will have done two significant things:

A. Located by **name and address** those persons who are not registered in your precinct; and

B. Compiled your own precinct list of registered voters.

NOTE: At the **same time** you discover or locate an unregistered person, you will, of course, urge him to register. How this should be done will be discussed later.

RECRUITING OTHER VOLUNTEERS

In canvassing your precinct, you should constantly be on the lookout for persons who may agree to assist you. They may or may not be union members. Accept whatever assistance they are willing to give. Whether they agree to handle a block, a part of a block, or only their apartment building, this additional help will save you time and lighten your load.

APPEARANCE AND ATTITUDE

The first impression you create is of paramount importance. You don't have the time to erase a bad impression, and a good impression will ease your task considerably. Your appearance should be neat and clean, and your attitude friendly and cooperative. When talking to an unregistered person, don't treat him as though he were a criminal. Most people who fail to register are not hostile to the idea. They simply "intended to" or "haven't got around to it" or "didn't think it made much difference." Such excuses and attitudes are not serious obstacles. Your friendly offer of **information, service,** and your **follow-through** will usually suffice to get such persons to register.

GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS—THAT FIRST VISIT

You force yourself up from the dinner table, look longingly at the television set, and more longingly at the easy chair. Well, there's no use putting it off any longer — less than three weeks to the final day of registration and a whole precinct to cover. You check to see that you have everything you need — precinct list of registered voters, change of address cards, registration leaflets, list of union members in the precinct, notebook and pencil. The wife says you look just fine. She flashes you a smile that should register everybody in the precinct . . . too bad you can't bottle it.

Having already decided how to work the precinct, you head for the corner apartment building on Oak Street. The precinct regis-

ter of voters shows among other names a Walter Davis and Mary Davis at that address. Better check the name-plates on the door to make sure. There they are — Mr. and Mrs. Walter Davis. May as well try them first. You ring the bell — a woman answers. With a smile, you say:

"Good evening, Mrs. Mary Davis?"

"Yes."

"Mrs. Davis, my name is George Stone. I live over on Maple Street and am a volunteer working with the citizens group in our community on voter registration."

"Oh, I'm already registered."

"Yes, I know you are, Mrs. Davis. Your name is on the precinct list of registered voters as is Mr. Davis'. I was wondering if there might be any other persons in your household eligible to register?"

"Eligible?"

"I mean twenty-one years of age or older, a citizen — things like that."

"Oh! I nearly forgot — my twin sons just turned twenty-one. They can vote now, can't they?"

"They certainly can — that is, if they register. Do they know where to go?"

"Downtown, don't they?"

Here is your opportunity to give explicit information and offer other services. You might ask to speak to the twins for a moment. Since registration day in the precinct is nearly three weeks away, you suggest they go downtown to the office of the city election officials. If you or the registration campaign committee provide transportation on certain days, you would offer this service. If precinct registration day were only a few days off, you would suggest they register in the precinct on that day — giving all the details.

After making sure no other adults live in the household, you thank the Davis family for their time, leave the registration information, and proceed to your next visit. However, before ringing that next door bell, you record the names and addresses of the twins as your list of unregistered voters takes form and begins to grow.

THE FOLLOW-UP

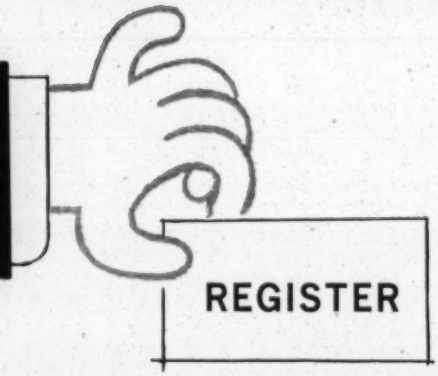
You should regularly turn in to the Registration Campaign Headquarters the names and addresses of the unregistered voters you have located. Make sure you arrange for transportation, baby-sitting or other services you may have promised. Mail immediately any change of address cards you may have had filled out.

As the final day for registration approaches, be sure to again remind those who have not as yet registered and offer once more whatever services you are able to provide. Whenever you can get phone numbers, be sure to do so. A follow-up phone call can save you considerable time. However, on the final day of registration, you should attempt to visit every person on your list who still remains unregistered. This will be your last chance and his too!

WHEN THE NEW PRECINCT LIST OF REGISTERED VOTERS IS PUBLISHED PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY AND YOU SEE THE NAMES OF PERSONS YOU HELPED ADD TO THE VOTERS' LIST, YOU'LL KNOW IT WAS WORTH EVERY BIT OF THE EFFORT AND TIME YOU SO GENEROUSLY GAVE.

SECTION 5

GENERAL REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES



While there is no substitute in a Register and Vote Campaign for door-to-door canvassing, there are a number of important campaign activities which can generate the kind of climate and community awareness essential to an all-out register and vote effort. The key is continuous and imaginative publicity. The more times and the more ways people are reminded to register and vote the more likely they are to do so.

Listed below are some of the activities and operations which have helped generate this favorable climate and public awareness in past Register and Vote Campaigns:

1. CONTACT RADIO AND TV STATIONS to give free time for

- special five or ten minute talks by prominent civic leaders about the importance of registration and of voting.
- short dramatic skits, live or recorded, stressing the need to register and vote.
- spot announcements urging registration and giving dates, places, and times for registration. (Also give phone number of the committee which can arrange for transportation when needed.)
- registration and voting information in regular news broadcasts and news commentaries.

2. CONTACT NEWSPAPERS (DAILY AND WEEKLY) to give free space for

- an "only X more days to register" box, preferably on the front page, every day for the duration of the registration drive. The same can be applied to "only X more days to election day" for the duration of the Get Out the Vote Drive.

- "Register and Vote" cut-off slugs at end of stories, columns, editorials, etc., instead of regular rules.
- editorials and cartoons on the "register so you can vote" theme.
- news stories about the register and vote drive. These can be varied indefinitely, for instance: stories about prominent women taking part in the registration drive on the women's page; naturalized citizens registering; 21-year olds registering to vote for the first time; oldsters reminiscing about events and issues that were important the first time they voted; feature reports on the register and vote office and its work; etc.
- ads giving registration and voting information and urging people to register and vote.

3. CONTACT BUSINESS, ADVERTISING AGENCIES to give their cooperation as follows:

- inclusion of register and vote slogans in newspaper ads or sponsoring of ads exclusively devoted to registration and voting.
- register and vote announcements in radio and TV advertising.
- donation of space in streetcars, buses, and on billboards for register and vote messages.
- window displays in stores. (Run a contest for the best window display on registration and voting.)

4. PUT UP YOUR REGISTER AND VOTE POSTERS

- in department stores, retail shops, banks, public transportation carriers, theater lobbies and elevators of office and apartment buildings, barber shops, beauty parlors and restaurants.
- on bulletin boards in libraries, recreation centers, churches, clubs, unions, factories, colleges, and meeting halls.

5. THEATERS

- contact movie theater managers about running "Register and Vote" slides between films during the campaign period.

6. CONTACT THE CLERGY

- ask the clergy about mentioning registration and voting in their announcements and bulletins.

7. CONTACT ORGANIZATIONS

- get every organization you can to feature registration and vote announcements. Also ask them to carry "Register and Vote" announcements or ads in their bulletins and special mailings.

8. PREPARE HANDBILLS

Print a simple, attractive flyer or handbill with registration and voting information in sufficient quantities for distribution:

- door-to-door
- as inserts with organization mailings
- on store counters
- as bill inserts by stores and by gas, light, and water companies
- at street corners, in front of factories and schools.

9. PRINT STAMPS

Print "Register and Vote" stamps and urge organizations and businesses to stick them on all their mailing envelopes. "Register and Vote" slugs are available for mailing on stamp meter machines which automatically stamp every envelope "Register And Vote."

10. PLAN SPECIAL EVENTS

Schedule special events and see that these get good advance publicity and newspaper and radio coverage. Such special events could include:

- an opening ceremony of your register and vote drive, kicked off at city hall or state capitol by the mayor or governor, heads of your committee, and other prominent citizens. Have the mayor or governor issue a proclamation designating the special registration period as "Registration Weeks."
- register and vote parades with banners, sound trucks, pretty girls, etc. The parade should include veterans' organizations, detachments from different schools, detachments of the various professions such as teachers, clergy, lawyers, businessmen, labor organizations, etc.

11. ISSUE BUTTONS OR RIBBONS

"I Have Registered" buttons. You will find firms making campaign buttons listed in your yellow classified telephone directory. Make up buttons with an inscription such as "I Have Registered — I Will Vote." Distribute them at registration offices and urge people to wear them. Give the first button to the governor or mayor or some other newsworthy person. See that people wear your buttons on all publicity pictures. If you cannot get buttons you might want to use a

ribbon or good stock paper and make up a small streamer with some slogan printed on it which could be pinned on your lapel.

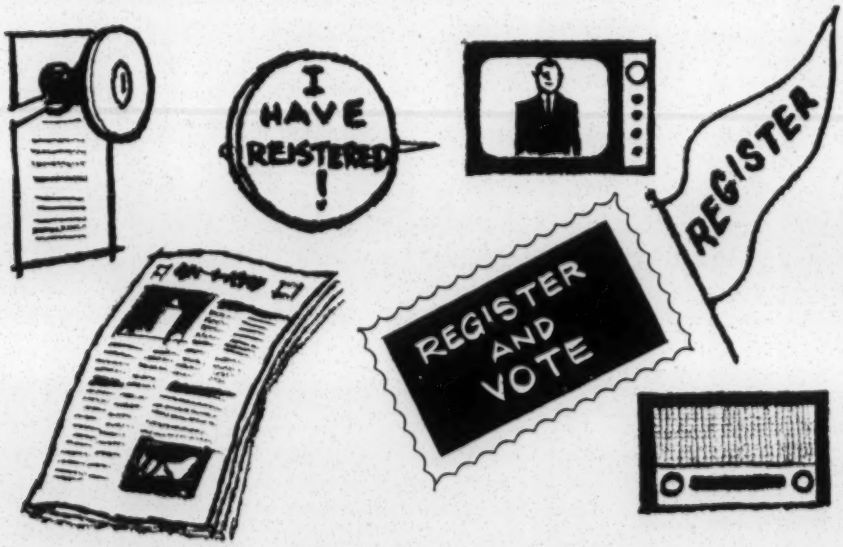
12. ORDER DOOR-KNOB HANGERS

These are similar to the card that the telegraph company uses to notify you of a telegram delivery when you are not at home. Your door-knob hanger should have printed on it the facts about registration and voting, especially when and where to register and vote. Or, you can dress up your door-knob hanger with some catchy slogan.

PUT YOUR PLANS INTO ACTION: This pamphlet includes some suggestions that have worked in many areas. You have many good plans and ideas based on your own experiences. Select the ideas you feel will be the most helpful and workable in your area — THEN PUT YOUR PLAN INTO ACTION.

In many areas of the country less than half of the eligible people are qualified to vote. This must be corrected, and to correct it all good citizens should assist in the implementation of a register and vote campaign.

The AFL-CIO asks the cooperation of all citizens in a non-partisan register and vote campaign so that all citizens in name can be citizens in fact by exercising their right of franchise and rendering their decision at the polls on election day.



COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY — Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER — Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 127

February 12, 1970

Mr. Hodgate Young
Education Director
Communications Workers of America
1925 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Hoagy:

Almost a year ago you initiated the project of sending SRC materials to CWA staff working in the South. We said then that we would take a look after a year and reconsider whether it was useful. As for me, I think there is value in such materials going to the staff and let them pick out what they want. But I am more than willing, indeed quite interested to get some evaluation from the recipients.

Enclosed is a proposed simple questionnaire. I would be happy for it to go from us or from you. And, of course, would be pleased if you decided to change it around and do your own thing.

We added South Today when it appeared as a monthly without further change. If you continue with sending the publications I think it highly advisable to include South Today, but I would need to add $2.00 to the subscription service (still subsidized by the Labor Program to a degree). The totale per head cost for another year would be $7.00.

I am delighted that you saw fit to engage in this small venture. Let me know what you think about sending out the evaluation. Would you want the respondents to identify themselves?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

Enclosure - 1

D R A F T

TO: CWA Staff Members in The South

FROM: Director of Education (or SRC Labor Program)

For the past year you have been receiving the publications pf the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues relating to poverty and racial relations. We recognize that it is most unlikely that you would have read all of the publications or all of the material in many of them. However, we would like to know whether you felt that these publications were helpful and whether you have been interested to know that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

____YES____NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

____YES____NO They gave me useful material to assist my understanding of the changing South.

____YES____NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure of the Southern States or the quarterly' publication, New South, or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today. Would you list any others?_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?_____

_____

_____

Communications

CWA

Workers of America

(AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO)
1925 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
TELEPHONE: FEDERAL 7-7711

C. W. A.
8 1970
Education Dept.

April 3, 1970

File #1.13

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Emory:

My thought was that we ought to put the folks the second year on their own as to whether they want to renew their subscription to the Council material or not. An evaluation would be a good idea if you want.

I am not sure this answers all the questions you raised, but this is the general feelings I had.

I think the questionnaire is very good.

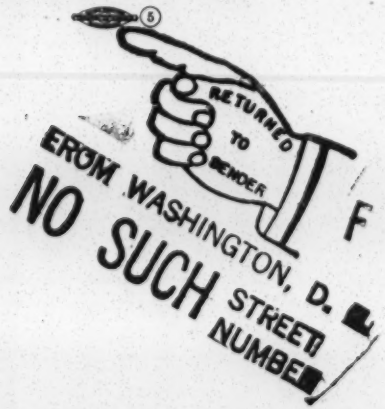
Give me a ring when you get a chance.

Fraternally yours,

Holgate Young,
Education Director

HY/jmt

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
(AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO)
1925 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

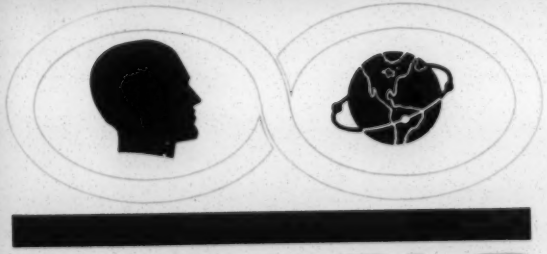


Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Young

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
Education Department
1925 K Street N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006

CWA



SCHOOLS

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

NE-11

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 25, 1969

TO: CWA Staff in Southern and Border States

Hoagy Young, CWA Director of Education, has requested that your name be placed on the Southern Regional Council's publications mailing list. You will receive our quarterly, New South, and other occasional publications of the Council.

This first mailing includes two pamphlets that I think you will find of special interest: Radicalism: Southern Style and Voter Registration in the South, 1968.

Our schedule is such that you will soon get several other reports. In general, however, you will not receive so many so close together.

We are extremely pleased to have you receive our publications and trust that you will feel free to communicate with us about them.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosures - 2

file

Communications

J. S. WEEKS
NORTH GEORGIA DIRECTOR

Workers of America

ROOM 1020
30 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

25

March 28, 1969

New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Please make the following corrections on your mailing list:

Remove: 5 12-66 PSL 369
Mr. George Werner
North Georgia Eirector, CWA
30 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

no. La. dir. now in Baton Rouge, La.
3-31-69

Address Change:	PSL 369 Mr. Cecil L. Woods 30 Pryor St., S.W., Room 1020 Atlanta, Ga. 30303	TO: Mr. Cecil L. Woods, So. Ga. Dir. 40 Pryor Street,S.W., Fourth Floor Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Address Change:	PSL 369 Mr. J. S. Weeks 30 Pryor St., S.W., #1020 Atlanta, Ga. 30303	TO: Mr. J. S. Weeks, No. Ga. Dir. 40 Pryor Street, S.W., Fourth Floor Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Sincerely yours,

J. S. Weeks
J. S. Weeks
LS

ls

cc: Earle Moye

CWA STAFFERS IN THE SOUTH

CORRESPONDENCE MAILED OCTOBER 13, 1970

Mr. Peter Brown
40Pryor Street, S.W.
Third Floor
Atlanta 30303

Mr. James D. Adler
325 JJ Drive #201 Room
Greensboro, N.C. 27406

Mr. Wayne Gray
325 JJ Drive #201
Greensboro, N.C. 27405

Mr. Delbert Johnson
(Same as above)

Mr. Delbert Gordon
Suburban Mart
Route 4
Smithfield, N.C. 27577

Mr. J.W. Holder
2212 Commwealth Avenue, #109
Charlotte, N.c. 28205

Mr. F. A. Marsh
1420 Lady Street, #401
Columbia, S.C. 29201

Mr. L. L. Bolick
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Third Floor
Atlanta 30303

Miss Selina Burch
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Third Floor
Atlata 30303

Miss Martha Moudy
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta 30303

Mr. EArle Moye
(Same as above)

Mr. J. S. Weeks
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Fourth Floor
Atlanta 30303

Mr. Cecil Woods

Mr. Cecil Woods
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
40 Pryor Street, S.W/
Fourth Floor
Atlanta 30303

Mr. Marvin E. Bradford
3105 Ociavia Road
Doraville, Ga. 30340

North Florida Director
~~1110xUnixxxx~~
1110 ~~Unixxxxxx~~ Marion [redacted] Building
Universal
Jacksonville, Fl 32202

Mr. Edward D. Seawell
1000 Woodcock Road
Orlando, Fl. 32803

Mr. David C. H. Finn, Jr., South Fla. Director
The General Building
6660 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Fl. 33138

Mr. W. W. Brown
1923 ~~Lxxxx~~Avenue, N.
First
Birmingham, Ala. 35203

Mr. W. C. Sigler
1928 First Avenue, North
B'ham, Alabama 35203

Mr. S. E. Sims
1928 First Avenue, North
B'ham, Alabama 35203

Mr. T. j. Volk
(Same as above)-B'ham, Alabama

Mr. W. E. Buttram
1005 Murfreesboro Road, Suite 215
Nashville, Tenn. 37217

Mr. Lonnie B. Daniel
1005 Murfreesboro Road, Suite 215
Nashville, Tenn 37217

Mr. John U. Earley
(Same as above-Nashville, Tenn.)

Mr. W. O Stanley
127 South Roach Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Miss Margaret A. Stanton
139 South Fourth Street

Louisville, Ky 40202

Mr. Merle Stanton
139 South Fourth Street
Louisville, Ky. 40202

Miss Eloise A. Basto
606 Townsend Street
Lansing, Michigan 48933

R.B. Porch, Vice Pres
40 Pryor St.
S.W. 3rd Floor
Atlanta 30303

M. J. L. Mahady
3837 Banks Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70119

~~Mr. George V. Werner~~
~~2124 Wooddale Blvd, #130 B~~
~~Baton, Rouge, La. 70806~~ no La. Director now in Baton Rouge

Mr. Floyd R. Taylor, CWA Rep
Independent Life Building
16 and Main Streets
North Little Rock, Ark 72114

Miss Mattie Lou Mays
1032 National Bankers Life Building
Dallas, Tex. 75201

Mr. R. W. Staley, CWA Rep
1032 National Bankers Life Building
Dallas, Tex. 75201

Mr. L. A. Sykora, North Texas Director
1032 National Bankers Life Building
Dallas, Tex. 75201

Mr. Marvin Collins
3033 Fannin Street, Room 105
Houston, Tex. 77004

Miss Maxine Lee
3033 Fannin Street, Room 105
Houston, Tex. 77004

Mr. Albert S. Bowles
524 Three-A Life Building
San Antonia, Tex. 78205

Mr. Paul Bassett
1010 Lavaca Street, Room 308
Austin, Texas 78701

Mr. T. O. Moses
219 Gibson Building
Lubbock, Texas 79401
1414 Avenue J

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible] 2-8764

October 13, 1970

Please return this form in the enclosed envelope.

The envelope is stamped and self-addressed.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/gms

mail, only
apparently 1/3 answered
no follow up

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

____ YES ____ NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

____ YES ____ NO They gave me useful materials to assist my understanding of the Changing South.

____ YES ____ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0_____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which?_____

Would you list any others?_____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?_____

_____

_____

_____ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

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DATE: October 13, 1970

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Atlanta

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1970
CWA DISTRICT 3

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA GA
PM
26 OCT
1970
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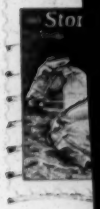

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ATTENTION: LABOR PROGRAM

10/28/70
San Antonio, Tx

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

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About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50____ 25✓ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? The Tax Structure

Would you list any others? _____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? _____

_____

_____

✓ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Baton Rouge

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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____ YES ✓ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75✓ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0____

George H. Werner

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? South Today

Would you list any others? _____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? The Death of Willie Reed (?) by Charles Weltzel

✓ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

10/28/70
Louisville, Ky

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75 X 50____ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? All Are Informative

Would you list any others?

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? All

___X___ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Atlanta

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

✓ YES ____ NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

✓ YES ____ NO They gave me useful materials to assist my understanding of the Changing South.

✓ YES ____ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50✓ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which?_____

Would you list any others?_____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?_____

_____

_____

✓ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Atlanta

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

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____YES____ NO They gave me useful materials to assist my understanding of the Changing South.

____YES____ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0_____

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1970
DISTRICT 3 CWA

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which?_____

Would you list any others? Cars & Private schools - Economics

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? High school Athletics

yes On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA
OCT 19
P M
1970
GA.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ATTENTION: LABOR PROGRAM

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

100% ~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~ YES ____ NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

70% II ~~IIII~~ YES II 20% NO 10% NA They gave me useful materials to assist my understanding of the Changing South.

70% II ~~IIII~~ YES III 30% NO (one of these was 75%) The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100 I 75 IIII 50 II 25 I 10 II 0 ____

(But goes on II) (But helped on job)

10 100
40 75% interesting
20 50
10 25
20 10

ST N.S.
III I

Specific Articles from ST

CWA Staff Members
Page 2
October 13, 1970

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today. III

Which?_____

Would you list any others?_____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?_____

_____

_____

70% ~~IIII~~ II On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

II I would rather not receive these materials.
Except S.T. & N.S.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

All are useful
All are informative

File

NOV 23 REC'D

Dallas, Texas

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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X YES ____ NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

____ YES X NO They gave me useful materials to assist my understanding of the Changing South.

____ YES X NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50____ 25____ 10 X 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? South Today

Would you list any others? New South

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?

_____ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

X I would rather not receive these materials.

Other than above noted

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Columbia, S.C.

NOV 2 - REC'D

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75✓ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? South Today

Would you list any others? _____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? No

_____

_____

✓ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

Louisville, Ky
10/30/70

OCT 30 1970

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

For the past year you have received the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues related to poverty and racial relations. It is unlikely that you have read all of the publications or all of the materials in many of them. However, we would like to know if you felt the publications were helpful and whether you were interested to find that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

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✓ YES ____ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100____ 75____ 50✓ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? Tax Structure

Would you list any others?

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? All are useful

✓ On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

B'ham

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE: October 13, 1970

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✓ YES ____ NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you: 100 ✓ 75____ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially liked certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today.

Which? TAX STRUCTURE

Would you list any others? _____

_____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way? _____

_____

_____

Yes On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_____ I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held).

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

Jan. 11, 1961

Res Gr WCC

JACKSON, Miss.---Mississippi taxpayers, including Negroes are paying $5,000 a month to help finance radio and television programs sponsored by the White Citizens Council to preserve segregation.

This was admitted recently by Gov. Ross Barnett, who said the funds were allocated by the State Sovereignty Commission which he heads. Spending of the money was authorized last July at the usual closed session of the Commission.

At least four Commission members are on the 1961 executive committee of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils. The radio-TV programs are in charge of W. J. Simmons, administrator of the councils and editor of their newspaper.

The councils are dedicated to "preservation of segregation and constitutional government." The radio-TV programs feature speakers on states' rights, constitutional government, and segregation. Programs are provided free to broadcasting stations in 28 states throughout the nation.

The 1960 Legislature voted $350,000 to finance operations of the Commission for two years. The $5,000-a-month subsidies are in addition to the Commission's allocation of $20,000 made last June to the radio-TV program. There is no provision for the Citizens Council to account to the Commission or to the state auditor for use of the funds.

Three white and one Negro citizen have filed suit in Federal Court here to stop such payments. They contend that the expenditures are in violation of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The four plantiffs are: Lonnie B. Daniel, area director for the Communication Workers of America; William L. Higgs, Attorney; C.E. Schaeffer, electrician and union official; and Robert L.T. Smith, Jr., Negro grocer.

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Politics and

DOMESTIC REPORT

FACTS *Reports on organized anti-Semitism*

MARCH 1961, VOL. 14, NO. 3 —PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

The 1960 Election Campaign

The 1960 Presidential election was one of the most unusual in American political history: both candidates were relatively young men, in their forties; they expressed general agreement on many issues (disarmament, the budget, education), seeming to disagree chiefly on the means to realize the desired ends; the winner's margin of victory was extraordinarily small; and, for the first time, a Catholic was chosen President of the United States—thirty-two years after Alfred E. Smith had been decisively defeated.

Precisely how important President John F. Kennedy's religion was in his victory is a question for future historians. The present feeling is that there were so many factors involved—economic, geographic, racial, as well as religious—that each one was important. Nor can the purely personal element, President Kennedy's effective performance on television, be overlooked.

Certainly, in such very close elections *every group* of voters may be said to play a role in determining the outcome. Consequently, *all* considerations that influence close elections assume significance, sometimes out of proportion to the number of voters affected by them.

Thus, in analyzing decisive voting patterns in the last election, political experts have been forced to list a series of groups, motivated by a variety of considerations: besides those groups that voted along religious lines, for or against Kennedy because of his Catholicism, there was the urban Negro vote, the rural Southern vote, the New York State Liberal Party vote, the vote in economically depressed areas.

Finally, there is the complex motivation behind decisions on voting. For instance, southern whites living in a depressed economic area were under both anti-Catholic pressure and the compulsion of traditional Democratic voting habits. Obviously, their vote for Kennedy could not be described simply as a rejection of religious pressure.

The most discouraging aspect of the campaign was the quantity and quality of appeals to racial and ethnic, as well as to religious, consideration. Not all such appeals are generally regarded as reprehensible in political elections. Many who consider the injection of prejudice *against* a minority group undesirable, do not view the attempt to secure a minority group's support *for* political candidates in the same light.

That is not our view. In the first place we believe as a matter of principle that any appeal founded on the assumption that each racial, religious, and ethnic group in the United States votes exclusively on the basis of a unique self-interest is both improper and questionable—improper because to broadcast such appeals to self-interest is to perpetrate a malicious stereotype, and questionable because it assumes that Americans vote *en bloc* along rigidly defined lines. In practice such appeals inevitably are prejudicial against other groups.

What were some of the appeals to "special interest" groups during the 1960 campaign? How did they invoke prejudice to support their pleas?

Appeals to Catholics

Catholics were urged to vote for Kennedy as an expression of group solidarity, to form a united front against what was termed "the enemy"—Protestants in general, Masons and Shriners in particular. According to the New York Times (November 5, '60) such appeals were contained in mimeographed sheets slipped under the windshield wipers of cars parked outside Roman Catholic churches in a Minneapolis, Minnesota, suburb. Captioned, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," it said it part:

> "Now that it is evident that many Protestants and more so, Masons and Shriners, are not in favor of Senator Kennedy, is it not timely to vote out the Masons? Namely . . . Senator Humphrey who is a member of Masonic Lodge #2, Governor Freeman who is Master of Lodge #112. Don't just think about this . . . ACT . . . Time is short."

On the other hand, Catholics appealed to Catholics *not* to vote for the Catholic candidate because Kennedy was alleged to be "soft" on Communism. "An Open Letter to American Catholics" was carried as an advertisement in the New York Times (October 20, '60) under the heading, "There is a Catholic Issue." It was signed by the "Communism Is the Issue Committee—James L. Buckley, chairman," and identified Kennedy "with that segment of society which is either unwilling or unable to regard Communism as more than a childish bugaboo." Pointing out that the Catholic Church looked upon Communism as an irreconcilable enemy, the letter emphasized that American Catholics were therefore under a "special obligation to consider chiefly which candidate has the will to fight the most determined enemy Christian society has known."

Appeals to Jews

Jews, too, were asked to vote for one candidate or another for special "Jewish reasons." Noting that anti-Catholic literature was being disseminated, a mimeographed five-page letter mailed out by the New York State Democratic Committee on Nationalities and Intergroup Relations first played on Jewish sympathy for the victims of this literature. Then it proceeded to urge Jews, as Jews, to vote for their candidate. The argument:

> "We Jews are an unusual people and have carried the burden of persecution and oppression through many centuries. We dare not acquiece in these ominous machinations. We have witnessed the evils of prejudice and discrimination . . . It is, therefore, the continued responsibility of the Jewish people . . . to strive to conserve the strength and ideals of freedom. To attain these noble objectives, we support the party and the candidate whose conviction and past performance augur well for the future of America."

The letter concluded with a compilation of Kennedy's legislative record as Senator, carefully selected to evoke the approval of Jewish voters.

Interesting for its reflection of what some non-Jews, as well as Jews, considered to be the chief preoccupation of American Jews was the emphasis on the welfare of Israel as an overriding political consideration.

Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson distributed a two-page letter to Jewish organizations contrasting the Republican Administration's alleged record of pro-Arab and anti-Israel attitudes and actions with the "good" records of the Democratic candidates on this score.[1]

Two other items sought to persuade Jews to vote for the Democratic candidates because their positions on foreign policy with regard to Israel coincided with the presumed position of American Jews in general.

The *Jewish Times* of Boston (November 3, '60) printed a full-page advertisement by a private individual urging readers to vote for Kennedy. The advertisement asked:

> "Does the [Republican] Administration expect to continue their bankrupt Middle East policy? Shall Israel's jobs and economy suffer through Arab boycott and blackmail through U. S. mail while our State Department does nothing?"

Clearly, the author of the advertisement was convinced that no American Jewish voter in the Boston area would sustain a Republican Administration that acquiesced, for whatever reason, in the Arab boycott of Israel.

Some Democratic campaigners in southern California also assumed that local Jews would vote for the Democratic candidates if they were shown to be "right" on issues of particular concern to Jews. "Fair Play," was a four-page newspaper that the local Committee for Kennedy-Johnson circulated widely to Jewish voters in the Los Angeles area. It too rang the familiar change: defensive solidarity (Senator Kennedy was under attack by anti-Semites); and the "correct" line (Kennedy had pledged himself to act against the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal).

Such attempts to exploit sympathy for Israel's needs were not confined to Democratic vote-seekers. At one point in the campaign, Vice President Nixon's headquarters issued a statement declaring that Israeli newspapers had called for Nixon's election as a reliable friend of Israel. The press release drew the direct implication, calling on "two million Jews to cast their vote for Mr. Nixon for the sake of Israel." This bold tie-in of the "Jewish vote" with the preferences of a foreign state raised a furor throughout the country. A few days later Nixon's headquarters repudiated the release as the work of an overzealous subordinate.

Nevertheless, some overzealous Republican campaigners did not give up this general line. Immediately before the election, Jews in various parts of the United States received mailings with a New York postmark from the Committee for Human Dignity and the Committee for Human Rights—captioned "The Israeli Press Views Nixon and Lodge" and containing excerpts from several Israeli newspapers. Nixon, the Israeli citations argued, was a better friend of Israel than was Kennedy. (The same mailings also raised the spectre of anti-Semitism: an insert attacked Joseph Kennedy, Sr., implying that the Democratic candidate's father was anti-Semitic.)

On the other hand, certain Republicans, preocuppied with the "Jewish vote," were eager to deny the imputation that their candidate was in any way discriminatory against American Jews. Directly addressing Jewish voters, Republicans published parallel column advertisements in Anglo-Jewish publications throughout the country. One column informed Jewish readers that charges of bigotry against Vice President Nixon had been thoroughly investigated by B'nai B'rith and had been found to be false. In fact, the Republican Presidential candidate had been commended by various Jewish groups for championing the cause of justice, human rights, and dignity for all races and creeds in America, Israel, and throughout the world.

A parallel column, headed "So You May Know the Truth," reminded Jewish voters of the ethical injunctions of Judaism. It showed a photograph of an elderly Jew holding a religious tome, and bore the legend: "Have We Forgotten the Ninth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor'?" Obviously, the intent of this advertisement, inserted by Friends of Nixon and Lodge, was to invoke Jewish pride in their spirtual heritage and simultaneously associate it with the image of the Republican standard-bearer.

FACTS is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

Funds for the work of the Anti-Defamation League are raised through the Joint Defense Appeal.

Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meier Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, Philip M. Klutznick, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, William Sachs, Benjamin Samuels, Dore Schary, Melvin H. Schlesinger, Jesse Steinhart, honorary vice-chairmen; Abe Goldstein, Harold Lachman, David A. Rose, vice-chairman; Benjamin Greenberg, treasurer; Herbert Levy, secretary; Benjamin R. Epstein, national director; Paul H. Sampliner, chairman, executive committee; Joseph Cohen, vice-chairman, executive committee; Label A. Katz, president, B'nai B'rith; Maurice Bisgyer, executive vice-president, B'nai B'rith; Bernard Nath, chairman of civil rights committee; Arnold Forster, general counsel and civil rights director.

Another device employed to attract the Jewish vote for Nixon and Lodge was the printing of testimonial advertisements in the Anglo-Jewish press signed by prominent Jews. One such advertisement stressed Nixon's deep concern after a visit to the Warsaw Ghetto; Henry Cabot Lodge's support for the State of Israel as United States Ambassador to the United Nations; and the amount of financial aid that the Republican Administration of President Eisenhower had given to Israel.

These appeals to presumed Jewish self-interest, however, did not reflect the official positions of either of the Presidential candidates—both Kennedy and Nixon carefully avoided public statements that might be interpreted as excessively favorable to any one group of voters at the expense of any other group. These appeals stereotyped Jews as a group, but did not malign any minority.

Unfortunately, however, a number of items distributed by less responsible groups, outside of regular political campaign circles, did cross the border line of defamation.

For example:

A screed entitled "Warning to All of Our Jewish Friends," mailed anonymously, declared that Hitler had been a Roman Catholic; he had approved Catholic opposition to Protestantism; in fact, all Nazi and Fascist dictators were Catholics; and, in a *non sequitur,* "The Roman Catholics are fighting with every means they know to put their man in the White House and to gain control of the United States."

Similarly, a four-page leaflet set forth reasons why Jews, of all voters, should not support a Roman Catholic candidate for President. Bearing the imprint of Patriot Press, and mailed from Midwestern cities a few days before election day, it was sent eastward to the centers of large Jewish population. This leaflet emphasized that: "Jewish Senator Lehman of New York had gladly accepted Dr. Daniel Poling's invitation to pay tribute to the Jewish chaplain" at the Four Chaplain's Meeting in Philadelphia (in 1947); Senator Kennedy, however, had withdrawn at the insistence of the Catholic clergy.

The authors made much of the political concordat of 1933 between Pope Pius XI and Adolf Hitler, and concluded with a plea to Jews, together with Protestants and "seventy million non-church members to stand together against this common foe who classifies us all as 'heretics' and who usurps the United States Constitution's guarantee of free speech. . . [Kennedy] is the opening wedge to converting America into another Spain."

Appeals to Negroes

Negroes were urged to vote Republican because of the presumed identification of the Democrat Party with segregation. Thus, the New York Republican County Committee published a column written by a prominent Negro as an advertisement in a Negro publication.[2]

The Negro columnist, in a "special report to Negro voters" explained why he was voting for Nixon-Lodge. He began by noting that Negro voters believed that a Democratic victory would continue ardent southern segregationists in positions of power—men like Senators Eastland of Mississippi, Byrd of Virginia, and Talmadge of Georgia. He added that the southern Negro was not interested in the Democratic platform on domestic or foreign issues [a reference to the liberal Democratic plank in favor of extending civil rights]; for the southern Negro knew that all the local officials whom he had to deal with were Democrats who favored continued segregation.

The Democrats replied in kind. Well-known Negro stage personalities endorsed Senator Kennedy for President in several issues of The Pittsburgh Courier, a Negro-owned and Negro-read weekly.

Nor did Democrats allow the charge that they favored segregation to pass without a counter thrust. New York and other cities with substantial Negro populations were showered with replicas of a deed signed by Vice President Nixon; it included a restrictive covenant barring Negroes and Jews from purchasing property in Spring Valley, Maryland. (There was no indication of the fact that Nixon had explicitly repudiated the restrictive covenant when it was brought to his attention.)

Appeals to Protestants

Of all the groups appealed to, the largest of course were the Protestant groups. Exactly how much clearly bigoted anti-Catholic literature was distributed during the 1960 Presidential campaign, how many anti-Catholic speeches were made, obviously cannot be precisely determined. However, competent political observers writing in influential newspapers—men like Robert Bird of the *New York Herald Tribune* and James Reston of *The New York Times*—estimated the size of such propaganda as massive.

Where did it appear? Bruce Felknor, executive secretary of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, lists thirteen states where there was a particularly heavy distribution of anti-Catholic literature: Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Florida.

Arthur Lazell, assistant director of the Democratic National Committee's anti-bigotry squad, commented on the widespread attacks on Kennedy's candidacy because of his religion:

> "Although the South is generally considered to be the center of the anti-Catholic foment . . . there is not a state that has not been literally drenched with this stuff. There's a lot in Pennsylvania, a lot in the farm belt, in the Northwest."

Most of the objections to Kennedy as a Catholic Presidential candidate concentrated on the theme that Roman Catholicism was incompatible with Presidential obligations. It would be inaccurate to reduce all such objections to bigoted hostility. To many conservative Protestant ministers and laymen a real question of conscience was involved; they believed that Catholics communicants were bound by church teachings even in their non-church, political actions—a moot question. What was noteworthy

in the 1960 campaign was that these objections came into the open; that Kennedy treated them seriously at their face value, and replied to them; and that his reply in a sense cleared the air. This was, perhaps, the most healthy aspect of the campaign.

It must first be stressed that most Protestant church groups and individual Protestant leaders were opposed to the singling out of Catholic candidates for special questioning, although many well-known groups and spokesmen did question whether a Catholic candidate for President could maintain his independence from church influence.

In the spring of 1960, thirteen leading Protestant officials, including the highest officials of the Protestant Episcopal, United Presbyterian, Evangelical and Reformed, Congregational Christian and Disciples of Christ churches, expressed the conviction that each of the candidates in the campaign "has presented himself before the American people with honesty and independence, and we would think it unjust to discount any one of them because of his chosen faith."

In an open letter to "fellow pastors in Christ," the ministers warned against the "serious danger that the forces of hate and unformed hostility may loose upon our people" if anti-Catholicism were injected into the Presidential campaign.[3]

Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger of the Protestant Episcopal Church emphasized that the question of whether a Presidential nominee might be a Catholic "should not be a factor in one's choice . . . I don't think that the discipline of the Church would be contrary to the best interests of the Government . . . We have Roman Catholics who are governors of states and cities. I have never heard of any difficulty because of their Catholic faith."

Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary declared that "a Catholic president might have a better perspective on the issue of social justice than many Protestants."

Fair Campaign Practices

In March, 1960, prominent Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders met in Washington to discuss the problem of the religious issue. The meeting was sponsored by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, headed by Charles P. Taft, former Mayor of Cincinnati, which issued a statement setting forth five principles to govern the discussion of religion in the campaign. The principles, based on a consensus of the religious leaders, were:

1. "It is proper and desirable that every public official should attempt to govern his conduct by a personal conscience that is formed by his religious faith.

2. "No candidate for public office should be opposed or supported because of his particular religious affiliation. . .

3. "A candidate should be judged by his qualifications for the office he seeks and by his position on issues relevant to that office. He may properly be questioned about such issues and about the bearing of his religious faith and conscience on them. A candidate's religion is relevant to a voter's decision, but only so far as it bears on such political issues.

4. "Stirring up, fostering or tolerating religious animosity or injecting elements of a candidate's faith not relevant to the duties of the office he seeks are unfair campaign practices.

5. "Intelligent, honest and temperate public discussion of the relation of religious faith to the public issues will, as it has already done, raise the whole level of the campaign."

The American Lutheran Church, at its convention in April, 1960, endorsed a statement that "just as membership in a particular religious group should not disqualify a candidate from public office, so his particular Church membership alone should not entitle him to support for that office."

It said that "the chief consideration, surpassing all others, is that the person best qualified for the position be chosen. Such personal qualities as integrity, courage, wisdom and understanding are pertinent to the choice. The past records of the candidates and their parties, the claims they make and their credibility, and the probable benefits their supporters expect if victory is theirs, also are relevant considerations. . ."

Howard R. Burkle, Professor of Religion, wrote in the *United Church Herald* (Jan. 21 '60) that "it is difficult to believe that informed Americans can really think that the election of a Roman Catholic will give over the reins of executive power to Vatican control. I conclude, therefore, that this objection to a Catholic candidate is unfounded, a result of either ignorance or of deliberate intent to arouse base dispositions. . ."

In the *Unitarian Register* (December 1959) Dr. Homer A. Jack, minister-at-large of the Unitarian Fellowship of Evansville, Indiana, wrote that "to vote against a candidate for the presidency merely because he is a Roman Catholic is the essence of bigotry. . . The late Justice Frank Murphy was a Catholic, yet no Pope told him how to vote. Indeed, he voted in favor of the right of Jehovah's Witnesses to set up a public address system in a municipal park in order to make anti-Catholic statements.

"It seems to me that there is little a Catholic President could do even if he secretly were determined to favor the church. Could a President prohibit birth control? Could a President establish the Roman church as the state church in America? Hardly! He probably would lean over backwards to show that he was not controlled. There are dangers of Catholic power in our American democracy, but they do not stem from having a Catholic in the White House. . ."

On the other hand, responsible Protestant denominations number among them many leaders and many groups of genuine good-will who nevertheless are apprehensive about the effect on a Catholic President of his church and its hierarchy.

Key Questions

In March, 1960, the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church posed these four questions, which it felt that any Catholic candidate should answer:

"1. Many nations recognize the Vatican City of the Roman Catholic Church as both church and state and send official ambassadors to the Holy See. If you become President, what would be your policy concerning the appointment of an

ambassador from the United States or a personal representative to the Vatican?

"2. Pope Pius IX, in the Syllabus of Errors, condemned the concept of the separation of church and state. Do you accept this position of the Roman Catholic Church or the American principle of the separation of church and state as provided for in the Constitution?

"3. The Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States issued an official statement in 1948, which took issue with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the First Amendment, as it relates to the separation of church and state. The statement claims that the Constitution permits the 'cooperation between government and religions.' It implies among other things, the use of tax money for sectarian or parochial schools, provided this is done equally with no preference of one religion over another. What is your personal attitude toward the Bishops' interpretation of the Constitution? What is your attitude toward the plan of financing parochial schools with public funds by scholarship grants to parents of children in such schools at the elementary and secondary levels?

"4. As our chief executive, would you support the use of public funds for dissemination of birth control information and materials when requested by other nations facing overpopulation? Would you continue to support the granting of federal funds to hospitals in the United States which disseminate birth control information?"

It should be noted that these questions were answered repeatedly by Senator Kennedy despite the fact that many Catholics considered them unfair. In one form or another, they continued to be asked of him to election day. During the same period, objections to a Catholic candidate by Protestant spokesmen and bodies swelled to a crescendo. A random sampling follows:

In May, 1959 a private poll at the 102nd annual session of the Southern Baptist Convention revealed that 96 percent of the "messengers" (delegates) were opposed to a Catholic in the Presidency. (In 1960, at their national convention, the delegates adopted a resolution expressing their fears of a Catholic for President.) In June, 1959 the official organ of Alabama Methodists editorially criticized Governor John Patterson for endorsing a Catholic for President. And in July the *Alabama Baptist* followed suit, concluding, "It has been said that religious opposition to a Catholic President was dying out in the south. However, we believe the Governor will be surprised at the widespread repercussions caused by his public endorsement of Senator Kennedy."

In August, 1959 the Minnesota Baptist Convention resolved that a Catholic in the White House "would be a serious threat to the historic liberty and freedoms now afforded us by our Constitution. We believe that a Roman Catholic by both the policy and declaration of his own church, cannot exercise the governmental responsibility of the President of the U. S. as outlined by our Constitution, without and apart from the influence of the teaching and program of the Roman church, which are not in accord with and are contrary to our Constitution and freedoms."

The 1.6 million Southern Baptists in Texas were advised in November, 1959 by their state convention to consider carefully before voting for a candidate who is a Roman Catholic. In a resolution they questioned "whether or not a Roman Catholic office-holder would be able to resist the pressures of clericalism." An article questioning a Catholic's capacity to be independent of his church was reprinted from *Christian Herald* and mailed throughout Wisconsin by the state Council of Churches. Arkansas Baptists unanimously adopted a resolution opposing any Catholic for President, since, it said, Catholics owe allegiance to "a foreign person who is outside the U. S. and above the laws and governing forces of the U. S. . . ." Arizona Baptists similarly opposed a Catholic candidate; but at their state convention Georgia Baptists rejected a resolution opposing a Catholic President.

Between January and late May of 1960 came more than a dozen similar expressions from state bodies of the various Protestant denominations, religious publications and Protestant leaders in national magazine articles. These culminated on May 20 when the Southern Baptist Convention, as one of its officials had predicted the previous year, adopted a resolution expressing strong fears about electing a Catholic President.

In January, 1960 more than one-third of some 700 Presbyterian ministers answering a poll sponsored by an official Presbyterian ministers magazine said they would "not vote for a Catholic for President of the United States under any circumstances." (The number responding were only 1/10 of all ordained Presbyterian ministers.)

The lead editorial in the February 1, 1960 issue of *Christianity Today,* a leading nondenominational magazine, stated that opposition to the election of a Roman Catholic "is certainly not unreasoning." They contended "a Catholic President alone will not turn the United States into a Colombia or Spain, but he would, in all likelihood, knowingly or otherwise, take what steps he could in that direction. . . Informed Protestants believe, not at all irrationally, that the interests of the nation are safer in the hands of one who does not confess to a foreign earthly power."

On February 4, Roy Pearson, Dean of Andover Newton Theological School, in an article in the *United Church Herald,* described his reservations about voting for a Roman Catholic. He said that if religion has a proper influence on a man's life, it is "an inescapable element in the evaluation of his competence for political leadership. . . I only insist that when a man has pledged prior allegiance to an organization as tightly disciplined and as rigidly authoritarian as the Roman Catholic Church, he presents voters with a special reason for vigilance in studying his qualification for office. . ."

On April 29 The National Association of Evangelicals adopted a resolution stating ". . . that due to the political-religious nature of the Roman Catholic Church, we doubt that a Roman Catholic President could or would resist fully the pressures of the hierarchy."

Howard Short, editor of *The Christian,* official publication of the Disciple of Christ Church, said in an editorial (June-July 1960) that he "cannot see fit to support a Roman Catholic for President, all other qualifications being equal."

Questions were also raised by some of the nation's outstanding Protestant spokesmen. In its Christmas issue, *Christian Herald* printed an excerpt from the autobiography of its editor, Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, recounting Senator Kennedy's withdrawal from ceremonies dedicated to an interfaith chapel in Philadelphia "on orders" from

the Catholic Archibishop of Philadelphia, the late Cardinal Doherty. Dr. Poling was not satisfied with Kennedy's explanation that he was withdrawing because he believed he had been asked to represent his church, which he could not do without the approval of that church. The Baptist minister and editor saw in the episode subservience to the hierarchy which boded ill for Kennedy's independence.

Later that month, in LIFE, Episcopal Bishop Pike acknowledged that there are two interpretations of church-state relations within the Catholic Church. He considered one in the American tradition and the other alien to it. A Catholic who believes in the American interpretation should be elected if he is the better man, said the Bishop, but a member of the other school should not be "unless the other candidate is very unsuitable indeed."

In January 1960, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam questioned whether Senator Kennedy could be "free of Roman Catholic hierarchical control."

Although not a religious society, the organization known as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU) must be noted in any discussion of this subject. POAU is concerned with the American tradition of separation of church and state, and its founders and officers campaign against clerical encroachments on absolute political independence of the state. In recent election campaigns, to the growing distress of the organization itself, rabid anti-Catholic material distributed in various states carried stickers urging readers to subscribe to POAU publications, and individual supporters of the organization have tried from time to time to involve it in their own bigoted attacks on Catholic candidates. POAU has been driven to editorial pleas in its own organ asking its friends to shun such tactics and has repudiated the literature of the bigots. . .

On September 7, 1960, the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom, a group of 150 Protestant ministers and laymen, met in Washington, D. C., to discuss the "real and vital religious issue." The Conference issued a public statement charging that a Roman Catholic President would be under "extreme pressure from the hierarchy of the church" to "align the foreign policy of the United States with that of the Vatican." The Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale of New York, the group's chairman at the time, characterized the "very impressive" gathering as one "more or less representative of the evangelical conservative Protestantism." Urging moderation, the group said it believed that "this religious issue should be handled with utmost discretion; that it should be discussed only in a spirit of truth, tolerance and fairness, and that no person should engage in hate-mongering, bigotry, prejudice or unfounded charges."

Though conceding that Kennedy had repeatedly proclaimed his own support for Church-State separation, the group insisted that some actions of the Catholic Church in respect to separation had given Protestants legitimate grounds for concern about having a Catholic in the White House.

The Conference's statement created a national furor. Liberal Protestants, such as the renowned theologian Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, deplored the Peale group's statement. The Democratic leadership assailed it and Republicans were frankly worried that it might have a boomerang effect, inducing previously pro-Nixon Catholic voters to switch over to Kennedy as a co-religionist under attack. Major Catholic publications, which had soft-pedalled the religious issue, now loudly protested the group's insinuations. Peale himself, retreated under fire, disassociating himself from both the National Conference and its Washington meeting. "I did not call this meeting," he said "and had nothing to do with setting it up. . . I did not take part in the preparation of its statement of conclusions." He added:

> "The people have the right to elect a Catholic, a Jew, a Protestant or even someone of no religious affiliation as President, and he has the right to serve. The election should be on the basis of the man best qualified. Each of us must vote according to the dictates of his own conscience. This I believe and regret that my position has ever been presented as anything else."[4]

Americans for Democratic Action, a nonpartisan political organization generally associated with liberal positions, issued a statement attacking the Peale group and other "right-wing" Americans. Those who raised the religious issue against Kennedy, said the ADA, "object to him more because he is a liberal than because he is a Catholic."

One of the participants in the conference, Dr. George M. Docherty, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Washington, announced later that he himself would support Kennedy for the Presidency. Though criticizing the make-up of the conference ("not a representative group of Protestantism"), Dr. Docherty asserted he could agree with 90 percent of its statement, that it is his position that "this issue of the Roman Catholic Church which has arisen in the campaign is merely bringing into focus an issue which has always existed, namely the dialectical opposition between the philosophy of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and the political philosophy of the United States."

When asked whether a Catholic President would be subjected to pressures from the church, Dr. Docherty responded that he had no doubt such pressures would be present. It was, he asserted, undemocratic to label any criticism raised against the Roman Catholic Church as bigotry, though no doubt some of it was. "Only Mr. Kennedy can answer the question as to how far he can resist such pressures," he said.

Facing Up to the Issue

Kennedy took up the gauntlet, in an address to the Greater Ministerial Association, which was broadcast throughout Texas (where his candidacy as a Catholic had been under strong attack, particularly by Baptist ministers). He told the Protestant ministers that he would resign as President if he could not make every decision in the national interest "without regard to outside religious pressure or dictates. . . I do not speak for my church on public matters, and the church does not speak for me.

Whatever issue may come before me as President—on birth control, divorce, censorship, gambling, or any other subject—I will make my decision in accordance with what my conscience tells me to be the national interest, and without regard to outside religious pressures or dictates."

Taking the offensive, Kennedy charged the group formerly led by Peale with working to "subvert the declaration, in Article VI of the Constitution, that there shall be no religious test of office."

That group, the Citizens for Religious Freedom, responded by praising Kennedy's speech, which it called "the most complete unequivocal and reassuring statement which could be expected of any person in his position." However, it questioned whether his statement would be "acceptable to his church."

How did this remarkable public exchange over a significant forum on a highly sensitive interfaith issue, one that only two and a half decades before had been shrouded in innuendo on the one side and silence on the other—affect either the conduct of the Presidential campaign or its result?

Immediately afterward, on September 26, 1960, *Newsweek* magazine reported the findings of its *Listening Post* department in respect to the prevalence of the religious issue, and its probable effect on the election, as seen at that point:

> "Collectively, the Listening Post in the fifty states found that the issue of Kennedy's Catholicism is being talked about in practically all states, and in some almost to the exclusion of every other political topic. . . Yet in many states . . . though the religious issue is unquestionably important, nobody so far knows how it will be translated into votes in November. Clearly, not all Catholics are for Kennedy; and not all Protestants are against Kennedy."

Why did Kennedy himself publicly face the religious issue, which had proved so fatal for Al Smith in 1928? Kennedy's aggressive personality is not to be discounted as a factor in his vigorous reaction; another possible factor was revealed after the election, in an article that appeared in Harper's magazine. The Simulmatics Corporation had prepared an opinion appraisal in August 1960, shortly before the Peale group statement and Kennedy's subsequent reply. Simulmatics had used the findings of 66 previous national polls to predict the election results, as it would be affected by the injection of the religious issue. Simulmatics advised the Democratic candidate's brother and campaign manager, Robert Kennedy, who had requested its survey, that Catholicism had already been injected into the campaign as an issue; that if the attack worsened, it was best to face the threat directly.

Simulmatics said that if the campaign became embittered, he [Kennedy] would lose a few more reluctant Protestant votes to Nixon, but gain Catholic and minority group votes. Bitter anti-Catholicism in the campaign would bring about a reaction and support for Kennedy both from Catholics and others who would resent overt prejudices, it added. On balance, it said, Kennedy might gain more than he could lose from forthright and persistent attention to the religious issue.

Literature

Anti-Catholic literature that originated from relatively responsible sources was the product of no single denomination or sect. It was varied, including press releases, church publications, feature stories, editorials, reprints of sermons and speeches, letters to parishioners—and a 109-page book.

The most widely distributed was, it is believed, a sermon by Rev. W. A. Criswell, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, delivered in July 1960. It warned that the election of Senator Kennedy would lead to the destruction of religious liberty in America.

Another tract that gained wide currency was written by Rev. C. Stanley Lowell, associate director of the Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, who charged ("Protestant, Catholic and Politics") that the "Catholic genius for politics" was "turning from king-maker to king."

Several Masonic lodges were also involved in spreading anti-Catholic propaganda. The Scottish Rite of the Masonic Lodge mailed (Oct. 24, '60) an anti-Kennedy letter to 6,500 members in Oregon. The letter went out over the signature of the Grand Inspector General and the Grand Chancellor of the Supreme Council in Washington, D.C. The Roman Catholic priesthood, it alleged, was seeking political power in the United States; that "whenever in the past the priests had gained such power, they had persecuted their opponents." Senator Kennedy, the letter alleged, was a loyal member of the Vatican.

Many residents of Utica, N. Y., reported receiving anti-Catholic matter in envelopes bearing the return address of "Luther Smith, Sovereign Grand Commander of the 33rd Degree, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Free Masonry."

Both the September and October 1960 issues of the Memphis, Tenn., Scottish Rite publication contained editorials opposing the election of a Roman Catholic as President of the United States.

Still another example:

Visitors to the George Washington Masonic Memorial in Alexandria, Va., were handed a tract declaring that "Roman Catholic allegiance is a real political issue, since the Vatican demands, under threat of excommunication, first allegiance to the Roman hierachy."

Publishers of Bigotry

The 1960 election campaign presented a perfect opportunity for those publishing houses which had specialized for years in anti-Catholic propaganda. The largest of them, the Osterhus Publishing House of Minneapolis, Minn., claimed to have distributed upwards of twenty million pieces. Another was the anti-Catholic publication, Christian Heritage, published in Sea Cliff, by Christ's Mission, Inc., and edited by Walter M. Montano. Christ's Mission was incorporated in 1887 by "Father" James A. O'Connor, Irish-born ex-priest who for many years issued the publication called The Converted Catholic, predecessor of Christian Heritage.

Despite the fact there are some reputable men among its leardership who reject religious bigotry, Christ's Mission has been involved in bitter controversy with Roman Catholics and its literature has been used by groups making malicious attacks on Catholics.

The position of Christian Heritage is reflected in the following editorial:

> ". . . many of the key positions in Washington are already held by Roman Catholics, and the number of Catholics in the Senate and House of Representatives is growing with each election. Add to this, a Roman Catholic President and the country's fate is sealed. . ."

An article (April 1960, p. 10) asserts that the Roman Catholic Church is—

> "nursing the idea that American intolerance of her political activities has about abated, and that a majority of Americans have forgotten the year 1928, when every nun that she could possibly muster sallied forth to the polling places to elect Al Smith President of the U.S.A. The writer has never seen a nun at a polling place since that time. . ."

A group that did a thriving business in anti-Catholic tracts was Freedom Press, which operated out of Nashville, Tenn. It published Voice of Freedom, whose attitude toward Catholics is mirrored in this typical excerpt:

> ". . . We are dealing with a scheming, intriguing, dictatorial power, which has been badly spoiled by pampering and coddling in this country in recent years. The longer we wait to use a firm hand in dealing with this growing menace to our freedom the more difficult it will be to handle it."

(The list of publishers of anti-Catholic tracts is a long one. Beside those already cited, see note 5 for some of the more noteworthy.)

Typical Propaganda

Some typical specimens of anti-Catholic literature in the campaign, were:

An 8-page pamphlet alleged that Senator Kennedy had been subjected to Catholic church pressure in the past—and had invariably yielded. For the Church by its very dogma "binds every good Catholic to Rome, to Rome's purposes, to Rome's pressures and to Rome's infallible Pope." This pamphlet was published by Defenders, Inc., the organization established by the late Gerald Winrod, an active anti-Semite for almost two decades.

A widely-distributed 3-page leaflet, with a cartoon captioned, "Your Candidate?" pictured Senator Kennedy kissing the Papal ring. "Keep Chuch and State Separate," the leaflet admonished.

"Why Not a Catholic for President?" was the title of an 11-page tract published by the Voltaire Society, replete with purported quotations from Catholic sources.

> "The faithful wherever found are subject to the church and not to the will of the state . . . . The civil laws are binding on the conscience only so long as they are conformable to the right of the Catholic Church . . . Individual liberty in reality is only a deadly anarchy."

The tract concluded with a statement attributed to the Marquis de Lafayette: "If liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy."

Other pieces of propaganda were ingenious in coining new defamatory phrases, appealing to a variety of prejudices in strange juxtapositions: e.g., "the Vatican black international."[7]

Still other propaganda pieces warned that a Catholic President would see to it that non-Catholic (i.e., Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues) would be closed.[8]

Three hardy anti-Catholic staples were reproduced and distributed in large quantities: the "Knights of Columbus Oath," "Abraham Lincoln's Warning," and "Maria Monk." All three works have long been discredited as forgeries.

"Knights of Columbus Oath"

The "Knights of Columbus Oath" emerged during the Know-Nothing era of the 1850's. It is an anti-Catholic equivalent of the equally spurious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," an ancient canard against Jews. Its widest circulation was attained during the heyday of the post-World War I Ku Klux Klan. According to this bogus document, members of the Knights of Columbus, a fraternal and patriotic order for Catholic laymen, are pledged when ordered by Rome to commit almost every heinous deed imaginable, including arson, torture and murder of heretics.

The Knights of Columbus has successfully sued circulators of the "oath" for libel, and has won case after case over a period of years—wherever the circulators could be found. In recent years the "oath" has been distributed anonymously for the most part. This ancient fraud has shown great durability. Late in April, 1960 a West Virginia clergyman accosted Senator John Kennedy during his primary campaign in that state and asked whether he had sworn to the "oath." The candidate told him the "oath" was a fraud, but the minister nonetheless circulated it among his flock.

"Abraham Lincoln's Warning"

Another old and discredited fabrication, described by historians as "nonsense," is the so-called "Abraham Lincoln's Warning," which was given currency in a small leaflet issued by the Osterhus Publishing House of Minneapolis, Minn., and various other publishers of anti-Catholic tracts. The leaflet quoted Lincoln as saying:

> "The very moment that popery assumed the right of life and death on a citizen of France, Spain, Germany, England or the United States; those states then committed a suicidal act by allowing popery to put a foot on their territory with the privilege of citizenship. . .
>
> " I am for liberty of conscience in its noblest, broadest sense. But I cannot give liberty of conscience to the Pope or his followers, the papists, so long as they tell me, that their conscience orders them to burn my wife, strangle my children and cut my throat, when they find the opportunity. . ."

The leaflet also holds that a Papist plot lay behind the assassination of Lincoln. The piece appeared during the primaries in West Virginia and Wisconsin.

"Maria Monk"

Oldest of the anti-Catholic propaganda pieces in circulation today is an obscene work, "Maria Monk," which was written by a demented Canadian girl in 1832 and purports to be a history of her experience as a nun. Within four years of its original publication it was investigated and thoroughly discredited by a Protestant layman, William L. Stone. He investigated Maria Monk's stories and found they were faked. It was discovered that the autor Maria Monk, had a police record. At one time she had been confined to an institution for the rehabilitation of prostitutes. She died in prison in 1845.

Promotional pieces on the book subtly stressed its prurient qualities as well as its anti-Catholic character: . . . see how Roman priests perpetrate every crime from seduction to murder . . ." Campaign editions were abridged to comply with Post Office regulations on obscenity, but its flagrant and shocking anti-Catholic bigotry remained unimpaired.

The book was offered as a 100-page paperback selling for one dollar by Gospel Books, Rowan, Iowa, according to advertisements in several anti-Catholic publications, which billed it as "the most extensively read book ever printed on the papal curse . . . Rome fought bitterly, but in vain, to suppress this book . . . Read this frightful, heart-breaking story and see how Roman priests perpetrate every crime from seduction to murder. . . "

During the six months before the election, some regularly published periodicals carried on a constant barrage of propaganda against the election of a Catholic to the Americn Presidency. These included: *The Georgia Tribune; The Truth Seekers; Sunshine News; The Defender; The Sword of the Lord; The Jacksonville Chronicle; The Rebel; The Fiery Cross.*

(*The Rebel* is the official publication of the United States Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; *The Fiery Cross,* a Texan Klan publication.)

Principal Extremists

Four major anti-Catholic extremists who operated in the campaign were Rev. Harrison Parker of Washington, D.C., Rev. Harvey Springer of Englewood, Colorado; Rev. Carl McIntire of Collingswood, New Jersey; and Brig. General (ret.) Herbert C. Holdridge of California.

PARKER. In Washington, D.C., Reverend Parker operates with tax exemption as "The Puritan Church." He has been for some years one of the most active professional anti-Catholic agitators in the United States. He holds the title of "chancellor" of "The Puritan Church—The Church of America," which has no congregation, meetings or church edifice.

Parker told the Providence (R.I.) Journal Bulletin (April 24, 1960):

> "We were doing almost nothing until the week before Easter when the demand for our material went up terrifically. It went from almost nothing to—well, I won't tell how much. But we're sending it out by the thousands. We can't handle all the demands. . ."

Parker's material appeared in many parts of the country, particularly in California, Texas, Minnesota, and the state of Washington. His literature carried headings such as these:

> —"Indignation Is Expressed From Maine to California At the Roman Catholic Hoodlums Armed with Acid, Knives, and Gun Who Unmolested Roam Our Streets."
>
> —"Civil War Is Possible In U.S.A. Because of the Un-American 'Catholic Party' Being Formed With Joe Kennedy, the Roman Catholic Millionaire Whiskey Merchant as Boss."

One of his pieces, headed "Rum, Romanism and Riot Hooligans," listed the names of several gangsters alleged to be Catholics. He also sent out a small "ballot" asking the recipient to check whether he was: (1) a loyal American, (2) a Catholic, or (3) a Communist.

SPRINGER. A vehement anti-Catholic rabble-rouser of note is the Reverend Harvey Springer of Englewood, Colo., the self-styled "cowboy evangelist" who barnstormed the country against Senator Kennedy. In one of his latest pamphlets, he declared:

> "If you put a Catholic in the White House, it will be flooded with Catholic priests and nuns going in and out. Their pictures will be flaunted on every page of the newspapers. . . The moment a Roman Catholic is elected as President, freedom of religion is going to be gone . . . Let us keep what religious freedom we have by keeping a Roman Catholic out of the White House. . ."

Springer is an ordained minister and pastor of the First Baptist Church and Tabernacle of Englewood, Colo. As editor of The Western Voice, he has been for years an outstanding promoter of religious hatred. Until recently, he had limited his activities, but the Presidential primaries and the bid for the Democratic nomination by Senator Kennedy inspired him with new anti-Catholic fervor.

A message appearing in a recent issue of Western Voice (March 31, '60), says:

> . . . "Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley were assassinated by Roman Catholics educated in parochial schools. Theodore Roosevelt was shot and wounded by a Roman Catholic in Milwaukee while giving a speech. In Florida, a Roman Catholic with a faulty aim missed Franklin D. Roosevelt and killed the mayor of Chicago instead. A Roman Catholic tried to kill Harry Truman at Blair House while he was President, and instead killed his guard. Catholics in the House of Representatives shot and wounded five Congressmen. Mr. Alvin H. Bentley was wounded very seriously. A Catholic policeman tried to kill John W. Bricker on July 2, 1947."

In collaboration with his lesser known associate, the Reverend Fred Garland, Springer circulated petitions to get a million signatures asking both major party conventions not to nominate a Catholic for President or Vice-President.

The April 7, 1960 issue of Western Voice carried advertisements by such extremist anti-Catholic pamphleteers as Gospel Books ("Maria Monk"), and Harry Hampel of Dallas, Texas ("My Deliverance From the Heresies of Rome").

The issue of April 21, 1960 was devoted almost entirely to violent anti-Catholic preachments. One item states:

> "The tide of response from preachers of all parts of the U.S. is rising higher and higher against the nomination of a Catholic for President or Vice-President. . . Dr. Fred Gar-

land, a prominent evangelist . . . and your editor are working night and day to get out packets of information about preserving our freedom against Catholicism to all preachers who are demanding this knowledge. Some ten thousand preachers are planning to speak on the subject. . ."

On May 5, Western Voice announced cash prizes for the four best original sermons on "Why We Must Stop Rome's March on Washington," with several suggested subjects. The lead article in the same issue called the United States Constitution a "Protestant Constitution."

On May 17, Springer addressed a crowd in Pensacola, Fla. He said: "I believe the Bible teaches in Revelations, Chapters 17 and 18, that Romanism is a greater threat to the U.S. than Communism," and that the U.S. Constitution would be "set aside" if a Catholic were elected President.

A mailing by Springer sent out in May stated, " I am engaged in one-night rallies across the nation—in Michigan, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Indiana, Nebraska, Texas and Colorado. In some of these places, I am renting auditoriums. We are preparing handbills and other advertising for these rallies." He said a 16mm film, "Catholicism in Action," would be shown on his tours. Springer claimed that he is sending out 300,000 pieces of anti-Catholic literature a week.

McIntire. A prominent anti-Catholic of long standing is the Reverend Carl McIntire, a minister unfrocked by the United Presbyterian Church, who serves as pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, N. J. He is president of the International Council of Christian Churches, and a leader in the American Council of Christian Churches, both fundamentalist bodies sharply at odds with the National Council of Churches.

His views on Catholicism are embodied in a statement made on November 2, 1951:

"The strengthening of the Roman Catholic Church through the world only involves the fostering of a false religion which enslaves human souls in darkness and superstition, and from which the Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century delivered us. . . It is argued that the Roman Catholic Church has its representatives behind the Iron Curtain . . . that the information which the priests obtain through the Confessional may be given through the Vatican to the West for some advantage in fighting Communism. Rome will sell her secret confessional system for political world power. But actually the Roman Catholic Church becomes a 'spy system' through the priests, with the priests' loyalty first to the Vatican. If that obtains in other countries, it obtains, too, in our country. . . Are not the Roman Catholics in the United States committed to a foreign power and do they not owe 'obedience and submission' to its head, the Pope?. . . If the priest inside the Iron Curtain countries is a 'spy' for the Vatican state, why is not a priest in the U.S.A. the same?"

McIntire edits a weekly publication called The Christian Beacon. His group, the American Council of Christian Churches, was very active and vociferous in its opposition to a Catholic candidate for President.

Holdridge. A fourth anti-Catholic extremist of some note is Brigadier-General (ret.) Herbert C. Holdridge of Sherman Oaks, Calif., who maintains a large mailing list for his own newsletters and for the distribution of the literature of many publishers of anti-Catholic material. He serves as president of the Minutemen for the Constitution, whose avowed aim is surveillance over the "agents of the Vatican," described by Holdridge as "subversive." Holdridge's position may be summed up in this heading from one of his news bulletins: "Too many Catholics."

In July, 1954, Holdridge addessed a letter to the President, the Congress and the Supreme Court accusing the "hierarchy of the Vatican and its agents in the U.S." of being subversive. He said:

". . . unless and until they publicly reject all teachings of the Vatican threatening our Institutions, the Hierarchy of the Vatican, including members in the U.S. and including the Knights of Columbus, the Society of Jesus, Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, and other confraternities of the Roman Catholic Church, be placed, forthwith, on the subversive list of the Attorney General, and subjected to the same restrictions as are applicable to other subversives."

Holdridge announced on February 12, 1960 his own candidacy for President. He alleged that a world crisis had arisen "because two international dictatorships have usurped the sovereignty of the people over government. He said:

". . . International 'Big Money' and International (secular, political) Clericalism of the Jesuit-Vatican Axis. . . Both forces are motivated by greed for usury as a means to power. 'Big Money' provides the greed incentive. The Jesuit-Vatican 'politicos' give stamp of morality to the greed incentive, and to the wars and threats of war required to maintain armament spending. During the present campaign the forces of Catholic Action are being mobilized to establish in government, openly, an operation which has gone forward secretly by infiltration for long years. These are the two forces which commit us to disaster. . ."

Some of the Presidential aspirants are described by Holdridge in the February 12th announcement of his candidacy as follows:

"Nixon: 'Favorite Son' and 'hatchet-man' of the munitions makers and the Jesuits, a man as politically immoral as a saber-toothed tiger, who has risen to his present position by slander and deceit, and who now aspires to become President on the same program.

"Kennedy: 'Favorite son' of the Jesuits and 'fellow-traveler' of the munitions makers. (We thank him for his forthrightness in presenting the issue of Catholic Action before the public.)

"Brown: (Of whom I shall have more to say anon!: 'Favorite son' of Catholic Action in California, holding the line for Kennedy, and 'fellow-traveler' of the munitions makers.

"Johnson: 'Favorite son' of the Texas oil billionaires and the munitions makers, and 'fellow-traveler' of the Jesuits.

"Humphrey, Symington, Morse: 'Favorite sons' of the munitions makers, and acceptable (as a timid last chance), to the Jesuits. Outside the environment of 'dirty politics' in which these candidates orbit, they were to be regarded as criminals, puppets of political bosses, committing the felony of overthrowing the franchise of the people. . ."

Holdridge's anti-Catholic materials were reprinted in Springer's Western Voice; he for his part distributed the literature of such anti- Catholic publishers as Heritage Manor of Los Angeles, Cal. and the Osterhus Publishing House of Minneapolis, Minn.

Conclusion

How effective were these various appeals to bigotry and group interest during the campaign. Was the Catholic candidate, John F. Kennedy, elected President despite these appeals—or, paradoxically, *because* of them?

Elmo Roper, in his pre-election polls taken in September 1960, discovered that Catholics were planning to vote about 4 to 1 for Kennedy, Protestants about 2 to 1 for Nixon. How did voters feel about a Catholic in the White House? Thirty-eight percent made either a pro- or an anti-Catholic statement, indicating that religion *was* a factor in their religious choice (23 per cent were anti-, 15 per cent pro-Catholic). Among Protestants, 27 per cent expressed anti-Catholic feeling; of the Catholics, one-third gave Catholic loyalty as the primary reason for their choice of Kennedy.

Similarly, the Simulmatics Corporation—more conveniently called the People Machine—in August 1960 used the findings of 66 previous national polls to predict election results based on the injection of the religious issue. Dr. Ithiel de Sola Poole, director of Simulmatics, concluded that religion and party allegiance were the two major concerns for voters in choosing between the two Presidential candidates; the relationship between the two varied in different parts of the country. His forecasts were:

> "If the campaign becomes embittered, (Kennedy) will lose a few more reluctant Protestant votes to Nixon, but will gain Catholic and minority group votes. Bitter anti-Catholicism in the campaign would bring about a reaction against prejudice and for Kennedy from Catholics and others who would resent overt prejudice. . . On balance, Kennedy would not lose further from forthright and persist attention to the religious issue and could gain." (*Harpers,* January, 1961)

Both the Anti-Defamation League and Gallup compared the results of the 1956 and 1960 elections in an attempt to assess the positions of various groups. Both studies indicate the relative ineffectiveness of the appeals to bigotry in swinging the balance of votes away from the Catholic candidate.

The ADL made spot checks in twenty-one cities: Boston, New Haven, New York, Newark, Richmond, Atlanta, Miami, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Detroit, Minneapolis, Columbus, Ohio, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Houston, Omaha, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. The checks were confined to a select group of election districts, precincts, or wards inhabited predominantly by Jews, Catholics or Negroes. These were the findings:

Group	1956		1960	
	% Democratic	% Republican	% Democratic	% Republican
Negroes	53	46.9	67.6	32.4
Catholics	59.9	40.1	71.5	28.5
Jews	74.2	25.8	77.5	22.5

Gallup summarized 1960 election returns nationally, in relation to the minority and religious issues. He confirmed the increase in Negro, Catholic, and Jewish votes for Kennedy in 1960 over the votes for Stevenson in 1956. Gallup noted, as the most striking indication of religion as a factor in the election, that Kennedy had carried seven out of eleven states where Catholics make up 30 per cent or more of the population—Stevenson had carried none of these important electoral states. Gallup estimated that Kennedy got 10 per cent more of the popular votes in states with a Catholic Church membership than he would have gotten had the religious factor not been present.

David Lawrence, in his syndicated column, agreed that Kennedy's Catholic faith was an important factor in the Presidential election. According to Lawrence, Kennedy had the solid backing of Catholics in his own party, supplemented by an impressive bloc of former Catholic Eisenhower supporters. There was no large rejection of a Catholic—as had been anticipated—among Democratic Portestants in the South. Why? Lawrence suggested that the party pressure exerted in the South to hold regular Democrats in line proved stronger than anti-Catholic bigotry designed to frighen them away.

Can it be that the Catholic faith is an asset to a Presidential candidate, rather than a liability? One leading poll analyst, Louis Bean, felt free to take this controversial position. He argued that Alfred E. Smith might have won the 1928, had not the country as a whole been Republican in political allegiance:

> "The election of Senator Kennedy is the result of Catholic pride winning over Protestant prejudice. There is ample evidence that the number of Catholics voting for a Catholic would outweigh the number of Catholics voting against him . . . The two parties were more evenly divided than in 1956. The Democrats rated 42% in the 1956 popular vote for Stevenson, but at least two major factors which contributed to Stevenson's defeat would play no role in 1960. . . . Political sentiment was divided evenly in all major regions. . . . There was ample and continuing evidence that the issue was dividing the voters in much the same way as it had done in 1928, and that many more voters than usual were undecided chiefly because of it. . . . Religion gave Al Smith a net advantage, but not enough to offset the fact that in 1928 the country as a whole was only about 45% Democrat. Had the two parties rated about 50-50 in 1928, as now, Al Smith would have won." (*The Nation,* November 26, 1960.)

Obviously, the reader will have to draw his own conclusions as to the precise effect religious bias had in the 1960 election result. The Presidential campaign and the massive involvement of bigotry are now history. But their long-range impact on the American people and upon the democratic election process remains uncertain —to be determined in the future.

One thing is certain: Bigotry failed to prevent the election of a Catholic to the Presidency of the United States in 1960.

Notes

1. "The Seven Lean Years in the Middle East—1953 to 1960," dated October 19, 1960, mailed by Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson, Washington, D.C.

2. New York Citizens Call, November 5, 1960 - column by Jackie Robinson.

3. Signers included Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches; Dean Francis B. Sayre, Jr., of Washington Cathedral (Episcopal); Dr. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Dr. Arthur L. Miller and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Moderator and Stated Clerk, respectively, of The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, D.C.; and Dr. James E. Wagner, president of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; Dr. Fred Hoskins, minister-secretary of the Congregational Christian Churches; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister emeritus of New York's Riverside Church; and Dr. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary.

4. Full text, New York Times - Sept. 16, '60.

5. Pilgrim Tract Society, Randleman, N. C. ("To Kill Protestants"); Book and Bible House, Gainesville, Fla. ("Convent Horror"); Superior Books, San Diego, Cal. ("The Roman Catholic Church is a Menace to American Liberty"); Heritage Manor, Los Angeles ("If you want the Pope for President vote a Catholic into the White House"); Orient Crusaders, Glendale and Los Angeles, Cal. (". . . should Rome obtain the political and temporal ascendancy . . . our hard won religious freedom would come to an end. . . "), The Convert, Clairton, Pa. ("Ins and Outs of Romanism"); Truth Seeker, New York, N. Y. (Established in 1873 as a journal for atheists and free-thinkers. It is the official organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism and of a like-minded group called the National Liberal League. Both of these groups seek to perpetuate the atheist tradition through the magazine. But the present editor of Truth Seeker, Charles Smith, was consorting with well-known anti-Semitic and bigoted groups and individuals; and the publication frequently quoted from such notorious hate sheets as Conde McGinley's Common Sense and Frank Britton's American Nationalist.)

Previously unknown publishers of anti-Catholic propaganda: the Citizens Committee, Pittman, N. J.; the Western Hemisphere Evangelical Union, Glendale, Calif.; Voltaire Society, Chicago, Ill.; Citizens Committee, Limerick, Pa.; Scripture Truth Society, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dunham Publishing House, Findley, Ohio; Vindicator, Fort Worth, Tex.; Masonic Inspiration, Morris Plains, N. J.; Freedom Tracts, Altadena, Calif.

(For a full list of the products of these presses, see the Appendix.)

6. Published by Jack Odom, Box 883, Fort Bragg, Calif.

7. 1-page leaflet distributed by "Masonic Inspiration," Morris Plains, N. J.

8. "8 Reasons Why I Will Not Vote for a Roman Catholic," by Rev. Dennis J. Brown, 8 pp.; 1-page leaflet distributed by Committee for American Freedoms; pamphlet produced by Volunteers for the Preservation of Religious Freedom.

Chronological Appendix

(Editor's Note: The following compilation, though not a complete listing, presents almost day-by-day developments stemming from the religious issue in the 1960 Presidential campaign. The items listed were selected as a representative sampling of the scope and variety of those developments and complete a similar sampling published in the June-July, 1960, issue of "Facts".)

May 26, 1960—Minneapolis, Minnesota. An editorial by Paul Rader in *Sunshine News*, weekly publication of the River Lake Tabernacle, was entitled *A Roman Catholic as President?* and equated the "Roman Papacy" with Communism, stating both were "totalitarian ideas" menacing the American form of government.

June 2, 1960—Rochester, New York. Paul Blanshard, legal adviser to Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (P.O.A.U.), told a news conference that the Roman Catholic position on the separation of church and state is "un-American."

June 15, 1960—Washington, D. C. Evangelist Billy Graham said he felt that religion "will be a major force in the election" and that in his opinion, there would "be problems with a Catholic President" which Protestants would have to consider before voting for someone of that faith, such as Sen. Kennedy. Graham said it was up to other Protestant leaders to say what the "problems" might be and added that he was "not prepared" to say whether he personally would have reservations about voting for a Catholic for President.

June 16, 1960—Marshalltown, Iowa. The North Iowa Methodist Conference adopted a resolution stating: "In view of the unchanged, official, and historical position of the Holy Roman Apostolic Catholic Church with regard to its control over its individual members, either as private citizens or holders of political office, we recommend that our ministers call to the attention of our congregations the need for informed and wise decisions in casting their ballots for public office."

June 16, 1960—Waukesha, Wisconsin. Delegates to the Wisconsin Presbyterian Synod rejected a resolution which called for non-religious consideration in the selection of political candidates. During the meeting, there was considerable discussion on the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in political affairs.

June 21, 1960—Kansas City, Kansas. Some 2,000 delegates attending the convention of the American Baptist Association, with a claimed membership of 600,000 in more than 3,000 churches, unanimously adopted a resolution opposing the election of a Roman Catholic as President. The action was taken after the Association President, Dr. Hoyt Chastain of Malvern, Arkansas, told the group: "No man can be loyal to the United States and the Vatican at the same time. Baptists have never opposed a man for President because of his religion, but Catholicism is more than a religion. The Vatican is a political state."

June 28, 1960—Boston, Massachusetts. The annual fellowship of the Conservative Baptists, representing more than 275,000 Baptists in the United States, adopted a resolution opposing the nomination of a Roman Catholic for President or Vice-President. The resolution said that complete separation of church and state as called for by the United States Constitution "is repudiated and rejected" by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

July 1, 1960—The current issue of *The Churchman* reprinted a report from *Capital*, leading Baptist publication, which stated that "if a person is a true Catholic and if he practices his religion all the way, he must be subject to the final authority of the Pope. This, of course, puts the American Catholic in a dilemma. Likewise, it puts the American voter in a dilemma."

July 3, 1960—Dallas, Texas. Dr. W. A. Criswell, of the First Baptist Church, charged in a sermon that if Sen. John F. Kennedy were elected President, it would "spell the death of a free church in a free state and our hopes of continuance of full religious liberty in America." Dr. Criswell declared that "if Kennedy is nominated and elected, it will inevitably open the door for a United States Ambassador to the Roman Catholic Church, tax support for Catholic schools and, finally, the recognition of the Roman church above all others."

July 4, 1960—Indianapolis, Indiana. A rally sponsored by Christian Patriots of America, a national organization headed by Dr. Hendon Harris of Blomington, heard speakers denounce the Catholic Church. One speaker, former Federal Judge Albert Levitt, of New Hampshire, declared that the "three great enemies of American freedom were Communism, Fascism and the Roman Catholic Church." The theme of the rally was "The Vatican, Political Threat to American Freedom." Rev. Gregory Dickson of the Indiana Baptist Temple, said Christian Patriots of America was formed to combat "Communism, Fascism and Vaticanism."

July 14, 1960—Dallas, Texas. A United Press International survey, following the nomination of Senator Kennedy, disclosed that the strongest voice against Kennedy was that of the Rev. Dr. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, the nation's largest all-white Baptist congregation, with 12,000 members. UPI said Dr. Criswell stood on his July 3 charge that the election of a Catholic to the Presidency would "spell the death of a free church in a free state and our hopes of continuance of full religious liberty in America."

July 17, 1960—Stanley, North Carolina. Rev. James C. Honeycutt, pastor of the Bruington Baptist Church, published an article in his church newspaper denouncing Sen. Kennedy as a Knight of Columbus and a member of a "hellish, world-wide plot to enslave men and women." He said he based his denunciation on the so-called *Knights of Columbus Oath,* but two days later said he he had learned that the purported "oath" had been exposed in the *Congressional Record* in 1913 as bogus. "I am sorry that the article was published in our church bulletin," he said adding that he was still opposed to the idea of a Catholic President.

July 23, 1960—Atlanta, Georgia. A *New York Times* political survey in the South indicated that Sen. Kennedy's nomination had brought a wave of criticism from those opposing him because he is a Roman Catholic. The survey quoted Dr. Louie D. Newton, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, the South's largest Protestant denomination, and an officer of P.O.A.U. as saying that Sen. Kennedy's promises to defend separation of church and state would have to be compared with the declarations of his church on that question.

July 31, 1960—Waco, Texas. Dr. Harold E. Lindsey, pastor of the 3,000 member Waco First Baptist Church, said in a sermon that if Sen. Kennedy were elected, the Roman Catholic "hierarchy will have a tool at the highest level, through which they will work." Rev. Lindsey said Sen. Kennedy had "every right to be President, yet millions of American citizens are afraid of what might happen if he is elected. . . . One wonders if he is ignorant of the historical position of his Church. . ."

August 1, 1960—New York City, New York. A survey by *Newsweek* magazine disclosed that Sen. Kennedy's religion had been attacked in newspaper ads and church bulletins published in North Carolina, and that in strongly Lutheran South Dakota, ads for Protestant services included such topics as "Separation of Church and State in Jeopardy" and "Protestants Challenged." A rumor circulating in South Dakota was that six Catholic Cardinals had turned up at the Democratic National Convention in plain clothes to boost Sen. Kennedy.

August 4, 1960—Lake Odessa, Michigan. The International Pentecostal Association, with a claimed 10,000 members, adopted a resolution opposing the election of a Catholic for President.

August 4, 1960—Gastonia, North Carolina. Some 40 Baptist ministers from Gaston and Mecklenburg counties met to plan tactics aimed at defeating Sen. Kennedy for the Presidency.

August 6, 1960—Dallas, Texas. Rev. Tom Landers, pastor of the Miller Road Baptist Church in Garland, announced that a group of more than 20 Dallas and Fort Worth area ministers would meet to plan a drive opposing the election of a Catholic to the Presidency of the United States. He said the group would "present intelligently and effectively to the people the dangers of having a Roman Catholic President."

August 11, 1960—Dallas, Texas. Columnist Lynn Landrum of the *Dallas News* reported that he was being bombarded with copies of the bogus *Knights of Columbus Oath.*

August 12, 1960—Indianapolis, Indiana. *The Indiana Catholic* reported a tremendous upsurge in the volume of anti-Catholic propaganda throughout the state, both in key cities and rural areas, with much of the material taken from anti-Catholic publications of the 1920s such as *The Menace.* Factories, beauty parlors, business offices, buses and bars were reported being flooded with such anti-Catholic tracts as the spurious *Knights of Columbus Oath.* Other anti-Catholic propaganda in circulation included material from "The Voice of the Nazarene, Inc.", Elizabeth, Pa. *The Catholic Challenger,* also from Elizabeth, Pa., *Mr. Kennedy, We Challenge You* by Dr. Hendon Harris of Christian Patriots for America (a 109-page book), and the June, 1960, issue of *Christian Heritage.* The Vol. 1 No. 1 1960, issue of *Church-State News,* published by P.O.A.U., was reported mailed to every rural boxholder in the state.

August 15, 1960—Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Ramsey Pollard, President of the 9,000,000-member Southern Baptist Convention, predicted that the "overwhelming majority" of Baptist preachers in the South would ask their congregants to oppose Sen. Kennedy for President. Dr. Pollard said: "Since the Catholic Church is not only a church but a political entity, we feel we are justified in making an attack upon Mr. Kennedy on that basis." B. C. Goodpasture, an evangelist and editor of the *Gospel Advocate,* said the Church of Christ was against Mr. Kennedy because he "owes his allegiance to the Pope."

August 19, 1960—Nashville, Tennessee. The 48th biennial assembly of the Church of God passed a resolution questioning the fitness of a Roman Catholic to be President of the United States. The resolution said; "We honestly doubt that a Catholic President could or would fully resist the pressures of ecclesiastical hierarchy." The resolution passed without a dissenting vote. Some 2,000 ministers took part.

August 19, 1960—Memphis, Tennesse. The 200,000 member Eastern Baptist Association, a Negro group, adopted a resolution stating it would not support a "candidate who failed to adhere to the doctrine of separation of church and state." Rev. Joseph May, a spokesman, said the resolution meant the group was not endorsing the candidacy of Sen. Kennedy because of his religion.

August 19, 1960—Cleveland, Ohio. *The Cleveland News* reported that "hate literature" attacking Sen. Kennedy had begun to flood Cleveland through the mails. The literature included the anti-Semitic publication *Common Sense* and publications of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade.

August 20, 1960—Geneva, Switzerland. Billy Graham said that religion was a legitimate issue in the U.S. Presidential election campaign and that it would be decisive in the outcome. He said: "A man's religion cannot be separated from his person," and added that Sen. Kennedy "had faced up to this." Mr. Graham said that "the religious issue is deeper than in 1928," and that "people are better informed today." He said that the current election causes some difficulties for Protestants because the Roman Catholic Church is "not only a religious but also a secular institution with its own ministers and ambassadors."

August 20, 1960—Greenville, South Carolina. Sixty ministers and delegates at the South Carolina Conference of the Southern Methodist Church unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that the Catholic Church "has no line of separation of Church and State" and recommending that the Southern Methodists "actively oppose the election of a Roman Catholic" for President.

August 22, 1960—New York City, New York. *Time* reported that the spurious *Knights of Columbus Oath* was turning up in scattered town and cities around the country, mostly in the South, and that a scattering of clergymen had recently quoted it in their sermons. In addition, *Time* said, the *Oath* had been printed in newsletters of Southern Baptist churches in such places as Rainelle, West Virginia; Phoenix, Arizona; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Knoxville, Tennessee. On August 10, 1960, it was reported elsewhere, Rev. W. L. King, pastor of the Nazarene Bible Church, Finleyville, Pa., was ordered to appear before the grand jury in Pittsburgh after the supreme office of the Knights of Columbus filed action for criminal libel against him on the charge that he was responsible for printing and circulating copies of the *Knights of Columbus Oath.* The August 16, 1960 *Congressional Record* contained a statement by Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas in which he stated he had received a number of inquiries about the *Oath.*

August 23, 1960—Wichita, Kansas. A mailing sent out by the Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., (founded by the late Gerald B. Winrod), consisted of advance proofs of an article to be published in the September, 1960, issue of *The Defender* magazine. The article entitled *Would a Catholic President Put America First?* was written by Hugh Malcolm of Tulsa, Okla., who quoted heavily from Rev. W. A. Criswell of Dallas and George Ford of the National Association of Evangelicals on the dangers posed by a Catholic candidate and the Roman Catholic Church. A covering letter from the Defenders was headlined "Our Lives Are At Stake!" and offered readers another tract entitled *The Master Plan Behind John Kennedy.*

August 23, 1960—Washington, D. C. James Reston of *The New York Times* reported that Carr Collins, president of the Fidelity Union Life Insurance Co. of Dallas, Texas, who was active in the 1928 anti-Catholic campaing against Al Smith, "has shown up again in a similar assault on President Kennedy." Reston added that scarcely a day passed that did not bring some new anti-Catholic pamphlet into his newspaper office.

August 25, 1960—Danville, Virginia. A group of 25 local ministers, calling themselves the Citizens Association for the Religious Liberty of the Danville Area, adopted a resolution which said:

"We do not believe a man can be a loyal Catholic and fill the office of President of the United States." The ministers pledged to "oppose with all the powers at our command the election of a Catholic to the Presidency." Chairman of the group was Rev. Carey Moser, a Baptist, and its spokesman was the secretary-treasurer, Rev. R. J. Barber. The group included Baptists, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Pentecostal Holiness and others.

August 27, 1960—Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Minnesota Baptist Convention (Conservative) passed a resolution at its annual session stating that Roman Catholicism poses "as serious a threat to American as atheistic communism."

August 28, 1960—Detroit, Michigan. The religious editor of the *Detroit Sunday Times* reported that "propaganda with biased religious overtones" had begun to "flood the mails," coming into Detroit from New Jersey, San Francisco, Chicago, Minneapolis, Florida, and other points. He added that religion in politics had become the prime topic of conversation and reading in Detroit and in Michigan generally.

August 29, 1960—Washington, D.C. In his *New York Herald Tribune* column, Joseph Alsop reported that the campaign was "visibly beginning to produce an outburst of anti-Catholicism on the scale of 1928." Alsop said that according to the staff of Rev. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Dallas, "hundreds of thousands of copies" of a Criswell sermon strongly opposing the Catholic Church and the Kennedy candidacy had been sent out at the request of "preachers, business groups and other people" for circulation in the South. Alsop added that groups of Protestant ministers, jointly pledged to make the anti-Catholic fight together, had been formed in a number of localities.

August 30, 1960—Washington, D. C. James Reston of *The New York Times* reported on the continuing anti-Catholic campaign against Sen. Kennedy and noted that a United States Senator from Alabama had received a copy of a Baptist paper which reprinted an article by Rev. Jess Moody of the First Baptist Church, Owensboro, Ky., entitled *Thomas Jefferson, The Bigot*. The article was based on a letter allegedly written by Jefferson in 1800 in which he supposedly declared his opposition to efforts of the Boston Catholic clergy to gain political power and influence. Reston pointed out that in the actual letter, Jefferson never mentioned the Catholic clergy and, in fact, singled out other denominations for criticism. Reston also reported that he was still receiving copies of the spurious *Knights of Columbus Oath*.

September 1, 1960—Washington, D. C. *The Washington Post* and *Times Herald* reported that Rev. Jess Moody of the First Baptist Church, Owensboro, Ky. had apologized for circulating an anti-Catholic statement he falsely attributed to Thomas Jefferson. After receiving evidence of his mistake, Mr. Moody was quoted as saying he was in an "embarrassing and untenable position" and that he would circulate a retraction to all publications which carried his article. He said: "I made the journalistic mistake of quoting the quote without checking it."

September 1, 1960—Covington, Kentucky. The North End Baptist Association went on record in opposition to the election of a Roman Catholic as President and adopted a resolution following the policy expressed by the Southern Baptist Convention at Miami in May, 1960.

September 2, 1960—Springfield, Missouri. The General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God unanimously adopted a resolution opposing the election of a Roman Catholic as President.

September 4, 1960—New York City, New York. A survey of the Southern political situation by *The New York Times* disclosed widespread anti-Catholic feeling in many parts of the South. The report said in part: "In Texas and throughout the South, the issue between the Southern Baptists and Sen. Kennedy has been joined. Members of fundamentalist groups and Masonic organizations have also been speaking out, but the Southern Baptist Convention, with 9,600,000 members and 31,000 preachers is the most potent religious force in the campaign. Anti-Catholic activity is much more widespread than Southern politicians and the more liberal churchmen foresaw. . ." The report noted that the spurious *Knights of Columbus Oath* was turning up all over the South and that the Southern Baptist press had warned Baptist editors and pastors against using it.

September 5, 1960—New York City, New York. *Time* reported that Sen. Kennedy was being openly attacked from many Protestant pulpits, and quoted Rev. Ward V. Barr of the First Baptist Church, Gastonia, N. C., as stating flatly: "I fear Catholicism more than I fear Communism." In Nashville, *Time* reported, headquarters of the Southern Baptist Convention found *Baptists, Roman Catholics and Religious Freedom*, an old Sunday School pamphlet, published several years ago—and moderately circulated since—suddenly in great demand. During the summer of 1960, requests were received for some 300,000 copies.

September 6, 1960—Little Rock, Arkansas. The Arkansas Baptist State Convention disclosed plans for a state-wide campaign against the election of Sen. Kennedy as President. In letters addressed to Arkansas' eight Democratic Presidential electors, Rev. W. O. Vaught, pastor of Little Rock's Immanuel Baptist Church, former President of the Arkansas Baptist Convention and currently a vice-president of the Southern Baptist Convention, declared: "We cannot turn our Government over to a Catholic President who would be influenced by the Pope and by the power of the Roman Catholic hierarchy." Rev. Vaught said "religious freedom rallies" would be held in Arkansas cities to fight against Kennedy's election, starting October 3 in Little Rock.

September 7, 1960—Washington, D. C. The National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom, a group of 150 Protestant ministers and laymen under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale of New York, charged that a Roman Catholic President would be under "extreme pressure from the hierarchy of his church" to align the foreign policy of the United States with that of the Vatican.

September 9, 1960—Washington, D. C. A Protestant group called Citizens for Religious Freedom, set up headquarters to promote discussion of the religious issue in the Presidential campaign. The group is an outgrowth of a recent meeting by 150 Protestant ministers and laymen headed by Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

September 9, 1960—Oklahoma City, Okla. Some 1,000 "messengers" at the 10th annual meeting of the Baptist Bible Fellowship unanimously adopted a resolution to oppose Sen. Kennedy who had, they said, "made the Roman Catholic Church a basic issue in the current presidential campaign." They called the Catholic Church a "totalitarian religio-politico institution."

September 12, 1960—Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Rev. Amedee Fredette, of Norah Springs, Iowa, a former Catholic priest, told the National Lutheran Council ministerium that if Sen. Kennedy were elected President, he would become either a "traitor" to Rome or a "traitor" to the United States. He said he didn't think Kennedy as an individual wanted to run for President and added: "I thing the Catholic Church wants him to."

September 12, 1960—New York City, New York. A nation-wide survey by *The Wall Street Journal* on the religious issue in the campaign reached the conclusion that "Anti-Catholicism Runs Deeper than Expected" and was "going to exert a powerful influence on millions of votes in November. . ." The survey said the mid-West was a greater religious trouble spot than the South" according to some political observers, but noted than in a two-week period, some 165 anti-Kennedy sermons in only six Southern states had been reported. The survey noted widespread circulation of inflammatory anti-Catholic tracts in major Mid-Western cities like Chicago and Columbus, in rural Pennsylvania, and major anti-Kennedy activity by religious groups in Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Texas, and Tennessee.

September 12, 1960—Houston, Texas. Sen. Kennedy addressed the Greater Houston Ministerial Association and declared that he would resign as President if he could not make every decision in the national interest "without regard to outside religious pressures or dictates."

September 13, 1960—Merced, California. A *New York Times* report from California said that a trail of comment about the religious issue had followed Sen. Kennedy's whistle-stop swing through the Northern and central sections of the state. Democratic leaders in California were said to be concerned over the extent of the interest in Sen. Kennedy's religion.

September 13, 1960—Dallas, Texas. James Reston of *The New York Times*, reporting from Texas, said that the propaganda campaign against Sen. Kennedy was just beginning and that not only were most Protestant churches against him, but equally important, influential economic interests were "supporting the anti-Catholic preachers." Distribution of anti-Catholic literature, Reston wrote, had reached proportions well beyond the limited finances of even the richest churches, with "the flood of this material . . . now running into the millions, and clearly this kind of money is not normally available to individual churches or their central organizations."

September 13, 1960—Midland, Texas. The 30,000 member Permian Basin Baptist Association, in West Texas, adopted a resolution declaring that Sen. Kennedy was "either denying the teaching of

his church or is seeking to delude the American people." The resolution was adopted 24 hours after Sen. Kennedy's appearance before the Greater Houston Ministerial Association.

September 14, 1960—Great Neck, New York. A publishing executive said an out-of-state client had paid his firm to mail out a four-page tract opposing Sen. Kennedy's candidacy for President on religious grounds and said he was now sorry his firm had distributed the material. He said the tract purported to contain excerpts from a recent sermon delivered by a prominent Protestant clergyman. The mailing reportedly was under investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice.

September 16, 1960—Ocean City, New Jersey. Delegates to the 124th annual New Jersey Methodist Conference meeting adopted a report disavowing "religious bigotry as such in the coming Presidential election." The group's 106,000 members throughout the Southern part of the state were, however, asked to consider two questions on the fitness of a Roman Catholic to be President: 1) In the event that a Roman Catholic should be elected President, to what extent would the politically-minded Roman Catholic hierarchy seek to take advantage of their new leverage? 2) Would "a Roman Catholic President . . . be free in making the thousands of appointments it is his to make?"

September 17, 1960—Denver, Colorado. Rev. James M. Tolle, minister of the Park Hill Church of Christ, while denying religious bigotry or anti-Catholic feelings, said he had distributed some 175,000 copies of a pamphlet he had written which took the position that the religious obligations of a Roman Catholic would impair his duties to the United States if he were President.

September 19, 1960—New York City, New York. A ten-day *New York Times* survey on the impact of the religious issue in the Mid-Western "corn belt" disclosed a widespread undercurrent of anti-Catholic, anti-Kennedy feeling in states from Ohio across the corn-hog belt to Nebraska and north into the Dakotas. The anti-Catholic feeling appeared to be strongest in Indiana where the Klan once flourished. Propaganda volume was so great that political observers believed the cost was far more than church groups could pay for. They believed the mailings were being financed mainly by interests which wanted to defeat Sen. Kennedy for economic reasons.

September 20, 1960—Dallas, Texas. Reporter Robert Bird of *The New York Herald Tribune,* in a survey of anti-Catholic propaganda in the Southwest, reported that two main types of propaganda were flooding the area: the anonymous, illegally circulated "poison" and the openly distributed arguments centering around the topics of Catholic clericalism and the separation of church and state. The "poison" pamphlets were circulating "at an accelerated rate." Most of the openly circulated material came from Southern Baptist ministers and their publications. The other major source was the Church of Christ.

September 20, 1960—St. Paul, Minnesota. Rev. Harvey Springer, the "cowboy evangelist" who has been traveling throughout the country addressing anti-Kennedy rallies, addressed an estimated 800 persons in Temple Baptist Church and shouted that the United States was "a Protestant nation founded on a Protestant Constitution written by and for Protestants." Springer, who claimed to have collected 1,500,000 names on a petition opposing the election of Sen. Kennedy, took subscriptions for his anti-Catholic weekly *The Western Voice* and prayed: "Oh God, give that I might defeat a Romanist for the White House."

September 23, 1960—New Orleans, Louisiana. In a special election campaign report, *New York Herald Tribune* reporter Robert Bird wrote that "professional hate-mongers" were "zeroing into Louisiana an unusually heavy barrage of both anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic propaganda," including the anti-Semitic publication *Common Sense* which charged Sen. Kennedy with using his religion as a "cloak to mask his real beliefs" which, *Common Sense* charged, included giving the Jews a free hand "in their plan to Judaize America and debauch the youth of our nation." Anti-Catholic propaganda reaching Louisiana came from Mrs. F. M. Standish of San Francisco and "a great slew of small yellow leaflets" attacking Sen. Kennedy and the Catholic church was coming in from Minneapolis, such as *Lincoln's Warning, The Wealthiest Body in the World, By a Converted Roman Catholic Priest, The Enemy Within Our Borders* and *Do You know How F. D. Roosevelt Fitted Into Roman Catholic Plans?*

September 26, 1960—Nashville, Tennessee. *New York Herald Tribune* reporter Robert Bird, in another special election campaign report, said leaders of the Southern Baptist Convention had told him their attacks on Sen. Kennedy because of his religion would continue throughout the campaign. Bird reported the religious issue had become a "hotly burning brush fire all through Tennessee."

September 30, 1960—Wheaton, Illinois. Widespread distribution was reported of a 12-page pamphlet entitled *A Roman Catholic President: How Free From Church Control?* written by George L. Ford, executive director, National Association of Evangelicals.

October 1, 1960—Limerick, Pennsylvania. The Citizens Committee, P.O. Box 137, Limerick, Pa., which has been active in distributing anti-Catholic literature, mailed out a new leaflet titled *Is a Roman Catholic Qualified for Public Office?*

October 1, 1960—Columbia, South Carolina. A mailing from the Association of South Carolina Klans included a sheet entitled *Wake Up—Protestants* which said that voters could not "afford to support and vote for anyone or group that represents the Roman Catholic Church" and added: "Heaven Help Your Soul If You Vote Away Your Religious Liberty." Readers were urged to read the *Knights of Columbus Oath* before voting.

October 1, 1960—Austin, Texas. In an interview, the Rev. W. A. Criswell of Dallas said he believed that all Catholics should be barred from public office and that Sen. Kennedy was "lying" when he said that no threat of punishment from his church would make him change his mind on the issue of separation of church and state.

October 4, 1960—Dallas, Texas. One thousand delegates at a United Pentecostal Church conference roared approval of a resolution opposing the election of a Catholic as President. A small number voted against the resolution.

October 6, 1960—Richmond, Virginia. Reuben Alley, editor of the *Religious Herald,* organ of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, stated editorially that it was absurd to assume that a Roman Catholic could believe in the "American conception of separation of Church and State." He also wrote that the Catholic Church had set up numerous agencies to exert political pressure on all departments of the Government.

October 7, 1960—Dallas, Texas. Messengers to the Dallas Baptist Association, representing some 156,000 Baptists in 237 churches and missions, approved a resolution expressing grave doubts about a Roman Catholic as President.

October 8, 1960—Carbondale, Illinois. The *Illinois Baptist* declared editorially that the "greatest indictment against Catholicism" was that it refused "to abandon its medieval ideology and practices unless it is forced to do so." The editorial chided Baptists who "think it wrong in their fellow Baptists to be anti-Catholic" and "to question the intolerance of the official Catholic position."

October 9, 1960—Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Batsell Barrett Baxter of the Church of Christ preached against the Roman Catholic Church in a sermon entitled *A Dangerous Doctrine* and said: "If the Roman Catholic Church should ever become large enough and strong enough to dominate the United States, the rest of us would lose our religious freedoms."

October 11, 1960—Danville, Virginia. Rev. R. J. Barber, spokesman for the Citizens Association for Religious Liberty of Danville, said the group's campaign to keep a Catholic out of the White House was being stepped up, and that a missionary, converted from Catholicism, would be the main speaker at a rally on November 3. Rev. Barber said some 20,000 copies of a tract entitled *Here Are the Facts—Let the Roman Catholic Church Speak for Heself* were being distributed among 24 Protestant congregations.

October 12, 1960—Springfield, Illinois. A sharp increase was reported in the distribution of anti-Catholic propaganda in various cities of downstate Illinois. Propaganda being circulated included the spurious *Abraham Lincoln's Warning* and *Do You Want the Pope for President?—If So, Vote A Catholic into the White House.*

October 13, 1960—Clearwater, Florida. Rev. Franklin Dennis, a Fort Lauderdale minister, addressed the eleventh annual convention of Christian Churches in Florida, and predicted the end of religious freedom in the United States if Sen. Kennedy were elected.

October 15, 1960—New York City, New York. A mammoth nationwide offensive against Sen. Kennedy was scheduled to be launched "in the name of religious freedom" on Reformation Sunday, October 30th. The National Association of Evangelicals, representing thirty-eight Fundamentalist sects with 28,000 churches nationwide, was reported to be taking leadership in this campaign and an official of the organization disclosed that it had mailed anti-Catholic material to 160,000 pastors around the country.

October 15, 1960—Washington, D. C. The U. S. Department of Justice disclosed that some 144 producers of anti-Catholic literature had turned out millions of pieces of literature, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, and Charles P. Taft, Chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, noted that "religious garbage" widely circulated during the campaign was often paid for by tax deductible gifts.

October 17, 1960—New York City, New York. *The New York Times*, in a special survey of the religious issue in the election campaign, reported that many conservative Protestant churchmen were planning mass distributions of anti-Catholic literature in the last ten days of the campaign and that these activities would be spurred by sermons and rallies on Reformation Sunday. The survey indicated that the anti-Catholic campaign by conservative church groups was being centrally coordinated, and that the single most widely distributed piece of anti-Catholic literature was the reprint of a sermon delivered July 3 by Rev. W. A. Criswell of Dallas, Texas.

October 19, 1960—Washington, D. C. Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Methodist Church declared that Protestants wanted to hear responsible Catholic Church sources in the United States affirm that a Catholic President would not be subjected to pressures from the Catholic Church. Bishop Lord said Sen. Kennedy had made a "completely satisfactory" statement of his own views on separation of church and state, but there was still apprehension among Protestants as to possible pressure from Senator Kennedy's church.

October 20, 1960—Fernandina Beach, Fla. A bulletin signed and sent out by the Florida Grand Dragon of the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, stated that it was the duty of "Klansmen to support the Nixon-Lodge ticket. . . We cannot vote for Kennedy because he is a Catholic."

October 20, 1960—Washington, D. C. The U. S. Department of Justice and a Senate committee were reportedly investigating the charge that John W. Curington, an employee of Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt, ordered and paid for distribution of reprints of a sermon by Rev. W. A. Criswell, which had been widely distributed, anonymously, throughout the country. The mailing reportedly was handled during September by a Long Island, N. Y. publishing firm and Curington reportedly paid $10,008 for reprints to be mailed to 102,000 Protestant ministers around the country.

October 21, 1960—New York City, New York. *The New York World Telegram and Sun* reported that a number of Protestant ministers had started a nation-wide letter writing campaign to "sympathetic ministers" implying that election of a Catholic President would jeopardize religious freedom in America. One such letter was signed by Rev. J. E. Hewlett, Pastor of the Southwest Baptist Church of St. Louis, Mo.

October 22, 1960—Brooklyn, New York. Members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect distributed anti-Catholic literature door to door. *Awake*, organ of their Watchtower and Bible Tract Society, published a special issue on *The Catholic Church in the 20th Century*.

October 24, 1960—Minneapolis, Minnesota. Cyrus Osterhus, a leading publisher of religious tracts, said that the demand for anti-Catholic literature had increased some 400% in recent months. He said he was shipping about 3,500,000 tracts a week and that while only 2% of his leaflets could be described as anti-Catholic, they now made up the bulk of his business.

October 25, 1960—Plattsburgh, New York. City officials reported widespread mailings of anti-Catholic literature throughout Clinton County. The mailings bore Plattsburgh postmarks. One pamphlet said extra copies could be obtained from Pentecostal Evangelical Publications, Springfield, Mo. Another pamphlet entitled *The Priest Who Found Christ*, bore the imprint of the Scripture Truth Society, Los Angeles, California.

October 26, 1960—Charlotte, North Carolina. *The Charlotte News* reported that many areas of the city had been the target for an increasing flood of anti-Catholic literature in recent days. Materials were received through the mails, were placed in parked cars, and were distributed at supermarkets, shopping centers and other locations by unknown individuals. Included were such pamphlets as *The White House—American or Roman?*, the spurious *Knights of Columbus Oath* and leaflets of the Osterhus Publishing House, Minneapolis.

October 26, 1960—Springfield, Missouri. A spokesman at the headquarters of the Assemblies of God said that the organization had mailed 90,000 copies of an anti-Catholic pamphlet to its 16,000 ministers throughout the country.

October 26, 1960—Peoria, Illinois. Dr. Bruce Dunne, pastor of Grace Presbyterian Church and head of an action committee of the Evangelical Ministers Fellowship, defended distribution of 55,000 pamphlets opposing the election of Sen. Kennedy. He said distribution of the leaflets came "under the right to dissent and publicly discuss the political action issue."

October 27, 1960—Dallas, Texas. H. L. Hunt, wealthy Texas oil man, denied that he was anti-Catholic and said he had mailed out reprints of a sermon by Rev. W. A. Criswell before the Democratic National Convention in an effort to help Senator Lyndon Johnson win the nomination, and as a warning of "the bitter controversy" that would result if the religious issue were injected into the Presidential campaign. An investigator for a Senate committee said the mailings were anonymous and that Federal law required political mailings to show the sponsorship of publications being mailed. Mr. Hunt said he learned that reprints of the sermon for which he had paid had inadvertently omitted the named of Dr. Criswell.

October 30, 1960—New York City, New York. A survey of sermons delivered on Reformation Sunday indicated that Protestant pulpits had been used both for anti-Catholic and anti-prejudice declarations before millions of Protestants congregants, but that declarations from the pulpit opposing the election of a Catholic President were widespread.

November 1, 1960—Providence, Rhode Island. *The Providence Evening Bulletin* reported that hate literature linked to the election campaign was "seeping into Rhode Island" and that up to October 31, some 53 different publications had been received in the State, most of which attacked Sen. Kennedy, the Jews and the Negroes—in that order.

November 2, 1960—Saddle Brook, New Jersey. Some 1,000 residents received anti-Catholics leaflets, published by the Citizens Committee, Limerick, Pa., and mailed from Hackensack, N. J.

November 2, 1960—Lubbock, Texas. Dr. Ramsey Pollard, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, told the annual Texas State Baptist Convention that Sen. Kennedy was a potential agent of the Catholic Church. He delivered the keynote address before 5,000 delegates representing more than 1,500,000 members in 3,800 churches. Dr. Pollard said he spoke as an "individual" rather than for the Southern Baptist Convention officially.

November 3, 1960—Limerick, Pennsylvania. Richard C. Dean, a 25-year old recording engineer, said that he had mailed out 300,000 leaflets, questioning the fitness of a Roman Catholic to hold public office.

November 4, 1960—Los Angeles, California. *The New York Times* reported that dissemination of anti-Catholic literature aimed at defeating Sen. Kennedy increased in Southern California during the final week of the Presidential campaign. Richard R. Rogan, Chief Deputy Attorney General of California, said postal workers reported mail from anti-Catholic sources had been arriving in the area "by the hundreds" each day. He added that while there was no way of determining the total distribution, it probably was "several hundred thousand." Indicated points of origin included Texas, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, D. C. and several cities in California, including Los Angeles.

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ALAN F. WESTIN

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Fundamentalism on the Right

LAST APRIL, the Gallup Poll asked a nationwide sample of Americans whether they had heard of the John Birch Society and found that thirty-nine million persons—an extraordinary number, according to Gallup—had read or heard of the Birchers. Of these, 47 per cent had an unfavorable estimate of the Society, 8 per cent were favorable, and 45 per cent had not yet reached a judgment. In one sense, these figures suggest a firm rejection of the Birchers by majority sentiment. But the figures also indicate that at the moment when the Society was receiving its most damaging publicity —when the mass media were featuring the charge by Birch founder Robert Welch that President Eisenhower was "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy"—three million persons still concluded that the Society was a commendable, patriotic, anti-Communist organization. If the undecided 45 per cent were to be divided in the same proportion as those who had reached a judgment (and this would probably underweight pro-Birch sentiment), another two and a half million persons would be added to the ranks of the approving. By this estimate it can be argued, then, that at least five and a half million Americans from among the most public-affairs conscious forty million of our adult population were favorably impressed with the John Birch Society.

One reason for this extraordinarily high degree of support is that the Birch Society has become the most appealing, activist, and efficient movement to appear on the extreme right since the fertile decade of the 1930's. Birch membership at present is probably close to sixty thousand and is distributed widely throughout the nation, with particular strength in traditional centers of fundamentalism like Houston, Los Angeles, Nashville, Wichita, and Boston. This membership provides an annual dues income of $1,300,000. Life memberships at $1,000, special donations by wealthy supporters, and sales of Society literature add perhaps $300,000 more, giving the group a present working fund of $1,600,000 a year. By its own count, the Society has twenty-eight staff workers in its home office in Belmont, Massachusetts, thirty fully salaried and expense-paid traveling coordinators, and one hundred partially paid or volunteer coordinators. Its jabbing forefinger has already been felt in the mid-section of dozens of communities, and some commentators not prone to overestimating fringe movements warn that the Society may become an effective united front for the hundreds of right-wing groups currently operating on the American scene.

All this being the case, it is worth asking

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what kind of group the John Birch Society is and how it compares with traditional right-wing organizations. Why has it suddenly come into prominence at this particular moment, and what are its prospects in the decade ahead?

I

HOWEVER MUCH factors like urbanization, the cold war, and status insecurities may have provided a new setting for native fundamentalists, a large and irreducible corps of such people has always existed in the United States. Unlike American liberals and conservatives—who accept the political system, acknowledge the loyalty of their opponents, and employ the ordinary political techniques—the fundamentalists can be distinguished by five identifying characteristics:

(1) They assume that there are always solutions capable of producing international victories and of resolving our social problems; when such solutions are not found, they attribute the failure to conspiracies led by evil men and their dupes.

(2) They refuse to believe in the integrity and patriotism of those who lead the dominant social groups—the churches, the unions, the business community, etc. —and declare that the American "Establishment" has become part of the conspiracy.

(3) They reject the political system; they lash out at "politicians," the major parties, and the give-and-take of political compromise as a betrayal of the fundamental Truth and as a circus to divert the people.

(4) They reject those programs for dealing with social, economic, and international problems which liberals and conservatives agree upon as minimal foundations. In their place, the fundamentalists propose drastic panaceas requiring major social change.

(5) To break the net of conspiracy they advocate "direct action," sometimes in the form of a new political party, but more often through secret organization, push-button pressure campaigns, and front groups. Occasionally "direct action" will develop into hate-propaganda and calculated violence.

At various periods, the United States has experienced both left-fundamentalism (the Knights of Labor, the Wobblies, the Populists, the Communists, the Trotskyites, and the Wallace Progressives) and right-fundamentalism (the Know-Nothings, the Coughlinites, the Silver-Shirts, and America First). Today, right-fundamentalism spans a broad spectrum. At one pole, with its passionate thousands, is the "hate" right, led by the Conde McGinleys, Gerald L. K. Smiths, Admiral Crommelins, Father Terminellos, John Kaspers, and George Rockwells, who offer various combinations of anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Negro sentiment. These groups are thoroughly discredited in contemporary America, and the major problem they present is a matter of defining the line which our law should draw between deviant expression and hate-mongering or advocacy of violence. At the opposite pole is the semi-respectable right. Here we encounter a variety of different political and educational organizations including the Foundation for Economic Education, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Committee for Constitutional Government, and the White Citizens' Councils of the South. Socially prominent figures belong to such groups, which are well-financed, often have connections with local and national major party factions, and exercise substantial lobbying influence. Their supporters and leaders may long to break with the two-party system and start a rightist party, but they are restrained by the knowledge that this would isolate them and thus diminish their present effectiveness.

The John Birch Society stands between these two poles. In the words of one of its chapter leaders in Louisville, Kentucky, it is a "middle-of-the-road

right-wing organization." In order to get a precise picture of its ideology and tactics, I have examined every published word issued by the Society since its formation in 1958: the 1961 annotated edition of the *Blue Book of the John Birch Society,* its operating manual and theological fount; the monthly *Bulletins* which are sent to members and contain the agenda of activities (the 1960 issues of the *Bulletin* are available in a bound edition titled *The White Book of the John Birch Society*); those writings of Robert Welch which have been officially incorporated and reprinted by the Society (e.g., *The Life of John Birch, May God Forgive Us, A Letter to the South on Segregation*); and every issue of *American Opinion,* the monthly publication edited by Robert Welch for the Society.*

MEASURED BY its official materials, the authenticated accounts of Welch's speeches, and public comments by members of the Society's Council, the Society emerges as a pure-bred specimen of American right-fundamentalism.

(1) *Its image of world events and American politics is wholly conspiratorial.* In the July 1960 *Bulletin,* Welch explains that the "key" to the advance of world Communism "is treason right within our government and the place to find it is right in Washington." The danger, Welch says in the *Blue Book,* "is almost entirely internal." And it is "a certainty," he writes in *May God Forgive Us,* that there are "more Communists and Communist sympathizers in our government today than ever before." As recently as January 1961, Welch was informing his supporters that "Communist influences are now in almost complete control of our Federal Government."

Each year since 1958, Welch and his "board of experts" have published a "scoreboard" rating all the nations of the world according to the "present degree of Communist influence and control over the economic and political affairs" of the country. In 1958, the United States was rated as 20–40 per cent under Communist control; in 1959, the United States went up to 30–50 per cent; and in 1960, the figure climbed to 40–60 per cent. (At that pace, we will reach the 80–100 per cent mark in 1964.) England's rating went from 20–40 per cent in 1958 to 50–70 per cent in 1960. Israel is presently rated as 40–60 per cent controlled; Egypt 80–100 per cent.

Everywhere, the Birchers advise, Communists are at the heart of events, even some events that might seem to less skilled observers remote from Kremlin direction. In an open letter to Khrushchev in 1958, Welch said "your hands played the decisive unseen part" in the run on American banks and their closing in 1933. It was the Communist-contrived recognition of the Soviets in 1933 that "saved them from financial collapse." The "very idea of American foreign aid was dreamed up by Stalin, or by his agents for him." The "trouble in the South over integration is Communist-contrived"; the Communists have invented a "phony 'civil rights' slogan to stir up bitterness and civil disorder, leading gradually to police-state rule by federal troops and armed resistance to that rule." The United States Supreme Court "is one of the most important agencies of Communism." The Federal Reserve system is a "realization" of "point 5" of the *Communist Manifesto,* calling for centralization of credit in the hands of the state. The purpose of proposed legislation requiring registration of privately-owned firearms is to aid the Communists in making "ultimate seizure of such by the government easier and more complete." Everywhere, Welch concludes, the Communists are winning: in "the press, the pulpit, the radio and television media, the labor unions, the schools, the courts, and the legislative halls of America."

* This was published by Welch before February 1958 under the slightly more modest title of *One Man's Opinion.*

ALL THE ABOVE descriptions of conspiratorial trends have been cited from official Birch Society literature, what Welch calls the Society's "steps to the Truth." But the picture grows darker when one turns to the *Black Book,* or, as it is more commonly known, *The Politician*—the book-length "letter" which Welch circulated "privately" to hundreds of persons but which the Society has carefully rejected as an official document. *The Politician* is to the Society what Leninist dogma is to the Communist front groups in Western or neutralist nations—it is the ultimate truth held by the founder and his hard-core, but it is too advanced and too powerful to present, as yet, to the "masses" being led. In *The Politician,* Welch names names. Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles; CIA Director Allen Dulles; Chief Justice Warren—all of these men are called knowing instruments of the Communist conspiracy.

It is worth noting that Eisenhower and his administration draw the strongest venom in *The Politician,* just as Social Democracts do in full-dose Communist literature. For Welch (a Taft supporter and McCarthy stalwart), the Eisenhower administration was a betrayal which could only have had Communists at its source. "For many reasons and after a lot of study," Welch writes, "I personally believe [John Foster] Dulles to be a Communist agent." "Allen Dulles is the most protected and untouchable supporter of Communism, next to Eisenhower himself, in Washington." Arthur H. Burns's job as head of the Council of Economic Advisers "has been merely a cover-up for Burns's liaison work between Eisenhower and some of his Communist bosses." "The chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party." As for Dwight Eisenhower himself, Welch states unequivocally: "There is only one possible word to describe [Eisenhower's] purpose and actions. That word is treason." "My firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," he continues, "is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt." Discussing what he terms Eisenhower's "mentality of fanaticism," Welch refuses to accept the idea that Ike may just be an "opportunistic politician" aiding the Communists. "I personally think he has been sympathetic to ultimate Communist aims, realistically willing to use Communist means to help them achieve their goals, knowingly accepting and abiding by Communist orders, and consciously serving the Communist conspiracy for all of his adult life."

(2) *The Birchers impugn the integrity and patriotism of those at the head of the major social and economic groups of the nation.* In a supplement to the February 1961 *Bulletin,* Welch announced that "Communist influences" are "very powerful in the top echelons of our educational system, our labor-union organizations, many of our religious organizations, and of almost every important segment of our national life. Insidiously but rapidly the Communists are now reaching the tentacles of their conspiracy downward throughout the whole social, economic, and political pyramid." Thus, the National Council of Churches of Christ is Communist-minded, and from 3 to 5 per cent of the Protestant clergy have been called actual Communists. "Treason," Welch further declares, "is widespread and rampant in our high army circles." The American Medical Association has been "took" and can no longer be depended upon for support in the fight against socialism. So too with the United States Chamber of Commerce, which has been preaching dangerously liberal and internationalist doctrines in its courses on practical politics. (When Chamber leaders protested this slur, Welch replied

that their outraged reaction was exactly like that of the State Department in the 1940's when charges of Communist infiltration were first raised.) The leadership of our universities, corporations, foundations, communications media—all are riddled with Communists, or "Comsymps" (a word Welch coined to avoid having to say whether a given person was a real party member or only a sympathizer).

Naturally, Welch and his colleagues are certain that these "Comsymp" elites are out to destroy him and his movement. References to persecution and images of martyrdom abound in Birch literature, ranging from incessant mention of how the patron saint (Senator McCarthy) was driven to his death, to suggestions that Welch may be murdered one day by the Communists.

(3) *The Birchers are convinced that the Communists have gone so far in penetrating American politics that there is little hope in the existing political system.* In his letter to Khrushchev, Welch wrote that the Communists obviously intended to "maintain and increase [their] working control over both our major political parties." We cannot count on "politicians, political leadership or even political action." Though he advocates the nomination, on an American Party ticket, of Senator Barry Goldwater for President and J. Strom Thurmond for Vice President in 1964, Welch has warned his followers that even Goldwater—the most "Americanist" figure around in politics at the moment—is "still a politician" and therefore not to be relied upon. Welch has also had some things to say about "Jumping Jack". Kennedy. According to Welch, the nation received "the exact Communist line . . . from Jack Kennedy's speeches, as quickly and faithfully as from the *Worker* or the *National Guardian*. . . . " And in 1959, Welch denounced the "Kennedy brat" for "finding the courage to join the jackals picking at the corpse of McCarthy."

A PARTICULARLY revealing sample of Welch's sense of American political realities is found in his description of the Eisenhower "steal" of the Republican nomination in 1952, one of the "dirtiest deals in American political history, participated in if not actually engineered by Richard Nixon." If Taft had not been cheated of the nomination, Welch predicted:

> It is almost certain that Taft would then have been elected President by a far greater plurality than was Eisenhower, that a grand rout of the Communists in our government and in our midst would have been started, that McCarthy would be alive today, and that we wouldn't even be in this mess. . . .

(4) *Most of the Birch Society's positive program consists of advocating the repeal of things or the removal of the nation from something or somewhere.* A partial list of the things that the Society describes as wicked, Communist, and dangerous includes: U.S. membership in the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Trade Organization, and UNICEF; membership in GATT (the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs); reciprocal trade agreements; the "useless and costly" NATO; "so-called defense spending"; all foreign aid; diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and all other Communist nations; the National Labor Relations Act; social security; the graduated income tax; the Rural Electrification Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and TVA; government wage and price controls; "forced integration"; "deliberately fraudulent" U.S. government bonds; the Federal Reserve system; urban renewal; fluoridation; metro government; the corporate dividend tax; the "mental health racket"; federal aid to housing; and all programs "regimenting" farmers.

Some items on this list may be opposed by conservatives or by liberals. But taken together, it adds up to a nihilist's plea for

the repeal of industrialism and the abolition of international politics. Such a program can be called rational or even political only by people who do not know what those words mean.

(5) *Finally, the Birch Society advocates both "direct action" and "dirty tactics" to "break the grip of the Communist conspiracy."* Unlike those right-fundamentalist groups which have energetic leaders but passive memberships, the Birchers are decidedly activist. "Get to work or learn to talk Russian," is a slogan Welch recommends to his followers, and they are certainly hard at work. From national headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts, Welch formulates a set of complementary national and local action programs, then issues them to members through directives in the *Bulletin* and contacts with chapter leaders. A mixture of traditional and fundamentalist techniques is prescribed. The local programs include infiltration of community organizations such as PTA ("to take them away from the Communists"); harassment of "pro-Communist" speakers at church meetings, political gatherings, and public forums; creation of local front groups (e.g., the Committee Against Summit Entanglements, College Graduates Against Educating Traitors at Government Expense, the Committee to Impeach Earl Warren, and the Committee to Investigate Communist Influences at Vassar College); campaigns to secure endorsement of Birch positions and signatures for Birch petitions in all groups that Birch members belong to (e.g., veterans and business organizations); letters and telephone calls to local public officials, leading citizens, and newspapers who support what the Society opposes or oppose the Society directly; monthly telephone calls to the local public library to make sure it has copies of the five right-wing books recommended by Welch every month.

The national campaigns are carefully pinpointed efforts. They range from letter- and postcard-writing to national advertising campaigns. In the past two years, Birchers have been told to: write the National Boy Scouts director and demand to know why the president of the National Council of Churches addressed their National Jamboree; insist personally and in writing each time a member flies American, United, or Eastern Airlines that they stock *Human Events* and *National Review* on their planes; write to *Newsweek* to protest a "pro-FLN Communist" story (the Society has a crush on Jacques Soustelle), to *Life* protesting the "glorification" of Charles Van Doren, and to the NBC network and the Purex Corporation for sponsoring a TV drama favorable to Sacco and Vanzetti; circulate petitions and write letters on the number one project of the moment, to impeach Chief Justice Warren and thereby "give the Communists a setback." Welch also sends out the copy for punchy postcards to be addressed to national political leaders. To cite instances in 1960 alone: to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. at the UN, "Two questions, Mr. Lodge—Who Murdered Bang-Jensen? And Which Side are You On?"; to Secretary of State Christian Herter, "Castro is a Communist. Trujillo is an anti-Communist. Whose Side are You On?"; and to President Eisenhower, on the eve of the scheduled summit conference, "Dear President Eisenhower—If you go, don't come back."

The last postcard stirred some protests from Society members, who felt that Welch's savage little message to the President was a bit too strong. Welch set them straight in the *Bulletin*: "It is one of our many sorrows that, in fighting the evil forces which now threaten our civilization, for us to be *too civilized* is unquestionably to be defeated." The Communists, he continued, want us to be "too gentle, too respectable . . . [but] this is not a cream-puff war . . . and we do mean business every step of the way." Welch admitted that the technique of planted and loaded questions and the disruption of meetings was a "dirty trick," but he

still defended it as another vital tactic.

To stimulate compliance by members with the local and national efforts prescribed each month in the *Bulletin,* Welch has devised the MMM system, or "Member's Monthly Memos." These forms are filled out by the member detailing what he or she has done and including sundry observations on the "Americanist fight." They are then collected by the chapter leader and transmitted to Belmont. Welch and his staff, according to the *Bulletin,* spend much time going over the MMM's.

SO FAR, the Birch Society has been successful in attracting to it some highly substantial figures in local communities—physicians, stockbrokers, retired military officers, lawyers, businessmen (particularly small and middle-sized manufacturers in the Midwest and South), and professionals, many of whom have become local chapter leaders and state coordinators. The Council of the Society is a veritable board of directors of right-fundamentalism: men like Colonel Lawrence Bunker, Cola G. Parker, T. Coleman Andrews, Clarence Manion, and Spruille Braden. Among the contributing editors and editorial advisory committee for *American Opinion* are J. B. Matthews, William S. Schlamm, Kenneth Colegrove, J. Bracken Lee, Ludwig von Mises, Adolph Menjou, J. Howard Pew, and Albert C. Wedemeyer. In several communities, observers of the Society have noted a significant number of thirty-to-forty-year-olds joining the organization. Welch has stated that half of the Society's membership is Catholic, that there are some Jewish members, and that there are Negroes also—two segregated locals in the South and integrated chapters in the North.

Press reports suggest that most of the Society's members already had strong affiliations with other right-wing groups before the Birch Society was formed. What Welch hopes to do is build a one-million member organization by welding together the masses of right-fundamentalist joiners into the fighting educational and pressure arm of the John Birch Society. In the *Bulletin* and *American Opinion,* Welch continually offers flattering salutes to various right-wing groups, publications, and personalities, stressing that "Americanists" can work in several forums at once for the cause. In May 1961, for example, Welch listed two pages of "other anti-Communist groups" which he endorsed and urged Birchers to support. These included the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, the American Council of Christian Laymen, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, the Catholic Freedom Foundation, the Christian Crusade, the Freedom Club (of Los Angeles), Freedom in Action (Houston), the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, the Network of Patriotic Letter Writers (Pasadena), and We, The People! (Chicago). In turn, Welch's appearances are often sponsored by such groups: the Freedom Club of Reverend James Fifield arranged his Los Angeles rally, and the Sons of the American Revolution sponsored his Houston appearance.

To a large extent, Welch's personal selflessness and his salesmanship have already made him a rallying point for the fundamentalist right, and no recent right-wing group comes to mind which has achieved so large and solid a dues-paying and working membership. In a world of Communist advances in Asia and Africa, pressures on Berlin, vast changes in the relation of white to colored populations throughout the world, the Birch Society has developed a thoroughly satisfying way for the thin-lipped little lady from Wichita or the self-made manufacturer of plumbing fixtures in North Carolina to work in manageable little daily doses against "the Communists." The cancer of the unquestioned international Communist menace and the surgery of local pressure on the PTA and public library—here is a perfect appeal for right funda-

mentalism. This highlights the fact that the Society's most successful efforts to date have not been on the national scene but on the "soft underbelly" of American democracy—those places where a minimum of pressure can often produce maximum terror and restrictive responses. Welch has stressed that school boards, city colleges, local businesses, local clergy, and similar targets are the ones to concentrate on. Above all, Welch has brought *coordination* to the fundamentalist right—coordinated targets, coordinated meetings and rallies, and coordinated pressure tactics. "All of a sudden," the director of a Jewish Community Council in one city reflected, "the right wingers began to function like a disciplined platoon. We have had to contend with precision and saturation ever since."

II

IF THIS IS WHAT the Society advocates and how it functions, what are its immediate and long-range prospects? In the short run, the Society has lost one of its most potent weapons—the element of secrecy. Those in local communities who felt the sting of Birch campaigns during 1959–61 report that it was the factor of surprise at these sudden fundamentalist pressures and the unawareness of their organizational source which threw them off balance. Now, however, the Society has been brought into public view. Its authoritarian character and extremist statements have been attacked in both liberal and conservative newspapers; by important Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders; and by political figures as diverse as Richard Nixon, President John Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Representative Sam Rayburn, Senator Thomas E. Dodd, and even Senator Barry Goldwater himself. The fact that a prominent leader of the Society who had been chosen as Washington lobbyist for the American Retail Federation was hastily discarded in June by the Federation because of his Birch affiliation indicates that recent publicity has damaged the Society's claim to respectability. One Midwestern Congressman known for his open advocacy of right-wing movements felt it wise recently to seek out liberal leaders from his community and explain privately that he did *not* support the Birch movement. Increasingly, those "solid" figures who joined the group when it was operating privately will have to face public disapproval of the Society, and this will probably cause some falling away among border-line conservatives.

In the longer perspective, however, there are three specific factors which deserve mention in assessing the Society's potential growth. The first is the authoritarian character of the group and the centralized control exercised by Robert Welch (a situation which has led Senator Goldwater to criticize Welch directly). According to the charter of the Society, Welch is the absolute leader; there is no accounting of dues or contributions; there is no representative process or democratic system for selecting programs or defining positions; and Welch has the power (which he has used) to expel any member or chapter for reasons sufficient to him, without right of hearing or appeal on the expulsion. This has produced widespread criticism of Welch as a "little Hitler" and the Society as a group run on fascist lines. However, Welch has stressed again and again that members can disagree with him; that he doesn't expect any member to carry out a project which violates his conscience; and that the Society definitely opposes an "enforced conformity" within its ranks. The controls, Welch explains, are needed to prevent Communist infiltration of the Society (which he believes has already begun or will certainly begin as the Society becomes more effective) and infiltration by hate-mongers. This blend of leader-principle and group self-protection has great appeal to right-fundamentalists and even to some right-wing conservatives. The authoritarian set-up makes fine ammunition for liberal and main-

stream-conservative fire, but this is not likely to harm Welch a bit in his recruiting among fundamentalists.

A second factor is Welch himself. The fantastic allegations he has made in *The Politician*—even though the book has not been endorsed by the Council and is, indeed, repudiated by some members—have branded him as an unbalanced figure and convinced many staunch conservatives that Welch is a truly dangerous leader. The conservative Los Angeles *Times* recently did a thorough exposé of the Society and wrote a stinging editorial which read Welch out of the conservative camp. Out of self-defense, Republicans in California joined in with the *Times* (especially in condemning Welch's attacks on Eisenhower), for the Birchers were proving so effective in pulling the Republican party to the far right that some counterattack was felt to be essential. Welch himself has been highly equivocal about *The Politician*. He insists that it was a "private" letter and never published, though he does not deny its authenticity. In the May 1961 issue of the *Bulletin*, he alludes to "questions or criticism from some of our most loyal members" relating to *The Politician*. To these, he replies that "the considerations involved in connection with many such matters are varied, overlapping, involved, and with too many ramifications to be explained in short compass. There are even times when, for reasons of strategy, we take an oblique approach to a specific objective, and fully to explain every step of our course would seriously handicap our effectiveness." Having decided not to say anything at all, Welch assured members that if he "could give . . . the whole background of events" then objections might turn into approval, and with this, he dropped the subject of his *magnum opus*.

Those members and leaders of the Society who find anything to criticize in *The Politician* (and many have fully endorsed the charges it featured) have stressed that Welch is entitled to his personal views and that their disagreement with him on Ike or the two Dulles brothers indicates how free and diverse the Society is.

In all probability Welch's talents as an organizer, salesman, proselytizer, and unifier of right-wing ranks overweigh (for the right-wing aristocracy) his tactical blunder in *The Politician*. Since he controls the Society fully, he is not likely to be replaced, and, indeed, there is no indication that an acceptable replacement is available either in the Society or outside it. As long as he heads the Society, however, *The Politician* will severely limit his credibility outside fundamentalist strongholds.

A THIRD FACTOR relating to the Birch Society's immediate prospects is the question of anti-Semitism. Repeated charges have been made that the Society is a genteel endorser of anti-Semitic persons and literature. Welch has recommended to his members such anti-Semitic publications as Russell Maguire's *American Mercury* and Merwin K. Hart's *Economic Council Newsletter*. Hart—who often talks about a conspiracy of "Zionists and their confederates" controlling America and whose organization was described by a Congressional committee investigating lobbying as one which relies on "an ill-concealed anti-Semitism"—is presently leader of the Birch Society's Manhattan Chapter No. 26. In addition, such openly anti-Semitic spokesmen as Conde McGinley have rushed to endorse the Birch Society. In the March 15, 1961 issue of *Common Sense*, McGinley wrote: "Inasmuch as we have received many inquiries from all over the United States regarding the John Birch Society, we want to go on record. We believe this to be an effective, patriotic group, in good hands."

On the other hand, Welch has always appealed to all religions, has urged Jews to join the Society, and has warned that it is a "Communist tactic to stir up distrust and hatred between Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, Negroes

and Whites." Much of the April 1961 issue of his *Bulletin* is devoted to a discussion of the allegation that the Society is anti-Semitic, and what Welch has to say there is well worth close examination.

He opens by noting that "the most vicious" charges leveled against him have come from "such notorious anti-Semites as Lyrl Clark Van Hyning (*Women's Voice*) and Elizabeth Dilling (the *Dilling Bulletin*) on the grounds that my various committees and supporters are nothing but a 'bunch of Jews and Jew-kissers.'..." He then cites the names of Jewish members of the Society such as Willi Schlamm, Julius Epstein, Morrie Ryskind, the late Alfred Kohlberg, and Rabbi Max Merritt, and indicates that it has been endorsed by the American Jewish League Against Communism (a Jewish right-fundamentalist group). Next, Welch explains that he probably has "more good friends of the Jewish faith than any other Gentile in America." When he was in the candy manufacturing business in Massachusetts, he recalls, he had many Jewish customers; he drank coffee in their kitchens at midnight, borrowed money from them and lent them money in return, and engaged in every kind of business and social activity with Jews.

Turning to some specific accusations, Welch admits that he used a pamphlet by Joseph Kamp as a source for his book, *May God Forgive Us,* and also paid Kamp a hundred dollars to go through *The Life of John Birch* to find errors. This was in 1954. But later, he says, he became "aware of both the fact and the weapon of anti-Semitism in America, and I wanted no part of the whole argument." He had nothing further to do with Kamp after the 1954 contact, but he adds that he still simply doesn't know enough to say whether Kamp is really anti-Semitic.

Welch goes on to relate that a person who had been trying to convert one local chapter into "a hotbed of anti-Semitism" was dropped from the Society, and he pledges that the Society will never become a haven for anti-Semitic feeling "so long as I am directing its policies." After several additional paragraphs explaining why no member of the Jewish faith can also be a Communist (and pointing out that Karl Marx was "probably the most vicious anti-Semite of all times"), Welch concludes with the following warning:

> There is only one real danger in the charge of anti-Semitism today, to the man who actually is not anti-Semitic. It is that the utter (and in some cases malicious) unfairness of the charge may cause him to react with anger against Jews in general, and then begin to let some of his feeling creep into his writings or his speeches. That brings on even more vitriolic attacks, with a few more straws to support them. And so the development continues until the man in question winds up actually becoming violently anti-Semitic. And he seldom realizes that this was the Communist game and purpose all along, of which the majority of Jews who innocently helped the Reds to implement it were as unaware and innocent as the ordinary Methodist who supports the National Council of Churches. And many an anti-Communist fighter of great promise in America has had his career ruined and his effectiveness destroyed by letting himself fall into that carefully prepared trap.

This will never happen to him, Welch declares; to his "thousands of Jewish friends" he pledges, "I shall remain your friend, no matter what happens. . . ."*

All the evidence available at the moment suggests the presence of a certain ambivalence in the Birch Society on the matter of anti-Semitism. Welch himself seems to be personally without bias toward Jews, and he wants the Society to reflect this position. Yet there is no doubt that some local leaders and members are well-known anti-Semites. With one after another of the rabbinical associations and

* One other bit of information bearing on Welch's attitude is that he has been consistently anti-Nasser, viewing the Arab nationalists as aiding the Communists in gaining control of the Middle East.

major Jewish civic groups speaking out in complete condemnation of Welch and his movement, there will be rising pressures to respond to the "Jewish attacks." Probably, Welch will continue to allow some light flirtation with the more sophisticated anti-Semitic spokesmen. But it is a testimony to American maturity and the activities of Jewish defense agencies that open anti-Semitism is seen as a dead end today for any "middle-of-the-road right-wing organization."

One final aspect of the Society should be noted. Welch's writings have a remarkable combination of fantastic allegation and sweet reasonableness. Along with his proposals advocating drastic action against the Communist agents all over America will go reminders to be polite while making menacing telephone calls to local officials, to exercise self-restraint when attacked unfairly, and to take no action which violates "moral principles." "It is a major purpose of the John Birch Society," he often explains, one "never to be overlooked by its members, to help in every way we can—by example as well as precept—to restore an abiding sense of moral values to greater use as a guide of conduct for individuals, for groups, and ultimately for nations." If there are some right-fundamentalists to whom this sort of passage sounds a bit like the National Council of Churches, the total blend of warm-hearted, main-street vigilantism is still appealing to the majority of Welch's followers.

III

WHATEVER THE specific prospects for the Birch Society —and I consider them unhappily bright —the 1960's will surely be years of expansion for the fundamentalist right in this country. Several things point toward that conclusion.

First, this will be a decade of immense frustration for American foreign policy. We will witness increased neutralism among the new nations; increased militancy among the non-white peoples over questions of color; constant military and scientific pressures from the Russians and, soon, the Chinese Communists; diminished American influence in the United Nations; greater conflict in Latin America; and continued outlays of foreign assistance which do not "buy loyalties" or "deliver votes" on critical issues. If the United States can simply prevent these situations from exploding, most informed students of diplomacy would think we had done well. But cutting losses inflicted by the stagnant 1950's and preparing hopeful future positions is not going to appeal to the right-fundamentalist masses (or the frantic pacifist variety on the left either). The right is unshakable in its faith in unilateral solutions and its belief that each loss for America can be traced to a Communist agent or "Comsymp" in the CIA, at the New York *Times,* in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, or at the Yale Law School. And the inescapable strategic retreats of the early 1960's (Laos is a good example) will lend fuel to the fires on the right.

Second, the domestic racial issue also poses a serious threat of a rise in right-fundamentalism. In the 1960's, the struggle for Negro equality will move increasingly into areas outside the South. Lower-middle-class and middle-class resentments against Negro neighbors and Negro competitors are bound to increase. The crescendo of Negro militancy and the spreading use of government power to enforce civil rights will peel away the already thinned layers of toleration in many sectors of the Northern and Western population. In this area of public policy, groups like the Birch Society—which are not explicitly anti-Negro but oppose compulsory integration—have a promising position, and the reservoirs of white hostility, unless carefully and wisely channeled by both white and Negro liberal leaders, could fill the well of the fundamentalist right to overflowing.

Third, there exists the distinct possibility

of an unprecedented coalition of Catholic and Protestant right-fundamentalists in the 1960's. Only those who know little about the history of American Catholicism would assume that this is a monolithic community. Yet many factors suggest that the 1960's may see an even deeper division of American Catholics into warring ideological factions than has obtained at any time in the past. Already some influential Catholics are complaining bitterly that President Kennedy has joined the "Liberalist Establishment," that he has been "selling out" Catholic Church interests, and that the administration of the first Catholic President may go down in history as the "softest on Communism." This is far from the dominant view among American Catholics. Indeed, it may represent the last thrashing of the old, super-loyalist element in the American Catholic community—a group which will be goaded to extremism by the sight of an a-clerical, literate, sophisticated Catholic liberal in the White House. Under these conditions, and with the magic memory of Joseph McCarthy to help bridge the chasm of the Reformation, the fundamentalist Protestants and the fundamentalist Catholics may enter into an alliance (possibly inside the Birch Society).

BUT PERHAPS the central question mark for right-fundamentalism in the 1960's is not issues or groups but a man—Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. At the moment, he is the beloved crusader of the right and he has given his fundamentalist supporters every possible encouragement. Before very much longer, however, as the jockeying for position in 1964 begins, Goldwater will have to decide whether he wants to be a Republican presidential hopeful and Senate leader or the head of an ideological crusade. If he chooses two-party politics, Goldwater will have to undercut the Birch Society, for it could embarrass him by its extremism, and it is not under his control. (Already, Goldwater has called on Welch to resign because of his authoritarian controls and his charges against Eisenhower.) Many experienced observers of Washington politics doubt whether Goldwater has the personality and the paranoia to become a fundamentalist ideologue and wander in a political wilderness. However, if Goldwater should lose the Republican nomination to someone like Nelson Rockefeller and if he were to decide that there was no hope for his ambitions within the GOP, he could mold the fundamentalist right into a cohesive movement which would assume immediate political influence.

These, then, are the factors which point to a resurgence of the far right wing in the 1960's. But, it should be said on the other side, a rejuvenated and expanded liberal movement is also likely to develop in the United States during the next few years. The signs are already present on American college campuses, where a decade of student apathy and fatalism is giving way to a revival of both liberal and (respectable) conservative political commitment. Whether the Kennedy administration will move from its first year of dreary if realistic compromise to give direction and enthusiasm to the liberal cause remains to be seen. At any rate, the resources are there to be marshaled, and they are potentially our greatest protection against the mounting right-fundamentalist threat.

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Commentary

165 East 56 Street,

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STATEMENT BY ARNOLD FORSTER

at Ford Hall Forum
in Boston, Massachusetts
on Sunday, October 29, 1961

You are a very nice looking group, and a comparatively large one, as meetings of this kind go these days.

But I am not overly impressed because I am becoming sort of used to large audiences. Earlier this month I attended another meeting. There were 1,600 people there and they were as well dressed as you appear to be -- certainly, as a group, they were on a high economic level, and they had come together in a gracious suburban community.

It was in no sense an assemblage of unemployed malcontents or crackpots. Indeed, I estimated that at least ¼ of the room was filled with college-age men and women, and with upper middle-class couples in their early 30's. Most of the rest were people who, from their fine dress, their social presence, had arrived, so-to-speak, economically.

I should tell you that I waited to buy a ticket of admission -- in a line 4 deep, almost a block long -- for more than an hour before the meeting began.

There are, to be sure, two real differences in the character of that gathering in Garden City and this one tonight. There we listened to the speaker for one continuous hour and forty minutes. I promise you far less time from me. Second, was the Alice-In-Wonderland quality about that meeting compared to the very real down-to-earth nature that this one seems already to have.

By now, of course, you must be aware that I attended the Long Island meeting of the John Birch Society where I heard Robert Welch, its leader, talk.

He turned the world inside out and upside down -- not only in his formal presentation but in his answers to questions in the discussion period. At long length I heard him prove -- at least to the satisfaction of many in the hall -- that Communism is an evil imposed upon the masses across the world by the millionaire class; a method of enslaving the poor people who inhabit the earth. It was difficult to believe that his listeners, dressed expensively, sporting jewelry, using '61 and '62 automobiles, could swallow the story.

I listened to his explanation of his so-called "principle of reversal" -- and was overcome again with that never-never-land feeling: If a man admits he is a Communist, then you know he is. After that things are never what they seem. If a man denies he is a Communist, then he must be one because he denies it.

That may be an oversimplification, but it is not an inaccurate analysis of how the principle works. He applied it the evening of the Garden City meeting. The legal decision, he said, handed down that very day by the U. S. Supreme Court, requiring the Communist Party to register against its will -- that decision is no evidence the Court understands the evil of Communism; on the contrary, it is proof that the Supreme Court secretly approves Communism.

His villains that night were the Republicans, the Democrats, Earl Warren, Urban Renewal, the United Nations, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His hero was the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

Not a word of anti-Semitism passed Mr. Welch's lips; certainly none that I could detect -- and in this narrow field, at least, I consider myself as somewhat expert. He even avoided that kind of innuendo which the audience could interpret as a covert expression of anti-Jewish hostility. I came to the conclusion that Robert Welch knows full well anti-Semitism can be a kiss of death.

The same, however, cannot be said for a large number of people in his audience. There was a question-and-answer period during which Mr. Welch had no control either over a question posed out loud or the reaction of the listeners to the question. Thus, when one person stood to his feet demanding to know "Who promoted Peress?" -- this was the signal for the knowing oohs and aahs across the room, and the sudden burst of approving applause.

During the course of his presentation, the Birch leader had talked about the infiltration of Communist agents into the Protestant clergy, mentioning, in passing, that there was some of it, too, in the Roman Catholic Priesthood. This provoked, during the question-and-answer period, a query from a lady who wanted to know what the situation was among Rabbis. Again, even before he could answer, the room reacted to the question with a quick, enthusiastic round of applause -- applause which could only be interpreted as the audience's inarticulate way of saying, "Ah, now we are putting our finger on the real problem."

I think even Welch detected it, and after saying vaguely that he supposed there was some infiltration in the rabbinate, added that there probably was also infiltration in the Moslem priesthood. This last comment was deliberately misinterpreted by his listeners. They reacted as if he was being humorously sly. They pretended that his answer was meant to convey to them: "Yes, the Jews are the core of the problem, but if we say it that bluntly, we will be charged with anti-Semitism. So let's blame all religions and with equal absurdity include the Moslems."

Now any one of you is free to reject my analysis of the Garden City audience; purely personal and perhaps visceral. In that case, let's approach the matter on a somewhat more intellectual level:

I begin by stating my opposition to the Birch Society because that organization regards democracy as an evil and as a sure road to Communism. I respect democracy, its political and ethical concepts, and the integrity of its institutions. As a lawyer, I specifically include the institution of the American Judiciary.

In this connection, the Society is guilty of attempts to pressure our courts of law by threats and other forms of browbeating. Whether the target be the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court or the lowliest police magistrate, this is a fundamental violation of our constitutional concepts and subversive of the American form of government.

Mr. Welch has declared -- and I quote -- "Democracy...in government or organization...is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demogoguery and a perennial fraud." -- Nor am I reassured, even though Mr. Welch has also declared that the United States is not a democracy but a republic, and we ought to keep it that way.

The Birch movement is a matter of grave concern to all Americans. Why? Because in our country voluntary agencies traditionally play an important role -- for good or evil -- and the John Birch Society is the latest voluntary know-nothing organization in America. We have seen what damage know-nothing movements can do. In your lifetime and mine, we have had Coughlinism, America First and the McCarthy Movement -- and now their successor, Birch. This one has two features the others lacked: a leader with a great capacity to organize and a technique of secrecy -- secrecy of action through "front organizations."

Why should we be concerned about a radical right-wing organization composed of a small band of extremists on the fringe of American political life who see all problems in conspiratorial terms? Because the John Birch Society is part of a larger movement. While clearly the most notorious and best publicized of the radical right-wing groups on the American scene -- it is only one of many new ones on the far right.

Some 95 groups -- from conservative to extremist right-wing -- have sprung up in the United States, most of them within the last two years. Of the 95, I count 18 new ones in 1960, and 44 in 1961; in short, more in the first six months of this year than in any similar period in the last twenty.

In less than three years the Birch Society has developed a gross annual income of about a million and a half dollars from dues, honorary life memberships, special contributions, and the sale of literature. Although it will release no membership figures, experts in the field say that those who pay dues number about 60,000. Its paid staff consists of approximately 63 men and women.

While substantial, the movement is obviously not quite as big as its press notices would indicate. The fact is that the Society earns extravagant amounts of publicity by Welch's outrageous charges of Communism against such Americans as former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles, or an unidentified group of several hundred Roman Catholic priests.

No one is safe. Monseignor Francis J. Lally, editor of "The Pilot" here in Boston, is one of those who might well be tagged by Mr. Welch. The Monseignor was among the American editors who spoke up in an excellent editorial, published on October 14th, in defense of the Catholic clergy after Mr. Welch at Garden City in effect charged 273 Catholic Priests with being Communists.

Thank the good sense of the American press that -- like Monseignor Lally and "The Pilot" -- the major amount of newspaper comment has been adverse; examination shows that in the period from June 1st to October 15, 1961, the press has been overwhelmingly critical.

Mr. Welch contends that the Communists are responsible for precipitating the press attack upon his organization -- part of the conspiracy, of course. It was, he claims, triggered by a "signal" given in an article published on February 25, 1961 in the Communist "People's World" which circulates on the West Coast. He referred to that article as the "mother piece" for all that followed, adding that "Time Magazine" was the first in line. But his charge does not square with the facts. The plain truth is that the "People's World" was a "Johnny-Come-Lately."

Back in July 1960, newspapers in the Mid-West uncovered and published the details of Welch's accusations in his then-secret manuscript "The Politician."

One of your own newspapers here in Boston ran a series a few weeks later; the "Boston Herald." The reporter was Stanley Eames. The articles -- which cited Welch's fantasies from "The Politician" -- appeared in the last week of August 1960. Wasn't Mr. Welch aware of these articles in his own backyard, when he charged that the Reds had given the "signal" in February 1961 -- six months after the "Boston Herald" expose?

The John Birch Society would never have received its nationwide notoriety if its Founder had not written "The Politician" -- the book he called a confidential letter -- with its outlandish allegations of treason. However, under any circumstances, some of its leadership stands sufficiently high in the community power-structure to win the group a hearing from newspaper editors. Local leaders and members of the Society are, in many cases, people of financial responsibility and social status in their communities. They are often able to exert considerable influence and impact at the local level when they decide to put the pressure on a school teacher, or a school superintendent, or a school board.

In affirmation of his hatred of democracy, Mr. Welch has structured his Society in an un-democratic fashion: The organization is centrally-controlled and tightly run by the Founder himself. Everything operates from the top down; Mr. Welch picks his national organizers for the Society; they report directly to him; chapter leaders report to national, regional or local organizers picked by Mr. Welch or his agents. Founder Welch himself has a good business head, considerable business experience, a great capacity for attention to details, and an enormous will for hard work and sole leadership.

Mr. Welch makes no bones about who is the boss. I quote -- "The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels" --
That's from page 159 of the "Blue Book of the John Birch Society."

The "Blue Book" -- as you probably know -- is a verbatim transcript of Welch's incredible two-day monologue, delivered at the founding meeting of the Society in December 1958, in Indianapolis. There, eleven of his close associates -- obviously men of tremendous endurance -- listened patiently before agreeing to launch the organization.

At another point in the "Blue Book" Mr. Welch says that members who no longer feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or they will be put out; and he also declares that -- I quote -- "We shall have short cuts for eliminating differences without going through any Congress of so-called democratic processes." --

If the authoritarian structure of the Birch organization is elementary, its basic premises are primitive: First, it believes in the conspiratorial theory of history and politics. Conspiracy is always the answer. Second, it believes that the Communist conspiracy has already captured control of most of the world -- including the United States -- and because it is already victorious here on our shores, battle must now be done to recapture the country from the enemy.

That both premises are false is patent and demonstrable.

It's almost incredible that we should be here tonight seriously discussing a group whose leader believes his own obviously false assumptions -- if I may, his own political fantasies -- fantasies that a former President was a Communist agent... as was a member of the family...as was a former Secretary of State -- and a member of his family also. True, a world of fantasy. But a world which unfortunately seems also to be the ideological dwelling place of at least 60,000 other Americans.

Perhaps not all his followers agree with everyting he says. Some Birchites have gone to great lengths to disassociate themselves from his views about General George C. Marshall and other great American leaders he has smeared. They say these views are personal, nor organizational.

The contention is untenable -- because, by his own statements, Welch has made it clear that he is the Society -- that the Society is a monolithic organization in which he is the central moving spirit. Any attempt to separate the two fails.

But even if they were separable -- how do you explain so many Americans who are willing to join a leader holding such incredible viewpoints?

I think there is an explanation: If the Society's members are uneasy or embarrassed by his more sensational views, they nevertheless live in the same fantasy-land with Mr. Welch.

What kind of place is it which these men and women populate? It is a world whose inhabitants assume that there must be solutions that will produce victories on the international scene and will resolve all our domestic problems. If no easy solutions are forthcoming, there must somewhere be a conspiracy preventing it. The see the world around them -- the churches, the press, radio and television, the unions -- almost all the established institutions in our free society -- in the grip of Communist conspirators, or their sympathizers.

Those who disagree with this view are naturally a part of the conspiracy, for there can be no honest basic differences of opinion: you are a Bircher -- or you are a Red, or a tool -- and this applies to anyone from Republican to left-wing Socialists. Most ridiculous of all, the Birchers view the government itself -- and its political leaders -- as just another part of the same pack of Communist agents or dupes -- no one of them to be trusted.

One other dimension to the Birch philosophy. It is this: There is no hope of salvation through the ballot box. "Direct action" is necessary -- through secret or semi-secret cells; through high pressure campaigns such as "Impeach Earl Warren"; through "front" groups, and by means of a whole flood of crash programs and emergency actions that reflect only their neurotic fears and distorted views.

Now we know who is the Society's enemy -- practically anybody. Made possible by the "principle of reversal" -- which can turn any loyal citizen into a traitor with the wave of a Birch wand. Keep the principle in mind and the Communists are really in favor of many things they profess to oppose; they say they are against something only in order to make us be for it.

For example, Mr. Welch has characterized the late U. N. Secretary General -- Dag Hammarskjold -- as a Kremlin agent. When the Soviet attacked Mr. Hammarskjold and fought for his ouster, the Communists, Mr. Welch tells us, were only doing so to provoke us into insisting that Hammarskjold be kept in his U. N. post -- which is what Khrushchev really wanted.

Again: Founder Welch believes that the Soviets really sent the first Sputnik into orbit because they wanted us to increase our defense spending, and thus weaken ourselves economically.

If we increase our military spending, we play into the Kremlin's hands. If we reduce American military might, we are also playing into the Kremlin's hands. Heads they win, tails we lose.

If all this were merely ridiculous, I think we could live with it -- even if many thousands of our fellow citizens on the fringe of our political life believe it. But there is cause for genuine concern. For this inside-out reasoning -- the unsound major premise -- carries with it a tremendous potential for harm to our country and to a genuine effort to stem the tide of world Communism. The simple truth is that the Birchers do not sow understanding, they sow confusion. They do not contribute to a calm, firm national effort to combat Communism; they sow fear, semi-hysteria, panic.

Why haven't I told you what they are for? Why have I withheld from you the content of their constructive program? I haven't withheld anything; they have no positive, no constructive program. They are not for anything; they are only against. Being against is the only program Welch offers his followers.

To impeach the Presiding Justice of the United States Supreme Court, is a typical campaign— and such destructive activities deeply involve Birch members in the work of the organization; it keeps them busy on a continuing basis carrying out assigned tasks; it requires chapter meetings, special projects, local Birch reading rooms. You see the Society member does not merely join the organization, pay his initiation fee plus dues and then sit back to receive his monthly newsletter. He becomes a functioning part of a negative movement.

Because it is an against movement, the Society always run the risk of committing a libel in attacking people. But Mr. Welch created a loophole. Rather than pay the price of libel, he seeks to hide behind a semantic camouflage. That is why he coined the word "Comsymp" -- to describe an enemy whom he cannot quite prove to be an outright Communist but whom he believes to be more than a mere sympathizer. The new word, he hopes, will avoid the built-in libel trap of the word "Communist".

But anyone can use this device; anyone, that is, who will not be concerned about your level of intelligence. Let me, with appropriate apology to you, use it just this once: Members of the Birch Society may not be outright bigots but they may be more than mere sympathizers. The proper word, then, would be: Bigsymps.

Seriously, the real threat today of Communism in America -- and it is real enough -- is from the outside. It is an absurd notion that our most dangerous Communist enemy is internal, that it is already virtually victorious, and that it must be fought within our borders to the almost total exclusion of every other political problem.

Outside or within, Communism is an evil and it must be handled. If we are all agreed on that premise, then, you might ask, why all the shouting? Why don't we all just get along with the task of handling it?

Because the only thing on which most of us agree with the Birch Society is that Communism is a menace. After that, we separate -- and separate fast -- because we are convinced that Birch not only shoots political buckshot at everybody and his uncle, failing effectively to attack Communism, but unwittingly (to give it the benefit of the doubt) aids and abets Communism, falling into its traps -- indeed, into its very lap. If Communism ever does take over in the United States -- and I doubt that -- we will have two groups to thank; the Communists and the Birchists.

Let us see whether my last statement is cheap demagoguery or thoughtful reasoning: A most striking and significant feature of the Society is that many of its campaigns parallel those of the Soviet Communists. The Society would seek to destroy, among other things, NATO, the United Nations and the vital American system of economic and military aid to underdeveloped countries. These are also precisely the aims of the Soviet Union in its efforts to weaken the United States throughout the world. Let's look at the twin character:

Number One -- NATO: The Soviet would smash NATO so that it could not protect against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe... Birch would take U.S. troops out

of NATO, making it incapable of protecting against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe.

Number Two -- The United Nations: To capture control of it, the Soviet insists upon the right of veto, even in the administration of U.N. work... Birch would take the United States out of the U.N., leaving the Soviet in control of it, including administration.

Number Three -- Foreign Aid: The Soviet tries to persuade underdeveloped countries to reject American economic and military assistance... Birch would withdraw such American assistance from underdeveloped countries.

Number Four -- The Communist Menace: The Soviet argues that Communism is no external threat to the United States... Birch argues that Communism is a more internal threat than an external one.

Number Five -- The Race Problem: The Soviet would convince Asian and African nations to turn their backs on the United States because of its alleged pro-racist policies... Birch would impeach Earl Warren for his anti-racist decisions.

Number Six -- Social Justice: The Soviet does not believe in it... Birch is opposed to civil rights and the religious gospel of social rights.

Number Seven -- The Front Organization: The Soviet attempts to use "fronts" as an essential tool in the dissemination of its propaganda in the United States... Birch advocates the use of "fronts" as a technique for propaganda purposes.

Number Eight -- The Communist Party: In the Soviet it is a monolithic, totalitarian movement with no dissent permitted to its followers from the principles laid down by its leader... Ditto for the Birch Society.

And yet no one of us is foolish enough to suggest that the Birch Society is Communist. But I guess if there were no John Birch Society, the Communists would invent one.

What's the real reason for the recent appearance of so many right-wing organizations on the American scene -- and for the success (such as it is) of the Welch movement? The reason -- in a nutshell: the frustrations of the American people; the troubles we are having with Russia; the problems in Berlin, Laos and Cuba; the American lag in rocketry, thermo-nuclear weapons, the space race -- in short, the cold war. And on the domestic front: high taxes, rising living costs, the integration struggle, and so on.

For all these difficulties, the Birch movement offers a single solution -- tear down everything that's up.

Does Welch's organization really have a future in America? I think not. Eventually, it will go the way of all know-nothing movements. Once its character is completely known to the American people, the organization is doomed to failure. Understanding the nature of the movement, they will inevitably reject and repudiate it as an unwholesome political growth in American soil. In the nature of things the United States will eventually evolve adequate and proper solutions for its international and

domestic migraine headaches -- at that point Americans will turn their backs on Robert Welch and his John Birch Society.

In short, there are far better answers, better alternatives than those offered by Mr. Welch. But what they are is not my assignment nor our subject this evening. To Birch Society members, if any be present here tonight, I would ask: What kind of fools do you take the American people to be? Do you think we are stupid enough to believe that an Eisenhower or a Dulles or a Warren ever deliberately played the Kremlin game?

Yes, we are against Communism, but not the kind you attack. We look out across the sea and we note the menacing Soviet armies, their thermo-nuclear weapons, their missiles, their atomic tests, and their Red Chinese partners, now also struggling to gain atomic weapons -- and we know we are faced with danger -- possibly the ultimate danger in mankind's long history.

We know we must look to our own weapons. We know, too, that we must watch the internal activities of the small band of Communists still in our midst.

But, to point out the enemy for us, we don't need Mr. Welch, or his John Birch Society, or its followers -- who don't know their left from their right. We don't need the mushrooming bands of radical right-wingers -- who can't tell a Republican from a Communist -- and who view Social Security as a dangerous step along the road to Communism.

J. Edgar Hoover who has not as yet -- I think -- been charged with being a Communist agent, a "Comsymp" or a dupe, prepared a statement on the subject of fighting Communism. Here is what he said: -- and I quote --

"The danger of indiscriminately alleging that someone is a Communist merely because his views on a particular issue happen to parallel the official party position is obvious. The confusion which is thereby created helps the Communists by diffusing the forces of their opponents.

"Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against Communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons", Mr. Hoover concludes, "would do well to recall a lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against Communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them."

The John Birch Society stands for nothing.

FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

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The John Birch Society

On Monday night, October 9th, approximately 1600 people gathered in the main ballroom of the gracious Garden City Hotel on Long Island, New York, to hear Robert H. W. Welch, the Founder of the John Birch Society, deliver a prepared one hour and 40 minute speech.

At least 25% of the room was filled with college-age men and women, and with upper middle-class couples in their early 30's. Most of the others were people who, from their meticulous dress, their social presence, had "arrived," economically speaking. Those who came without advance reservations had to wait to buy a ticket of admission—in a line four deep, almost a block long—for more than an hour before the meeting began. The audience was in no sense an assemblage of unemployed malcontents or crackpots.

During the course of his address, Welch turned the world inside out and upside down. He "proved" (at least to the satisfaction of many in the hall) that Communism is an evil imposed upon the masses across the world by the millionaire class; a method of enslaving the poor people who inhabit the earth. (It was difficult to believe that his listeners, dressed expensively, sporting jewelry, using '61 and '62 automobiles, could swallow the story.)

He explained his so-called "principle of reversal," by example. The legal decision, he said, handed down that very day by the U.S. Supreme Court, requiring the Communist Party to register against its will—that decision is no evidence the Court understands the evil of Communism; on the contrary, it is proof that the Supreme Court secretly approves Communism. (The Principal of Reversal: if a man admits he is a Communist—of course he is. If he denies it, he is only hiding the fact.)

The Birch leader's villains that night were the Republicans, the Democrats, Earl Warren, urban renewal, the United Nations, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His hero was the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

Not a word of anti-Semitism passed Welch's lips; certainly none that observers could detect. He even avoided the kind of innuendo which the audience could interpret as a covert expression of anti-Jewish hostility. It is a fair conclusion that Robert Welch, himself not an anti-Semite, knows full well anti-Semitism can be a kiss of death.

The same, however, cannot be said for a large number of people in his Garden City audience that night. There was a question-and-answer period during which Welch had no control either over questions posed out loud or the reaction of the listeners to the questions. When one person rose to his feet demanding to know "Who promoted Peress?"—this was a signal for knowing oohs and aahs across the room, and a sudden burst of approving applause.

During the course of his presentation, the Birch Founder had talked about the infiltration of Communist agents into the Protestant clergy, mentioning, in passing, that there was some of it too, in the Roman Catholic priesthood. This provoked, during the question-and-answer period, a query from a lady who wanted to know what the situation was among rabbis. Again, even before he could answer, the room reacted to the question with a quick, enthusiastic round of applause—applause which could only be interpreted as the audience's inarticulate way of saying, "Ah, now we are putting our finger on the real problem."

Apparently, even Welch detected it, and after saying vaguely that he supposed there was some infiltration in the rabbinate, he added that there probably was also infiltration in the Moslem priesthood. This last comment was deliberately misinterpreted by his listeners. They reacted as if he were being humorously sly. They pretended that his answer was meant to convey to them: "Yes, the Jews are the core of the problem, but if we say it that bluntly, we will be charged with anti-Semitism. So let's blame all religions and with equal absurdity include the Moslems."

What is the John Birch Society, who is its leader, Robert Welch, and where do they fit into the American political scheme in this winter of 1961?

Structure and Organization

Founded by Robert Welch in December 1958, the John Birch Society is a monolithic, centrally-directed organization with Founder Welch as its moving force.

At the start of 1961, it claimed to have chapters in 34 states and the District of Columbia. Independent research indicates this claim is probably substantially accurate, and that in any event, the John Birch Society has chapters in at least 27 states and the District of Columbia.

By far the greatest number of chapters are operating in the State of Texas. A rough count shows approximately 150 chapters there. California, Michigan, and Massachusetts appear to have 20-35 chapters each. Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon and Wisconsin have roughly 10-20 chapters each. Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee have about eight or nine chapters

each. Kansas has a reported six chapters, Virginia has about five, and the rest of the states where chapters exist probably have less than five. Two major centers of strength are Greater Houston and Greater Los Angeles.

So far as can be ascertained, neither Welch nor his aides in the John Birch Society have ever made public the number of chapters they claim to have nationwide. Independent research indicates that the number of chapters may well be in the neighborhood of 500.

According to Welch and official John Birch Society publications, chapters are composed of 20 members, and when a chapter grows beyond that point, any additional members are incorporated into a new chapter which spins off from the old.

Calculating on the basis of 500 chapters and 20 members per chapter, it would appear that the John Birch Society may have a bedrock minimum of some 10,000 members. In addition, many members in states where there are no chapters belong directly to the so-called Home Chapter at Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. It is of course impossible to estimate the number of members in the Home Chapter.

In newspaper reports, the membership goal of the John Birch Society was placed at some 100,000 by the end of 1961. The eventual goal sought by Welch, according to these stories, is 1,000,000 members.

The only figure on the total membership of the John Birch Society which has appeared in print and which has any semblance of authenticity was contained in an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated May 22, 1961. This item was based on remarks reportedly made by Representative Edgar W. Hiestand (Rep., Calif.) before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. According to the AP dispatch, Rep. Hiestand—an admitted member of the John Birch Society—estimated the Society membership at about 40,000 men and 20,000 women, or a total of 60,000.

On the basis of these figures, the annual dues received by the John Birch Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. would appear to be a minimum of $1,200,000 a year, and in all probability more, since many of the members are life members who pay dues of $1,000 a year.

Staff and Leadership

Besides Welch, who draws no salary, there are 28 full-time employees at Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. In the field, around the country, there are some 35 full-time salaried employees serving as "area coordinators." They are responsible directly to Founder Welch. Area coordinators, generally, cover at least one state, and in some cases, a group of states.

(Welch has stated that eventually, he hoped to have so-called "major coordinators" supervising the work of the coordinators—as the society grew and "as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control on what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of the John Birch Society is concerned.")

In addition, there are approximately 100 full or part-time volunteer coordinators or workers. These appear to be responsible for organization in parts of a state—or in large cities and their environs.

Finally, there are chapter leaders, who are leaders among the Society's membership in their home towns, and who play a key role in the day-to-day operations of the Society, its chapter meetings and program activities.

Besides Founder Welch and the original incorporators, the leadership of the John Birch Society is composed of a National Council of 26. From the National Council, four individuals serve—with Welch—as an Executive Committee. In addition, a Committee of Endorsers, composed of individuals who are members of the John Birch Society in the several states, can be considered to be part of the leadership group in the John Birch Society. It should be borne in mind, however, that the John Birch Society is organized from the top down, and that the only real leader is Founder Welch.

Welch stands at the center of a group of concentric circles. The National Council of the Society is the "inner circle"—closest to Founder Welch and presumably enjoying a large measure of his confidence. The paid area and major coordinators and headquarters staff might also be included in the inner circle. It is probable that some individuals among the Committee of Endorsers from the various states would be considered by Welch to be part of the "inner circle," while others would be included in the "second circle," possible along with the full and part-time volunteer coordinators (or section leaders) in parts of states and in certain big city areas.

Chapter leaders and ordinary members of the Society in the local chapters or the Home Chapter might compose the third, or "outer circle."

It should be emphasized that, while the foregoing concept of the John Birch Society as comprising a series of concentric circles is a useful one, it has never been spelled out by Welch himself and the gradations suggested above may not be precise. However, a careful reading of the publications of the John Birch Society, such as "The Blue Book" and "The White Book", strongly suggests that the Society in fact operates according to the concept of concentric circles.

Area coordinators and major coordinators are appointed by Founder Welch. He—or they—appoint local chapter leaders, and local coordinators or section leaders.

FACTS

Funds for the work of the Anti-Defamation League are raised through the Joint Defense Appeal.

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

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Welch himself selected the members of the National Council and the Committee of Endorsers, as well as the small Executive Committee of the Society.

There are no elections whatsoever in the entire structure of the Society. The picture that emerges is one of a tight, centrally-controlled, dedicated and efficient organization—whatever the actual membership and chapter strength of the Society may be. The rate of growth is obscured by the successful effort of Welch to hide the actual numerical strength of the Society.

Finances

Dues for membership in the John Birch Society are $24 a year for men and $12 a year for women. A so-called "life membership" in the Home Chapter—which automatically covers membership in any local chapter—costs $1,000. In addition, Founder Welch appeals for voluntary contributions from all members who can afford it—over and above their regular monthly dues. He has set up a system of "members' monthly messages"—envelopes in which members can enclose their voluntary contributions, along with any suggestions or messages they may wish to send him directly.

There are, of course, no detailed financial reports available on the operations of the John Birch Society. No one knows how much of Welch's personal resources went into the Society. Nobody knows how much the eleven wealthy men who attended the founding meeting of the Society at Indianapolis in December 1958, contributed then—or have contributed since. Presumably they—and most of the members of the National Council who number 26—are life members of the Society, and pay the $1,000 annual dues for a life member. A few persons on the Committee of Endorsers from the several states appear to have sufficient financial status to warrant life memberships. All in all, it would appear that Welch can count on at least $30,000 to $50,000 a year from life members, not including any supplementary contributions they may make.

The payroll and expenses for the nation-wide staff of approximately 63 men and women—plus his extensive printing and mailing operations—tend to support the impression that the John Birch Society today is probably a $1,000,000 a year operation, or more.

National Reaction

Hundreds of thousands of words of exposé material and editorial criticism have been lavished by the nation's press on the Birch Society and Founder Welch, and a tremendous amount of air time and film footage have been devoted by radio and television to coverage of developments involving the leader and his organization. Columnists—of all shades of political opinion—have criticized Welch and the Society. Prominent individuals, from President Kennedy down, have expressed or implied criticism of the Founder and his movement.

In general, the major points that have been made against Welch and the Society in this tremendous outpouring center around:

- Welch's view of former President Eisenhower, his brother Milton, the Dulles brothers, and some other leading Americans as Communist agents or dupes.
- Welch's call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.
- The secret, or semi-secret nature of the John Birch Society.
- Welch's scorn for democracy.
- The degree of Communist infiltration which Welch and his followers claim to see in American domestic life.
- The tactics which Welch advocates—such as infiltration, penetration and take-over of local civic groups like the PTAs, and the harassment of local school and library officials.

Welch, in writing his own members about the outburst of criticism directed against him and the Society, views it as a Communist-inspired smear campaign which is being aided and abetted by Communist dupes and sympathizers. The fact is that newspapers ranging from the conservative Los Angeles Times to the liberal New York Post have joined in criticizing Welch, his views and his Society. The same is true of columnists, ranging from conservatives such as George Sokolsky, Arthur Krock and Raymond Moley—to liberals such as Marquis Childs, Max Lerner, Eric Sevareid and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Among prominent national leaders, besides the President, critics have included Attorney General Kennedy, former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, Senators Thomas Dodd of Connecticut and Milton Young of North Dakota, the National Council of Churches, the United Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and such leading Episcopalian clerics as Bishop James A. Pike of Los Angeles and Bishop Horace Donegan of New York.

Among Roman Catholics, critics have included Msgr. George B. Higgins, Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Rev. John B. Sheerin, editor, Catholic World, and such official archdiocesan papers as The Boston Pilot, New World (Chicago) and Visitor (Providence, R. I.). Commonweal has also published a critical editorial and other material, as has Ave Maria.

The Birch Society and Anti-Semitism

There is nothing in the Society's program or in its published material that espouses anti-Semitism. There is nothing in Welch's own record to suggest any personal anti-Semitism on his part. In short, anti-Semitism is not a stock in trade of Welch or of the John Birch Society.

Nevertheless, there are indications that Welch and the Society have a blind spot—which makes it possible for some anti-Semites and a certain degree of anti-Semitism to creep into the Society's activities and membership.

The best that can be said is that Welch and the Society are "non-anti-Semitic." Welch claims to be "anti-anti-Semitic" but the facts indicate that despite his protestations, he has not been alert to the presence in his organization of individuals with known records of anti-Semitism, and individuals with known records of support for—or associations with—anti-Semites or anti-Semitic organizations. Furthermore, he has himself indicated in his own actions a lack of awareness with respect to anti-semites and anti-Semitism.

What are the facts in the record of Welch and the John Birch Society so far?

- In 1952, Welch wrote a booklet called "May God Forgive Us" in which he cited a pamphlet by Joseph P. Kamp as a source.

- In 1954, Welch wrote "The Life of John Birch" and admits he paid Kamp $100.00 to check the manuscript for inaccuracies.
  (Welch contends that he did not know of the widespread allegations of anti-Semitism against Kamp as of 1952 and 1954 and that since he has learned of those allegations, he has had no further dealings with Kamp.)

- Some sections of Welch's "The Politician"—the "letter" Welch wrote for private circulation in which he claims that Dwight Eisenhower was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy"—are borrowed directly from Kamp's "Headlines," issue of March 15, 1952. (This was a pre-Republican convention smear blast, replete with anti-Semitic innuendo, issued by Kamp against General Eisenhower.) Some sections of "The Politician" appear to have been taken from Kamp almost verbatim, including some tainted portions.

- "The Politician" cites Merwin K. Hart, a long-time anti-Semite, as an authority, and praises the vehement and blatant anti-Semite, Lucille Miller, of Bethel, Vt. It is clear that Welch's reference to her was written after 1955, when her record of anti-Semitism was quite public and had been clearly referred to in the public prints. Welch, however, simply refers to Mrs. Miller as "a patriotic but not too cautious Vermont woman."

- "The Politician" contains some gratuitous and snide innuendoes regarding men in public life of which the following are examples:

  a) Referring to Arthur F. Burns, President Eisenhower's economic adviser, Welch states that Burns was "born and raised in Russia." Even if true, this would be gratuitous, except that Welch was trying to make the point—as he states—that Burns' job as economic adviser was probably "a cover-up for Burns' liaison work between Eisenhower and some of his Communist bosses." (Fact: Arthur F. Burns was born in Stanislau, Austria, April 27, 1904, according to "Who's Who in America," Vol. 31, 1960-61.)
  b) Referring to Simon E. Sobeloff, former Solicitor General of the U.S., appointed by President Eisenhower to the Court of Appeals, Fourth Judicial Circuit, Welch refers to Sobeloff as having been born and raised in Russia. (According to "Current Biography," 1955, page 565, Sobeloff was born in Baltimore, Maryland).
  c) Welch refers to C. Douglas Dillon, now Secretary of the Treasury, and a former ambassador to France, as "Clarence Lapowski, alias Clarence Dillon." (Dillon's paternal grandfather, Samuel Lapowski, emigrated from Poland to Texas and changed his name to Dillon—two generations before C. Douglas was born. Mr. Dillon is an Episcopalian.)
  d) Welch writes of Edward S. Greenbaum, (an Eisenhower Alternate Delegate to the U.N.) this way: "Greenbaum is a close friend of Sam Rosenman, and a law partner of Morris Ernst. It hardly seems that anything more needs to be said."
  e) Welch describes C. D. Jackson, publisher of Life Magazine, as "C. D. Jacobson, alias C. D. Jackson." (There is no indication in "Who's Who In America," Vol. 31, 1960-61, or in "Current Biography," 1951, or in any other authoritative source that C. D. Jackson's original name was anything other than Jackson. In any case, the reference seems to be a snide irrelevancy.)

- Welch has recommended two anti-Semitic publications to his membership—Merwin K. Hart's Economic Council Letter and the "American Mercury" magazine, after it had been converted from a once great name in magazine circles to a frequent vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitic innuendo and worse. The recommendation of Hart's publication in the November 1960 Bulletin took place after Welch had been advised of the anti-Semitic history of Merwin K. Hart and his Economic Council Letter.

- The New York Post (issue of May 22, 1961) identified Hart as leader of John Birch Society Chapter 26 in New York. That chapter was identified, in a letter from Vice Admiral C. S. Freeman, a long-time Hart associate and a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for New York State, as "the oldest Chapter in the New York area." The Post article said that copies of Hart's Economic Council Letter were available at the May 9, 1961 meeting of Chapter 26, held at headquarters of Hart's National Economic Council, 156 Fifth Avenue.

- Some members of the National Council of the John Birch Society have the following records:

  a) Spruille Braden of New York, former U.S. Ambassador to Argentina, was listed in 1958 as a director of Hart's National Economic Council.
  b) Ralph E. Davis of Los Angeles. Listed as a director of Hart's National Economic Council in 1955.
  c) Prof. Revilo P. Oliver of the University of Illinois. Shared the speakers platform in February 1961 with Kenneth Goff, a notorious anti-Semite, at the so-called Midwest Christian Patriots Convention in St. Louis. In April 1961, Oliver addressed the convention of Kenneth Goff's "Soldiers of the Cross" at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington.
  d) Paul Talbert of Beverly Hills, California. Paid $120 to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade during the calendar year 1959.

- For several months during 1959, Welch used the services of Willis Carto in an executive or organizing capacity. Carto apparently worked out of Society headquarters in Belmont, Mass. For about five years, he was executive secretary of an extreme rightist group called "Liberty and Property" which published a newsletter called "RIGHT." This periodical was an outlet for anti-Semitic propaganda and a clearing house for information about the activities of anti-Semites and anti-Semitic organizations.

- Anti-Semites and anti-Semitism are beginning to show in the John Birch Society at the local level.

  a) David Harmon, who said he was a full-time paid Society organizer covering Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, was quoted by the Minneapolis Star of May 20, 1961, as saying at a Society meeting in Bloomington—a suburb of Minneapolis—that "even if most Jews are Communists, there are still a lot of good ones."
  b) Theodore W. Miller of Chicago, an attorney with a long record of identification with anti-Semites and anti-Semitic causes, is listed as a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for the State of Illinois. Among the notorious anti-Semites with whom Miller hob-nobbed in the 1940s were Joe McWilliams, Elizabeth Dilling and Gerald L. K. Smith.
  c) Miss Olive Simes is listed as a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers for Massachusetts. For a number of years, one O. Simes of Boston and/or Petersham, Mass., has been listed by Gerald L. K. Smith as a contributor to his Christian Nationalist Crusade. According to Smith's reports, O. Simes contributed $140 in 1955, $285 in 1956, $200 in 1957, $160 in 1958, $205 in 1959 and $160 in 1960.

Welch on Anti-Semitism

Welch has gone out of his way to deny—and with some vehemence—any anti-Semitism on his own part or that of the Society. The April 1961 issue of the Society "Bulletin" contains a long denial by Welch of any such anti-Semitic taint. He asserts that "the most vicious and most extensive charges ever levelled against me have been made by such notorious anti-Semites as Lyrl Clark Van Hyning (Women's Voice) and Elizabeth Dilling (The Dilling Bulletin) on the grounds that my various committees and supporters are nothing but a 'bunch of Jews and Jew-kissers'."

He then goes on to point out that some of his closest associates and advisers are Jewish: William Schlamm, a writer; Julius Epstein, an author; Morrie Ryskind, writer; the late Alfred Kohlberg, a leading figure for many years in anti-Communist causes; and Rabbi Max Merritt of Los Angeles, an active leader of the American Jewish League Against Communism.

Another point in Welch's denial of anti-Semitism refers to the fact that in his long years in the candy industry, a large percentage of his customers were Jews. He says he sold them goods, travelled with them, drank coffee with them in their kitchens at midnight, went to formal dinners with them, borrowed money from them when he needed it in the early days, and loaned them money later when he had it. He says he never stopped to think where they worshipped. And one day, he continues, when the thought occurred to him, he says he "took pride in the belief that I probably had more good friends of the Jewish faith than any other Gentile in America."

Welch then turns to the allegation of anti-Semitism against him, which—at the outset of his statement—he terms "the third stage of the attack . . . against your Founder." Let's look, he says to his readers, "at what the propagandists can bring forth to support their accusation." The accusation, he adds quickly, "has to be cut almost completely out of the whole cloth of fabrication" but he concedes that "there are three extremely tenuous threads" he has seen being used to hold the accusation together.

He then turns to the charge—as he states it—"that I quote, and use materials from Joseph Kamp, whom everybody is supposed to recognize as a notorious anti-Semite." On this point Welch avoids the direct issue, simply stating that whether or not Kamp is an anti-Semite is none of Welch's "present business." (Exactly why the question of Kamp's anti-Semitism is none of Welch's business is difficult to understand, especially in view of Welch's presumed eagerness to deny his own anti-Semitism and his concern that the John Birch Society never "become an agency or even a haven of anti-Semitic feeling so long as I am directing its policies.")

Welch then goes on to offer a series of rebuttals to the report of anti-Semitism. Typical is this: One feature of the Society is that he has the right to drop anyone from membership at any time without giving a reason. This has been used twice, he explains. One of the two instances involved a man who had taken over a certain local Society chapter and was gradually converting it into "a hotbed of anti-Semitsm"—or was at least trying to.

The final main point in Welch's "rebuttal" is "simply that I am not anti-Semitic, never could be, and could never allow the John Birch Society to become an agency or even a haven of anti-Semitic feeling as long as I am directing its policies." Welch adds that he is "often told that too large a percentage of Jews are Communists and too large a percentage of Communists are Jews. Welch answers those who complain to him about the identification of Jews with Communism by replying that too large a percentage of Methodists and Frenchmen are Communists but he doesn't blame all Methodists or Frenchmen for that. He adds: "I feel it is equally absurd and unfair to blame all Jews because some Jews are Communists."

The concluding section of Welch's statement denying anti-Semitism is, in effect, a warning. "There is only one real danger in the charge of anti-Semitism today, to the man who actually is *not* anti-Semitic. It is that the utter (and in some cases malicious) unfairness of the charge may cause him to react with anger against Jews in general, and then begin to let some of his feeling creep into his writings or his speeches."

Some Evaluations

There have been many extremist groups on the American scene over the last 25 years. Almost without exception, they have been active for a period of time and then have dwindled or disappeared. The activities of some of these groups have been confined to the publishing and circulating of radical right-wing literature with no special attempt at membership recruitment and organization at the grass-roots level.

Other ultra-reactionary groups have tried to organize a membership following nationally, but their efforts have generally been unsuccessful and they have become —almost without exception—organizations composed of a relatively small number of "leaders" scattered around the country.

Many of these groups have attracted individuals with records of anti-Semitism. The pattern has been clear enough over the years to make it likely that any new extremist right-wing organization is a potential gathering-place for anti-Semites and a potential vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitism—whether by word of mouth at meetings, or via printed literature which such organizations may publish and distribute, or which may be published and distributed by their members.

While the John Birch Society conforms to the pattern insofar as it has become tainted with anti-Semites, it is unique in several all-important respects:

- It is the first right-wing extremist group in many years that is well-organized and that has had any degree of success in recruiting members at the grass-roots level and on almost a nation-wide scale.
- It is adequately financed by dues on a continuing basis, unlike other extreme right-wing groups which have frequently languished, not only for lack of organization at the grass-roots, but for lack of adequate financing. In some instances, these organizations were entirely dependent for financial support on one, or a few, well-to-do individuals.
- The Birch Society has an on-going program of action and activity for its membership, with monthly instructions and assignments sent to all members, and with regular local chapter meetings.

- Welch, who is the supreme boss and who obviously has a talent for organization, has a sound business head, and a capacity for attention to detail and for hard work that distinguishes him from other ultra-reactionary leaders of the past.
- Leaders of the John Birch Society at the grass-roots level are, by and large, people of some status and financial solidity in their communities. Regardless of their extremist viewpoints, they tend to be persons who are sufficiently respectable and influential at the local level to be able to exert considerable pressure when they choose to do so in their communities.
- The Society may be benefitting from the reported wave of interest in "conservatism" that allegedly has emerged in the United States since the election of President Kennedy and may—in a sense—be riding the crest of that wave.

Anti-Democratic Structure

Because of these six factors, unique for an extremist movement, the concerns about the organization cannot lightly be brushed aside. Let's examine why:—

Mr. Welch has declared: "Democracy . . . in government or organization . . . is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud." Mr. Welch has also declared that "the United States is not a democracy but a republic, and we ought to keep it that way."

The Birch Society regards democracy as an evil and as a sure road to Communism. It does not respect democracy, its political and ethical concepts, or the integrity of its institutions. In this connection, the Society is guilty of attempts to pressure our courts of law by threats of impeachment. Whether the target be the Chief Justice of the United States or the lowliest police magistrate, this is a fundamental violation of our constitutional concepts and harmful to the American form of government.

In our country voluntary agencies traditionally play an important role—for good or evil—and the John Birch Society is the latest voluntary negative movement in America. We have had Coughlinism, America First and the McCarthy movement—and now their successor, Birch. It is a radical right-wing organization, composed of a small band of extremists on the fringe of American political life, which sees all problems in conspiratorial terms. But this one has two features the others lack: a leader with a great capacity to organize and a technique of semi-secrecy—and secrecy of action through "front organizations."

The John Birch Society is part of a larger movement, the major section of which is not quite as irresponsible. While clearly the most notorious and best publicized of the radical right-wing groups on the American scene—it is only one of many new ones on the far right. Some 206 groups—from conservative to extremist right-wing—have sprung up in the United States, most of them within the last two years. Of the 206, there were 19 new ones in 1960, and 79 in 1961; more in the first ten months of this year than in any similar period in the last twenty years.

To sum up its strength—in less than three years the Birch Society has developed a gross annual income of about a million and a half dollars from dues, life memberships, special contributions, and the sale of literature. Although it will release no membership figures, experts in the field say that those who pay dues number about 60,000. Its paid staff consists of approximately 63 men and women. Thus, while substantial, the movement is obviously not quite as big as its press notices would indicate. The fact is that the Society earns extravagant amounts of publicity by Welch's outrageous charges of Communism against such Americans as former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles, or an unidentified group of several hundred Roman Catholic priests. (For instance, Monsignor Francis J. Lally, editor of "The Pilot" in Boston, was among the American editors who spoke up in an excellent editorial, published on October 14th, in defense of the Catholic clergy after Mr. Welch at Garden City in effect charged 273 Catholic priests with being Communists.)

Mr. Welch contends that the Communists are responsible for precipitating the press attack upon his organization—part of the conspiracy, of course. It was, he claims, triggered by a "signal" given in an article published on February 25, 1961 in the Communist "People's World" which circulates on the West Coast. He referred to that article as the "mother piece" for all that followed, adding that Time Magazine was the first in line.

But his charge does not square with the facts. The plain truth is that the "People's World" was a "Johnny-come-lately." Back in July 1960, newspapers in the Mid-West uncovered and published the details of Welch's accusations in his then-secret manuscript "The Politician."

The John Birch Society would never have received its nation-wide notoriety if its Founder had not written "The Politician"—the book he called a confidential letter—with its outlandish allegations of treason. However, under any circumstances, some of its leadership stands sufficiently high in the community power-structure to win the group a hearing from newspaper editors. Local leaders and members of the Society are, in many cases, people of financial responsibility and social status in their communities, often able to exert considerable influence and impact at the local level.

In affirmation of his hatred of democracy, Mr. Welch has structured his Society in an un-democratic fashion: The organization is centrally-controlled and tightly run by the Founder himself. Everything operates from the top down; Mr. Welch picks his national organizers for the Society; they report directly to him; chapter leaders report to national, regional or local organizers picked by Mr. Welch or his agents.

The Conspiratorial Outlook

If the authoritarian structure of the Birch organization is elementary, its basic premises are primitive: First, it believes in the conspiratorial theory of history and politics. Conspiracy is always the answer. Second, it believes that the Communist conspiracy has already captured control of most of the world—including the United States—and because it is already victorious here on our shores, battle must be done to recapture the country from the enemy.

That both premises are false is patent and demonstrable.

Perhaps not all Welch followers agree with everything he says. Some Birchites have gone to great lengths to disassociate themselves from his views about General George C. Marshall and other great American leaders he has smeared. They say these views are personal, not organizational. The contention is untenable—because, by his own statements, Welch has made it clear that *he is* the Society—that the Society *is* a monolithic organization in which *he is* the central moving spirit. Any attempt to separate the two fails.

If the Society's members are uneasy or embarrassed by his more sensational views, they nevertheless live in the same political fantasy-land with Mr. Welch. It is a world whose inhabitants assume that there must be solutions that will produce victories on the international scene and will resolve all our domestic problems. If no easy solutions are forthcoming, there must somewhere be a conspiracy preventing it. They see the world around them—the churches, the press, radio and television, the unions—almost all the established institutions in our free society—in the grip of Communist conspirators, or their sympathizers.

Those who disagree with this view are naturally a part of the conspiracy, for there can be no honest basic differences of opinion: you are a Bircher—or you are a Red, or a tool—and this applies to anyone from Republican to left-wing Socialist. Most ridiculous of all, the Birchers view the government itself—and its political leaders—as just another part of the same pack of Communist agents or dupes—few of them to be trusted.

The Communist Parallel

A most striking and significant feature of the Society is that many of its campaigns parallel those of the Soviet Communists. The Society would seek to destroy, among other things, NATO, the United Nations and the vital American system of economic and military aid to underdeveloped countries. These are also precisely the aims of the Soviet Union in its efforts to weaken the United States throughout the world. Let's look at the parallels:

1) NATO: The Soviet would smash NATO so that it could not protect against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe . . . Birch would take U.S. troops out of NATO, making it incapable of protecting against Communist intrusion upon Western Europe.
2) The United Nations: To capture control of it, the Soviet insists upon the right of veto, even in the administration of U.N. work . . . Birch would take the United States out of the U.N., leaving the Soviet in control of it, including administration.
3) Foreign Aid: The Soviet tries to persuade underdeveloped countries to reject American economic and military assistance . . . Birch would withdraw such American assistance from underdeveloped countries.
4) The Communist Menace: The Soviet argues that Communism is not an external threat to the United States . . . Birch argues that Communism is more an internal threat than an external one.
5) The Race Problem: The Soviet would convince Asian and African nations to turn their backs on the United States because of its alleged pro-racist policies . . . Birch would impeach Earl Warren for his anti-racist decisions.
6) Social Justice: The Soviet does not believe in it . . . Birch is oposed to civil rights and the religious gospel of social rights.
7) The Front Organization: The Soviet attempts to use "fronts" as an essential tool in the dissemination of its propaganda in the United States . . . Birch advocates the use of "fronts" as a technique for propaganda purposes.
8) The Communist Party: In the Soviet it is a monolithic, totalitarian movement with no dissent permitted to its followers from the principles laid down by its leader . . . Ditto for the Birch Society.

The reason for the recent appearance of many right-wing organizations on the American scene—and for the success (such as it is) of the Welch movement—is a complex of things: the frustrations of the American people; the troubles we are having with Russia; the problems in Berlin, Laos and Cuba; the American lag in rocketry, long-range missiles, the space race—in short, the cold war. And on the domestic front: high taxes, rising living costs, the integration struggle, and so on. For all these difficulties, the Birch movement offers a single, simple solution—tear down everything that's up.

Welch's organization has no future in America. Eventually, it will go the way of all know-nothing movements. Once its character is completely understood by the American people, the organization is doomed to failure. They will inevitably reject and repudiate it as an unwholesome political growth in American soil. In the nature of things, the United States will eventually evolve adequate and proper remedies for its international and domestic problems. At that point Americans will turn their backs on Robert Welch and his John Birch Society.

Appendix

LEADERSHIP AND STAFF OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

I. Incorporators

Robert Welch, Belmont, Mass.
—President and Treasurer
Marion Probert Welch, Belmont, Mass.
Elen M. Lovett, Cambridge, Mass.
—Clerk or Secretary
Ellen Douglas Snow, Belmont, Mass.
Philip L. Jenkins, Brockton, Mass.
Juliette D. Guild, Hingham, Mass.
Mary M. White, West Concord, Mass.

II. National Council

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr., Boston, Mass.
Thomas J. Anderson, Nashville, Tenn.
T. Coleman Andrews, Richmond, Va.
Spruille Braden, New York City
Col. Laurence E. Bunker, Wellesley, Mass.
F. Gano Chance, Centralia, Missouri
S. J. Conner, Chicago, Ill.
Ralph E. Davis, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. S. M. Draskovich, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Richard Ginder, Pittsburgh, Pa.
William J. Grede, Milwaukee, Wisc.
A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., Knoxville, Tenn.
Dr. Granville F. Knight,
Santa Barbara, Calif.
Fred C. Koch, Wichita, Kansas
Alfred Kohlberg, New York City (Deceased)
Dean Clarence Manion, South Bend, Indiana
Frank E. Masland, Jr., Carlisle, Pa.
N. Floyd McGowin, Chapman, Ala.
W. B. McMillan, St. Louis, Mo.
Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, Urbana, Illinois
Cola G. Parker, Menasha, Wisc.
Hon. M. T. Phelps, Phoenix, Arizona
Louis Ruthenburg, Evansville, Ind.
J. Nelson Shepherd, Sioux Falls, S. D.
James Simpson, Jr., Illinois (Deceased)
Robert W. Stoddard, Worcester, Mass.
Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone, III
(U.S.A.F.Ret.), Calif.
Paul H. Talbert, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Former Members

John T. Beatty, Chicago, Ill.
E. P. Hamilton, Two Rivers, Wisc.
Adolphe Menjou, Calif.
Ernest Swigert, Portland, Oregon

III. Committee of Endorsers

Alabama
Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond

Arizona
Frank Cullen Brophy
Clarence J. Duncan
Mrs. V. M. Haldiman
Edwin McDowell

Arkansas
O. D. Hadfield, Jr.
Mrs. Alfred Lippman, Jr.

California
Frank P. Adams
L. A. Alesen, M.D.
Mrs. Gertrude Derby Bale
Major Gen. Robert Blake
Andrew Brown
Hon. Kit Clardy (Deceased)
William B. Coberly, Jr.
William W. Cone
C. M. Crawford
Richard H. Creel, M.D.
Matt Cvetic
W. R. Fawcett
Mrs. Helen H. Garretson
Francis P. Graves
D. Hanson Grubb
J. H. Harris
Hon. Edgar W. Hiestand
Rev. Francis Kean
Max A. Koffman
D. B. Lewis
Doane M. Lowery
Mrs. Doris A. Parks
Sister M. Margaret Patricia, Ph.D.
Ray M. Spalding

Connecticut
Philip N. Dumbrille
Franklin Farrel, Jr.
Rev. Francis E. Fenton
A. Brooks Harlow
E. Merrill Root
E. L. Wiegand

District of Columbia
Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers
Mrs. John F. Gibson, Jr.
Rear Adm. Paulus P. Powell
Melchior F. R. Savarese, M.D.
Vice Adm. T. G. Settle

Florida
Mr. and Mrs. Frederick S. Ballweg
Mrs. A. Gray Boylston
Thomas Gaskins
Sydney Houston
Lt. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry
Mrs. Florence Post

Georgia
Hugh H. Armstrong
Paul K. McKenney, Jr.
R. Carter Pittman

Hawaii
Mrs. George P. Cooks

Idaho
J. H. Gipson, Sr.

Illinois
George J. Hess, M.D.
W. A. Kates
Theodore W. Miller
Max Pray
W. B. Taylor, Jr.
George H. Williamson

Indiana
James L. Doenges, M.D.
Hugh S. Ramsey, M.D.

Iowa
J. S. Kimmel, Sr.

Kansas
Robert D. Love
Hon. Wint Smith

Kentucky
R. S. Logan

Louisiana
John U. Barr (Deceased)
Dr. Medford Evans

Maryland
George O. Blome
Halsey McGovern

Massachusetts
Eugene H. Clapp
Miss Hope Gray
Hubert W. Kregeloh
Charles J. Lewin
Robert H. Montgomery
Col. W. Bruce Pirnie
Burton A. Prince
Miss Olive Simes
Joseph Sullivan
Rodney Washburn

Michigan
Mrs. Harmon L. Brown
Richard Durant
Irving E. Ingraham
Vernon P. Johnson, M.D.

Mississippi
Tullins Brady

Missouri
William R. Schneider

New Jersey
Mrs. Frederick Griswold, Jr.
Mark M. Jones
Ross Nichols
Louis S. Wegryn, M.D.

New Hampshire
C. B. Robinson

New Mexico
George S. Richardson, M.D.
Lt. Gen. James P. Riseley

New York
Mrs. Kenneth C. Crain
Frank de Ganahl
E. Ainsworth Eyre
Vice Adm. C. S. Freeman
Norman J. Gould
Earl Harding
Merwin K. Hart
Mrs. Seth Milliken
T. I. Parkinson, Jr.
Commodore Frederick G. Reinicke
Archibald E. Roosevelt
George M. Tisdale
Jesse C. Williams

North Carolina
Melick W. Blades
J. C. Peele, M.D.

Ohio
Harold Blacker
Charles W. Pavey, M.D.
Hon. Gordon H. Scherer

Oklahoma
Glenn O. Young

Pennsylvania
Frank W. Gaydosh
Mrs. T. E. Payne

Rhode Island
Robert B. Dresser
Norman D. MacLeod

South Carolina
Roger Milliken
Thomas Parker, M.D.

Tennessee
J. P. McCallie
T. Walker Lewis

Texas
John R. Anderson
Akard Beall
Mrs. W. L. Goldston (resigned)
W. H. Kellogg
Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee
Col. L. E. Limbert
Edward D. McKay, M.D.
J. Nye Ryman
Major Gen. W. G. Weaver
J. O. Webb
Brig. Gen. T. F. Wessels

Utah
Capt. and Mrs. Stephen Abbot
Hon. J. Bracken Lee

Vermont
William S. Schlamm

Virginia
E. S. Dillard
James G. Martin, IV
Matt McKeon
Capt. R. W. Orrell

Washington
P. C. Beezley
Fred M. Harris
Col. Tom R. Hutton
Harry M. Robbins

West Virginia
Luther O. Griffith

Wisconsin
Mrs. Walter K. Graham
Mrs. Robert A. Murray
Mrs. Norman Skogstad

Wyoming
Dan Hanson
A. E. Larson

IV. Headquarters Staff, Belmont, Mass.

Dr. Francis X. Gannon
—Head of Research Dept.
Miss Estelle Hotin
Secretary to head of Research Dept.
James J. Drummey—Research Dept.
Thomas N. Hill—Identified as full-time "correspondence" coordinator.
William Haviland—a coordinator.
Bernard Haffney—a coordinator.
David Breen—a coordinator.
Harold McKinney—Executive assistant to Welch (deals with state coordinators).

V. Field Coordinators

Hugh H. Armstrong, Savannah, Ga.
Leonard Banowitz, Wichita, Kansas
Akard S. Beall, Houston, Texas
P. C. Beezley, Seattle, Wash.
Claude Boring, Florida
Jack Brogdan, Houston, Texas
Harry Browne, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lyle Cashion (Cashin), Houston, Texas
Mrs. Joseph Crosby, South Pasadena, Calif.
Matt Dasinger, Montana
Thomas J. Davis, Stamford, Conn.
Leslie Fleming, Portland, Oregon
Glenn Green, New York City
Joseph Grinnan, Dallas, Texas
David Harmon, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Richard Johnson, Green Bay, Wisc.
Edward Kelley, Michigan
Bob Koenig, Chicago, Ill.
Sanford P. Knapp, Long Island, N. Y.
Brig. Gen. William L. (Jerry) Lee (U.S.A.F.Ret.), Amarillo, Texas
C. O. Mann (Buck McMann), Odessa, Tex.
Chet Merriam, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Kenneth L. Meyers, Wichita, Kansas
Dr. Charles W. Pavey, Columbus, Ohio
H. J. Pierson, Indianapolis, Ind.
Wayd Poag, Memphis, Tenn.
James H. Pound, Tallahassee, Fla.
Don Rueber, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Mrs. Don (Joan) Rueber, Milwaukee, Wisc.
Edmond F. Shoheen, Compton, Calif.
Donald W. Smith, Dallas, Texas
Kent Steffgen, St. Louis, Mo.
Stuart Swenson, Dallas, Texas
Dallas Wales, Shreveport, La.
Tom Wunderlick, Dallas, Texas
Dr. Rob Yeargan, Birmingham, Alabama

Former Field Coordinators
Bryton Barron, Washington, D. C.
Orville Sherwood, Detroit, Mich.

Pagano Goes To Peace Corps

Jules Pagano, education director of the Communications Workers of America, has taken a leave to accept a top assignment with the Peace Corps.

Pagano, a graduate of St. Johns College of Annapolis, Md., has been education director for CWA for the past ten years.

The CWA staffer will begin his new assignment on the New Frontier in mid-January. He will hold the job of Chief, Professional, Technical and Labor Affairs. He will work in the information and recruitment fields with unions and professional and technical groups.

The Peace Corps now has projects in 11 countries, mostly in Latin America and Africa. It has plans in progress for projects in another 11 nations. It has recruited some 1,000 volunteers who are in training or at work in the field. It has received about 16,000 applications.

Peace Corps members receive $75 a month in a lump sum at the end of a two-year enlistment. They are furnished transportation, food, clothing, shelter and pocket money during their training and field work. They work in such fields as education, training, sanitation, agriculture and construction. They have generally been enthusiastically welcomed by host nations and work directly with the people.

The Corps is seeking skilled workers to help impart know-how in construction, equipment maintenance and similar areas. It is looking to organized labor to help fill this requirement.

The Big Money

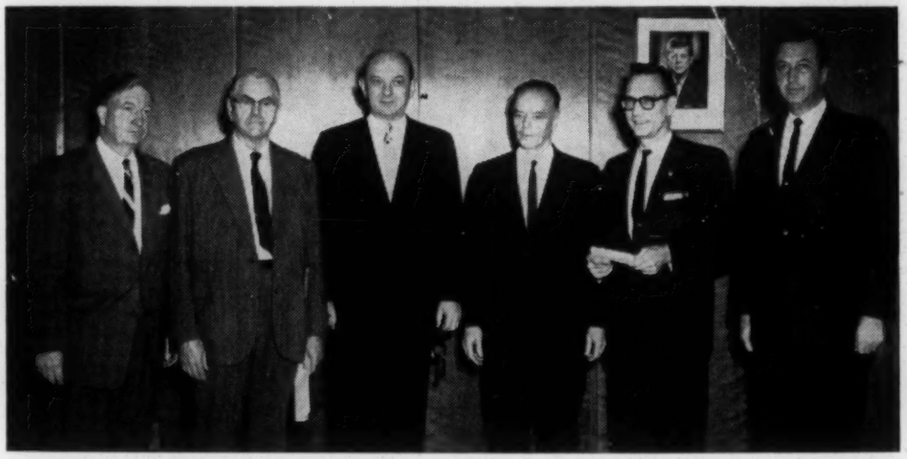
A blurb from *Fortune* magazine, touting a series on personal "investment," tells where the big money really lies.

The publication advises that a profit of $50,000 could have been made with no money down by speculators alert enough to cash in on rumors that the German mark was being revalued last spring.

It also reported that a 25 percent annual return, partly tax free, is being earned by syndication partners owning a New York office building.

And if you had only held soybean futures last spring, you could have multiplied your money thirty times.

What's more, nobody calls the activity inflationary, and at most, profits are generally subject only to a low level capital gains tax.



FOREIGN SERVICE PROGRAM. Union officials serve as public members of the State Department's 1961 Foreign Service Selection Board. Task of the Board is to review personnel files and recommend promotions. Board members included: Andrew Pettis, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers vice-president (far left), and Paul Nagle, Postal Clerks vice-president (fifth from left). Secretary of State Dean Rusk is third from left.

Big Firms Give Financial Aid to Ultra Right Groups

Big money has lined up with the John Birchers and others on the far right, a recent article appearing as one of a series in the *Washington Post* has revealed.

The big money comes in part from corporations which finance radio and TV pickups of far-right events. The federal treasury bears 52 percent of the cost since the companies are able to charge off the funds used as advertising.

In Southern California not long ago, far right forces staged a "Project Alert," allegedly to expose the "menace of internal communism." The rallies—which were chiefly tirades against Kennedy, the income tax, the State Department and Chief Justice Warren—were poorly attended. Nonetheless, they were brought to the living rooms of thousands via telecasts paid for by Southern California Edison, Carnation Milk and Pacific Indemnity Insurance Co.

Earlier, Richfield Oil, Shick Razor and Technicolor Corp. used company funds to pay for a 34 city TV telecast of Dr. Fred C. Schwartz' Christian anti-Communist Crusade rally at the Hollywood Bowl. Dr. Schwartz' "Crusade" has been termed the poor man's John Birch Society.

In California, Attorney General Stanley Mosk is now investigating sources of the militant right's income. He has not yet revealed what he has discovered. The newspaper report on right wing financing, however, states that many "business and banking firms are involved in anti-communism affairs."

Big money financing of ultra-right antics is hardly new. H. L. Hunt, Texas oil millionaire, has long financed Freedom Forum and other right wing propaganda. The use of corporate money for outright sponsorship of right-wing affairs is something new.

Especially in the Southwest, the press also is rallying to the cause of the ultra-right. The *Dallas News* has supported ultra-right causes with vigor. In Phoenix, both papers are owned by Eugene Pulliam who also owns the *Indianapolis Star*. All are anti-labor and openly or covertly support Birch causes. The same is true of the Hearst Los Angeles *Herald Express* and the Omaha *World-Tribune*.

Less frantic elements of the ultra-right under the name of Young Americans for Freedom, are now seeking to invade New York en masse and to fill Madison Square Garden. YAF is looking to the big money men and the well-to-do to buy 1,000 tickets at $25 each and patron's boxes for $250.

Right-wing "youth" has dragged out old Herbert Hoover as a special attraction. Its speakers will include John Dos Passos, far right author who was once identified with Communist causes; General Edwin Walker and far right economist Prof. Ludwig Von Mises. Sen. Thomas Dodd (D., Conn.) is also listed as a speaker. An award will be given Katanga Pres. Moise Tshombe who has resisted the United Nations.

Rad Right gen

2/26/62

Fighters for Freedom

A rally of conservatives in Madison Square Garden March 7 is having a hard time. First, General Walker was dropped from the program, at Senator Goldwater's insistence. Then, Senator Dodd sent his regrets. Finally, the brightest star, Moise Tshombe, won't be there because he has been denied a visa; anyway, his presence might have been embarrassing. Only last week, Mr. Tshombe repeated his charge that the United Nations has intervened in Katanga "for the profit of the United States capitalists."

But the absence that interests us most is that of Sal B. Hoffmann, International President of the Upholsterers International Union. When the Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., appealed to him to support their rally, Mr. Hoffmann declined with an explanation worth quoting at length:

"I am certainly interested in the fight for freedom. . . . For some 80 years my International Union, and for some 42 years I, as an individual union officer in every type of post, paid and unpaid, have battled for freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom from tyranny of arbitrary authority . . . on behalf of the least educated, the lowest paid, the most lowly born of our population, the thousands of industrial workers following my own and my father's trade. For 40 of those years, since their first appearance on the American scene, my Union, like the AFL as a whole, and I have been notable for our recognition and continuous resistance, both in our Union and public life, and now internationally, to the Communists, who, though they frequently speak to us falsely in the name of various freedoms, are freedom's bitterest foes.

"While some of your officers and, presumably, your members also, are too young to have borne any part in this battle against Communism or to even have firsthand experience with this struggle or with fighting off the real article, I have no doubt that your education and advantages in today's America have ensured that you are arrayed with us against these obvious foes of freedom. [But] when I read your program, I find some doubt as to whether your political education has taught you all of the real history of the unfolding of freedom in these United States. With all of the certainty of youth, you assert the superiority, in accord with the genius of the Constitution, of state power as against federal powers. I seem to remember that a hundred years ago it was state powers which guarded and perpetuated the institution of chattel slavery, and that it was federal power alone that destroyed this institution of complete denial of freedom. And, I also remember that federal power alone was able to wipe off the books of the most vociferous of the states now asserting the sacredness of state power, such infamous laws as the Black Codes, which even in 1865, after four years of costly Civil War, still made it a capital offense to teach a black man to read and write.

"As I read my country's history, every major subsequent advance made since the legal extinction of slavery by federal enactment, and aimed to remove its odious remnants in law and practice, has required the use of federal power.

"As a trades unionist, I certainly know that every major advance in my lifetime, in freedom from want and economic oppression of the people who earn their bread with their daily labor, has been by the exercise of federal power, frequently not only at the expense of, but, as in the case of slavery, over the bitter opposition of state powers.

"Before you or most of your members were born, I lived and worked in this country when there was no protection against the arbitrary will of an employer or his foreman, whose power over the economic life of the workmen was so great Chief Justice Taft once declared that the very tone of voice, independent of the words used by the master to his workmen, could constitute intimidation. It was federal power superseding state power that ended virtual industrial serfdom in big industry. . .

"I am certain that your two listed keynote speakers, Senators Goldwater and Tower, do not understand the whole and indivisible nature of the freedom you assert. I have listened and heard them speak only for that portion of freedom which is useful for the already rich, well born, well educated, powerful and comfortable. . . . All of this brings me to inspect your more elderly advisers. At least two of them spent long years forwarding the Communist cause in literature, in teaching and in labor, while organized elements, like my Union and myself, were fighting that Communist offensive, including their part in it. These are high grade intellects and they are properly welcomed back to freedom's side. But they, in all proper humility, might well refrain from lecturing organized labor in such patronizing tones, as John Dos Passos and Dr. Bella Dodd have unpardonably done, to those who only a few years ago were holding the line against the Communists, while Dos Passos and Dr. Dodd, in Communism's era of much greater domestic strength than now, were passing up the ammunition to our Communist foe.

"Captain Eddie Rickenbacker is also on your list. I remember that in the days of the great illusion about Soviet co-belligerency on the part of almost every large section of America, except organized labor, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker came back from a visit to the Soviet Union, with its state-controlled slave trade unions, and publicly praised to the skies the "no-nonsense" treatment of labor in the territory of our "great" Soviet ally as compared with the presumably lily fingered softness to organized labor back here in the USA. I have never heard Mr. Rickenbacker repudiate that wartime nonsense and may be forgiven for doubting if he has ever understood the nature of freedom here, except an anarchic, selfish individual part of it, which is no guide for you and me, any better than he understood what he saw in Soviet Russia in wartime. . .

"I will not send you money, since the men you sponsor as speakers and their supporters didn't seem to need it the last time I looked. I do send you much more valuable advice, and the cost of time, brain sweat and effort to a boy merely educated in tax-supported Philadelphia public schools and the hard college of the labor movement, is so considerable, that I feel like a very generous man.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MAR 19 1962

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

BOYS ON THE RIGHT GET TO WHOOPING IT UP FOR BARRY GOLDWATER AT MADISON SQ. GARDEN

Outside there were pickets, who later gathered in a protest demonstration at St. Nicholas Arena

Rad Right

Thunder from two sides in N. Y.

YAF AT THE GARDEN

By Lawrence Emery

TOTAL ENGAGEMENT until "communism is driven from the face of the earth" was the dominant theme of an enthusiastic rally of more than 18,000 persons who filled New York's Madison Square Garden on March 7 under the auspices of Young Americans for Freedom. The cheering crowd gave an ovation to Sen. Barry Goldwater, who was introduced as "the conservative choice for President in 1964."

But the call to "eliminate the red menace from the earth" was presented as an ultimate goal; the immediate task stressed by most speakers was the removal of the "liberal establishment" which now stands between the ultra-rights and the real enemy. Every mention of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Adlai Stevenson, "the State Dept. boys" and the New York Times was loudly hissed and booed.

'VICTORY' POLICY: Goldwater centered his attack on "radical liberalism" and at one point, departing from his prepared text, said conservatives must "direct their attention to the radical Left who now infest our government."

He said: "The answers which the liberals have given us over the years have been tried and found wanting . . . I suggest that the liberal approach to America's problems has failed miserably in every sphere of activity . . . We are today in a position where only the speedy application of conservative principles can meet the threat . . . [we must] dedicate ourselves once and for all to a policy of victory . . . a policy that will put this country back in an offensive position."

Goldwater called "conservatism . . .

(Continued on Page 8)

Rightist rally

(Continued from Page 1)

the wave of the future" and said the YAF rally "could be a historic hour" because it represented an "astounding truth . . . that conservatism has gained a foothold and is growing rapidly in the metropolitan areas of the nation." He characterized this as "the biggest, most important development on the political front today."

A FEW DISSIDENTS: The young men running the rally—there was only one woman among the 26 speakers—seemed both proud and startled that they had filled the Garden; many confessed that a year ago few would have believed it possible. It was hard to tell how many in the audience were there from curiosity, and there were a few dissidents who from time to time voiced barely audible disapproval. Although it was a youth rally, nearly half the audience seemed old enough to be the parents of those running the show.

YAF itself is only 18 months old and this was its second annual rally to make awards to its heroes for "contributions to the nation and the cause of freedom." There were 11 this year and the one most highly honored wasn't there: Moise Tshombe of the Congo's Katanga Province. He was praised for "his dedication to the basic principles of freedom and his gallant leadership of his people's struggle," and the State Department was roundly booed for opposing his trip here to accept the award. From the balcony came a shout: "Down with Kennedy!"

Tshombe sent a cable complaining that the State Department had employed "ambiguous reasons to deny me a right which has already been granted to the worst enemies of freedom and the West." (The reference was to Premiers Castro and Khrushchev.) Tshombe added: "May that blindness not provoke further catastrophes."

'NO PEACE': Rep. Donald Bruce (R-Ind.), a freshman in Congress, appeared in Tshombe's place and denounced "State Department support of murderous policies of the United Nations in the Congo." "There is no peace" said Bruce, and when he ended with Patrick Henry's lines "Is life so dear . . ." the audience gave him an ovation.

Although the young ultras had staked out their first line of defense in the Congo, it was a white folk's rally. One Negro sat among the honored guests on the platform; none could be seen in the audience.

Herblock in the Washington Post

"I don't like foreigners, but my heart always goes out to the ones that are really loaded."

The rally started on time but before it was half over it was running an hour behind schedule. It was nearly 10:30 when L. Brent Bozell was introduced for a keynote address. He was presented as one of the most brilliant of young conservatives, a one-time speech writer for the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, a present editor of **National Review** and a leading Catholic layman. He saw a "receding liberal tide," said that bomb-testing should not have been stopped in the first place, scorned the paralysis and despair and the lack of a will to win on the part of liberals, called on the faithful to "build a Christian civilization," and said conservatism is "at the threshold of leadership" and must achieve a working political majority.

THE ORDERS: When he went into a long theological analysis of the "failures" of liberalism because of its belief in gnosticism, the huge audience grew restive. Paper planes were sent sailing from the balconies, there were scattered cries of "We want Barry" and at one point a rhythmic clapping threatened to send Bozell from the speaker's stand. But he got his audience back when he went into his peroration, which listed the orders that would go out when the ultras' Great Day came:

"To the Joint Chiefs of Staff: Make the necessary preparations for a landing in Havana.

"To our commander in Berlin: Tear

down the wall.

"To our chief of mission in the Congo: Change sides.

"To the AEC: Test every conceivable nuclear device.

"To the chief of the CIA: You are under instructions to encourage liberation movements in every nation of the world under communist domination, including the Soviet Union itself, until communism is driven from the face of the earth."

'DIXIE' IS THE TUNE: Aided by a brass band and a shower of balloons from the Garden's ceilings, things livened up when Sen. John Tower, the pride of Texas Republicans, was presented. He made the standard warning that the "real threat comes from the liberal establishment," but he got his biggest applause early in his speech when, noting the time, he said: "I'm going to make it brief."

Two Democrats originally scheduled to appear were not present. Ex-Gen. Edwin A. Walker, now Democratic candidate for governor of Texas, had been ruled off the program by Goldwater, whereupon Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) withdrew because he would be outnumbered by Republicans. This gap was filled by Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.), who came to accept an award. Douglas Caddy, national director of YAF, introduced Thurmond and emphasized that he himself was a Republican but "Strom cuts across party lines." He wondered where the nation would be "if not for Strom." The band played "Dixie."

When Thurmond asked the rhetorical questions: "Will our present policies protect freedom and defeat the Marxist forces? Will we win with our existing policies?" the audience responded with thunderous Noes.

POLICY SECRECY: Thurmond charged that the American people were kept in ignorance of their government's foreign policy. To correct this, he announced that "beginning tomorrow [March 8] I will discuss on the floor of the United States Senate the United States foreign policies such as the guidance appears from National Security Council directives."

"The first step to victory," he said, "is the revelation of their own foreign policies to the American people, in order that they, whose liberty is at stake, may judge for themselves whether these policies are designed to win."

Other award winners were:

Herbert Hoover, who declined to interrupt a Florida fishing trip to be present but sent a message to the youth. Eugene Lyons, a senior editor of **Readers Digest** and a biographer of Richard Nixon, accepted the award for Hoover.

Roger Milliken, a textile manufacturer in South Carolina.

Dr. Ludwig von Mises, economist.

John Wayne, movie actor, of whom a YAF leader said: "Bobby forgot the Alamo . . . But John Wayne is a power in the saddle. He will not forget the Alamo. He is Hollywood's answer to communism." Wayne wasn't present but dancer George Murphy appeared for him.

Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey who recently retired as director of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. to devote full time to the promotion of conservative organizations fighting communism.

Dr. Richard Weaver of the English Department of the University of Chicago.

John Dos Passos.

Marvin Liebman, secretary of the American-Jewish League Against Communism. In his acceptance speech, Liebman said that Herbert Hoover, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker and columnist George Sokolsky helped raise the money to start YAF and kept it going.

M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis **News.** He called the Garden rally "the authentic future of the United States."

A prayer for world liberation from communism was offered by the Very Rev. Msgr. Francis Costello, who appeared as the personal representative of Francis Cardinal Spellman. Time (the rally ended at midnight) prevented Dr. Daniel A. Poling from giving a Benediction at its close.

Wilkinson meetings

THE NEW YORK Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has opened a two-week drive to build groups in Congressional districts to influence primary and election campaigns and legislative action when the new Congress convenes in January, 1963. Frank Wilkinson, executive director of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, will open the organizing drive in New York.

Public meetings are scheduled for Sunday, March 18, at Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd. in the Bronx at 2 p.m., admission 50c; and Thursday, March 22, Paprins Restaurant, 60-21 Roosevelt Ave., Woodside, Queens, at 8 p.m., admission 99c.

Wilkinson will undertake similar organizational activities on the West Coast in April and in the mid-West in May.

... the ... expecta-
... of recognition or reward.

Commentary APRIL, 1962

DAVID DANZIG

THE RADICAL RIGHT & THE RISE OF THE FUNDAMENTALIST MINORITY

EARLY IN FEBRUARY of this year a group of leading Protestant ministers and laymen in Dallas, Texas, were invited to form the core of a local chapter of "Christian Citizen," a new national organization whose announced aim is to train Christians in the techniques of practical politics. The founder of Christian Citizen, Mr. Gerri von Frellick (a Denver real estate developer and a Southern Baptist lay leader), spelled out the program of his movement as primarily an educational one whose purpose is to foster Christian principles in the nation's government and to combat "an increasing sense of futility and apathy in America." Qualifications for membership require only that the recruits must "give testimony of their personal experience with Christ" and must "accept the Bible as the infallible word of God." Once having joined, the "Christian Citizen" will be given an extensive training period at the precinct level and then go to work in the political party of his choice. The organization itself, according to von Frellick, will not endorse any candidate or take partisan stands on controversial issues. Appropriate action will be left to the "graduates" who will organize Christians to vote as a bloc and thus "participate effectively in the nation's political life." It is von Frellick's expectation that the movement will eventually become influential enough to "take over a majority of the precincts in this country."

As to actual political objectives, von Frellick has insisted that these are open and unspecified, the ideology of Christian Citizen being that "the democratic process has room for all viewpoints." When questioned about his position on certain key leaders and groups of the much publicized "radical right," von Frellick said that Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade was a "terrific" organization and "doing a fabulous job." He also said that the John Birch Society has "made a tremendous contribution to alerting the American people to the problem of Communism." The main difference which the Denver realtor finds between his organization and these others is that they lack "a positive approach"—whereas Christian Citizen can be "a means of launching an offensive in the ideological struggle with Communism."

Behind the vague and pious slogans, then, what we have here is the most recent formation of a cell nucleus in the growing organism of the extreme right. Christian Citizen also offers a particularly clear example of the relation of the more extreme wing of Protestant fundamentalism to the new ultra-conservative movement—a relationship that has frequently been overlooked or scanted by writers in their haste

DAVID DANZIG's two previous contributions to COMMENTARY, "Christianity in a 'Post-Western' Era" and "The New Map of Christianity" (January and September of 1961) were widely discussed. Mr. Danzig is program director of the American Jewish Committee.

to explain the movement in purely political terms and to find its roots in the same general rightist tendencies that produced the politics of Father Coughlin or of Senator McCarthy or Senator Goldwater, as the case may be. While it is true, of course, that Senator McCarthy is taken by the John Birch Society as its second great martyr, there are some significant differences between McCarthyism and the new radical right—one of the most decisive of which has precisely to do with the connection between this radical right and extreme Protestant fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism, when noticed at all by our popular journals, is usually patronized as a colorful fragment of an older, vanishing way of life. But the truth is that fundamentalism is a growing socio-religious force in America. While its more moderate wing has been attempting to work out a position of "classic orthodoxy" in theology and an over-all *modus vivendi* with liberal Protestantism (particularly of the National Council of Churches variety), its more extreme wing, defined in good part by a belligerent opposition to liberal Protestantism and deep hostility to the NCC, has by no means lost ground. It is only of this latter group that we shall be speaking in the following pages.

Fundamentalism is not a sect or a denomination or a specific church; it is a rigorously orthodox point of view which completely dominates some Protestant denominations and has adherents in many others, including even the Episcopal church. Among its basic doctrines are the inerrancy of the Bible, salvation by faith alone, and the pre-millennial return of Christ. On religious questions, it takes a stand against any attempts at revisionism and modernism. This emphasis upon literalness and purity of doctrine makes the fundamentalist look upon pragmatism in the social world with the same suspiciousness and distaste with which he views revisionism in religious doctrine. His commitment to Biblical prophecy, moreover, results in an anti-historicist perspective which readily supports the conspiracy theory of social change. Given all this, and given the association that came to be developed between the "Protestant ethic" and the ideology of 19th-century capitalism, it is not surprising that fundamentalism should always have had a strong disposition to regard the revisions of this ideology (which were partly inspired by Protestant liberals) as the work of heretics and atheistic radicals, infected with and spreading false doctrines in a conspiratorial manner.*

In fundamentalist eyes, departures from 19th-century capitalism have carried with them the corruption of virtually sanctified socio-economic doctrines and have consequently helped to undermine the Christian society. Thus, the fundamentalist's apocalyptic conception of the world as strictly divided into the saved and the damned, the forces of good and the forces of evil, has readily lent itself to reactionary political uses. Fundamentalism today supports a super-patriotic Americanism; the conflict with Communism is not one of power blocs but of faiths, part of the unending struggle between God and the devil. The danger of Communism, therefore, is from within—from the corrosion of faith by insidious doctrines. That is to say, by "collectivism"—the modern fundamentalist's secular counterpart of atheism.

THE INHERENTLY CONSERVATIVE bent of fundamentalism has been further reinforced in America by regional factors. The fundamentalist population has always been located predominantly in the South, the border states, the Middle West, and in several Western states. It was partly as a spokesman for this population that William Jennings Bryan could talk of the East as "enemy territory," and express

* In his *History of Fundamentalism,* Stewart Cole speaks of fundamentalism as "the organized determination of conservative churchmen to continue the imperialistic culture of historic Protestantism, within an inhospitable civilization dominated by secular interests and a progressive Christian idealism."

their economic plight in the fundamentalist imagery of the "cross of gold" speech. In Bryan, as later in Huey Long, the hatred of finance capitalism, or "Wall Street," by a rural population could produce the reforming spirit of Populism without appreciably liberalizing the impacted prejudices of fundamentalist social attitudes. As H. Richard Niebuhr has said:

> The fundamentalist movement was related in some localities to . . . intense racialism or sectionalism. With them it shared antagonism to changes in the mores which the war [World War I] and its consequences, the rise to power of previously submerged immigrant or racial groups and other social processes, brought forth. The political effectiveness of fundamentalism was due in part to this association and *to the support which it gave to political leaders,* who found in it a powerful symbolism representative of the antagonism of political and economic minorities against the eastern or northern urban industrial majority.

The influence of fundamentalist ideas on the political and social life of these regions is seen in the fact that the states in which the movement predominated were the ones that passed—or nearly passed—statutes forbidding the teaching of evolution in the schools and that first enacted prohibition laws. Similarly, fundamentalism's ancient and unregenerate hostility to Catholicism was in good part responsible for the heavy losses which the Democrat Al Smith suffered in 1928 in these regions.

THE STATES that repudiated Darwinism and Al Smith are today prominent among those nineteen that have passed "Right to Work" laws. Since World War I the social base of fundamentalism has shifted markedly, though few political writers have apparently noticed the shift. Its constituency is no longer mainly made up of sharecroppers and poorly educated villagers. Many fundamentalist churches are modern and imposing, financed by wealthy oilmen from Texas and Oklahoma and prosperous farmers in the wheat and corn belts. Rich and influential lay leaders such as J. Howard Pew and von Frellick now make their influence felt in the power structure of the community and state. The fundamentalists also operate a vast network of colleges, training schools, Bible institutions, Bible prophecy conferences, prayer meetings, and study groups. They have many large publishing houses which blanket small towns with conservative tracts and pamphlets. An increase in Protestant orthodoxy has added members to their churches at a more rapid rate than the liberal churches have been able to show. Though still more numerous in the small sects and local churches such as the Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventists* and among the Southern Baptists, the fundamentalists, in some areas, are also found in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, and to a lesser degree, in the Episcopal and Congregationalist ones. For example, the members of a Congregationalist church in Los Angeles and an Episcopal church in Fort Worth, both cities with powerful fundamentalist traditions, are likely to have a stronger affinity with these traditions than with those practiced by their sister church memberships in the large New England cities.

Population movements, affluence, and mass culture have all, of course, obscured some of the distinct regional features of fundamentalism. But it would be a mistake to view the more prosperous and integrated surfaces of contemporary fundamentalism as indicating any real loss or modification of its identity. Though it has become increasingly middle class, this has not changed its profoundly conservative character, and its vast wealth and growing respectability have mainly served to broaden the base of its traditional antagonism to modern reform capitalism. Its

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* Many of these small sects are affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals which claims a total membership of about ten million.

local and regional character has insulated it from the influence of religious pluralism; still mainly Anglo-Saxon, it has preserved—unlike Catholicism and liberal Protestantism—an ethnic homogeneity that shields it from the liberalizing social adjustments invariably created by contending ethnic interests.

WITH THE CONTINUING world crisis, fundamentalism is finding a new political relevance for its doctrines and an arena in which it can exert its growing influence. As *Christian Century,* the leading organ of liberal Protestantism, observed recently: "Now the fundamentalists have apparently decided that the time has come to break out of their isolation and to contend for the soul of American Protestantism." A special target of theirs has been the National Council of Churches—the citadel of modern Protestantism. On the whole the attacks have come in the rural areas rather than the large cities, by means of local media rather than national. (One exception was an Air Force manual charging that the National Council of Churches was infiltrated by Communism, which had the effect of driving the Fourth Baptist Church of Wichita, Kansas—the largest local church in the Baptist convention—to withdraw from the convention in protest of its affiliation with the Council.) In those regions populated with churches, schools, publishing houses, and study groups that are dominated by fundamentalists, liberal Protestantism has been subjected to an avalanche of bigotry and calumny exceeded in intensity only by the worst period of anti-Catholic propaganda.

In analyzing the motives behind these attacks, Dr. Truman B. Douglas, formerly vice president of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Churches, has explained that "what they really want is to silence the witness of the Church *on all social problems and issues. . . .*" That is to say, on all social issues and problems other than Communism. However, as we began by indicating, the fundamentalist mentality and temperament—in the extreme, unregenerate forms that we are discussing in this article—is unable to view the threat of Russian or Chinese Communism in pragmatic and realistic ways. For the fundamentalist mind the great menace of Communism is less in its military power than in its *doctrines,* and the main threat of these doctrines is not that they operate abroad but at home. Like the "papists" of America who, the fundamentalist continues to believe, have never ceased in their insidious and cunningly concealed attempts to undermine the faith and institutions of Protestant America and to deliver the nation up to Rome, the Communists today are everywhere at work disseminating under such subterfuges as "liberalism" and "middle-of-the-road progressivism" the heretical doctrines of collectivism that are poisoning American faith and subverting its social order. Instead of a puissant and pure Christian America marching resolutely toward its apocalyptic encounter with the Soviet anti-Christ, the nation, drugged with false doctrines and blinded by traitorous leaders, is being carried down the road to appeasement and, eventually, capitulation.

It is not surprising to discover, then, that Robert Welch, who has built his organization to fight a conspiracy which numbers President Eisenhower among its members, should have come from a strong fundamentalist background, or that John Birch himself first prepared for his martyrdom in China by being suspended from college because of the extremist zeal of his fundamentalist activities. Much of the affinity of fundamentalism for what is today called the radical right derives from the attempt to wed Protestant zeal and reactionary animus which developed and took shape during the New Deal years. The leader of one such group, the Christian Freedom Foundation, wrote a diatribe which was titled *The Menace of Roosevelt.* During the same period of the middle

1930's, an organization called Spiritual Mobilization was established "to check the trend toward pagan statism." In coming out of their "isolation," as the *Christain Century* puts it, the fundamentalists are not only "competing for the soul of Protestantism" but are also trying to reassert the traditional cultural and political supremacy of conservative Protestantism. Its leaders—men like the Reverend Billy Joe Hargis, the Reverend Fred C. Schwarz, the Reverend James Fifield—are no less aware than the late Senator McCarthy was of the demagogic possibilities inherent in an anti-Communist crusade. But they enjoy an advantage that McCarthy did not have: a massive potential following which is prepared to accept the belief that a restoration of the influence of the old-time religion must be accompanied by a return to the pre-New Deal era of free enterprise and isolationism if the country is to be purged of its disabling doses of collectivism and internationalism. Thus the fundamentalist movement provides both potent political images and popular support to rally other disaffected Americans of different backgrounds who nonetheless feel that they, as well as the nation as a whole, have been losing power, and who are united not only in their hostility to Communism but in their anti-minority, anti-city, anti-labor, and anti-international attitudes.

THE ELECTION OF A Catholic to the Presidency has signalled the change in America from a Protestant nation with a prevailing Anglo-Saxon tradition to a pluralistic nation with a Protestant tradition. The defeats that the South has been suffering in civil rights mark the demise of white supremacy in its own sectional stronghold. Given current population trends, increasing urbanization, the organizational growth of minority groups, these changes are not likely to be reversed. Not long ago a leading figure in Spiritual Mobilizers, who also heads a large and wealthy Los Angeles church, articulated part of what the fundamentalist position amounts to in socio-ethnic terms when he reportedly said, "We are not going to give the city away to the Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans." Such cities as Houston, Miami, and Los Angeles were always fundamentalist strongholds, but the fact that they are now also centers of rightist politics is at least partly to be explained in terms of local responses to a growing Catholic minority, a growing Jewish community, and rapidly increasing Negro or Spanish-speaking minorities.

While the election of Kennedy reflected a decline in bigotry in some quarters, his campaign stimulated a recrudescence of it in others; and his career as President is likely to provoke an increase in self-consciousness among our religious communities and a heightened awareness of their sources of contention—in other words, it is likely to deepen the pattern of religious pluralism in America even further. The fundamentalists' reaction to the ascendancy of pluralism is double-sided. As Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in the main, they are reacting to the loss of the political dominance that came from their majority position. As *fundamentalist* Protestants, however, they are a particularly fervent and committed religious *minority* and one growing in wealth and numbers and ambition. As such, they are behaving more and more like other important minorities in America—demanding more time and space in the media, and devoting more energy to organizing their constituencies for social and political action. Whatever else may develop, it is abundantly clear that the Protestant fundamentalists have now taken their place among the other distinct groups—the Catholics, liberal Protestants, Jews, Negroes, and secular humanists—that make up the pluralistic socio-religious pattern of America.

In trying to convince the community that America's interest will best be served through their leadership, many fundamentalist religious and lay leaders have been moving into the seats of power which have

opened on the radical right. Insofar as militant anti-Communism today has a socio-religious cast, fundamentalism has replaced Catholicism as the spearhead of the movement.* None of this is to say, of course, that the radical right has become identified with the aspirations of a single group—it would hardly have got off the ground if it had. The radical right cuts across all groups in varying degrees, and no doubt there is still a hard core of Catholic McCarthyites who have followed his sanctified image into the radical right movement. Father John F. Cronin, the author of the pamphlet issued last month by the NCWC attacking the new "extremists of the right," was indeed quoted by the New York *Times* as saying that "quite a few Catholics" belong to the John Birch Society.

BUT SUPPORTERS of Senator McCarthy were, on the whole, a much more variegated and dispersed group than the constituency of the radical right today seems to be. Though many Catholics found in the Senator an expression of their militant anti-Communism, McCarthyism never became a "Catholic movement." It drew the bulk of its support from the traditional "isolationist bloc"—pro-German and anti-British—who had opposed an alliance with Communist Russia against Nazi Germany. McCarthy also had a sizeable following in the large cities, in the national veterans' organizations, and in working-class groups—particularly those with roots in countries now behind the Iron Curtain.

From his famous first speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy clearly played up to the minority groups, who were attracted by his hard anti-Communism, which they saw as posing no threat to the economic gains they had made during the New Deal. For the most part, McCarthy managed to attack New Deal liberalism for allowing itself to be infiltrated by Communists, without directly challenging the policies and practices of reformed capitalism that had been achieved by the Democratic coalition and had come to be supported by the middle-of-the-road consensus in America. Seen in historical perspective, McCarthyism was the final phase in the repudiation of our wartime alliance with Russia; the charges of treason and disloyalty were aimed vengefully by those who had always considered Stalin a greater menace than Hitler against those who had taken the opposite position and engineered the alliance with Russia, and who might therefore be held responsible for the post-war predicaments which had flowed from that alliance. However, McCarthyism was virtually devoid of social and economic content as well as religious inspiration, and so lacked stable bases of local, popular support. With an all but inevitable logic, McCarthy was forced to play out his role in the national arena where his main concerns lay. Once his performance there had been discredited by the changes in international policy that were already in progress when his star appeared on the horizon, and by his unchecked hostility to the Executive branch that was now in the hands of his own party, McCarthy collapsed. And with no further issues and grass-roots support which his followers could exploit, McCarthyism, in effect, collapsed with him.

The radical right, as we have been seeing, is a very different affair, one

* Father Robert A. Graham, among others, has called attention to this change in a recent issue of *America:* "It was not so long ago that Catholics were regarded as the most active foes of Communism. This can no longer be said today. Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's anti-Communist Christian Crusade is of predominantly Baptist inspiration. The National Education Program of Dr. George S. Benson [of the Church of Christ], is another fundamentalist operation. It is no accident that the key centers of the John Birch Society are in the fundamentalist South and Southwest." An even more authoritative indication of the fact that the new radical right does not lean on a predominantly Catholic base is the campaign begun last month by the National Catholic Welfare Conference—the central administrative body of the American Bishops—to discourage participation by Catholics in extreme anti-Communist movements.

with a definite political, economic, and social purpose, and able to capitalize on the growing power of an important religious group which has long felt the denial of its rightful share in shaping the policies of the nation. To be sure, fundamentalist conservatism is today by no means a monolithic ideology. Even as von Frellick was attempting to recruit prominent ministers and lay leaders in Dallas for Christian Citizen, a leader of the Baptist General Convention of Texas was publicly reminding them of the recent recommendation of the Convention that "Baptists . . . exercise caution when asked to support efforts to mobilize Christians into a political power." But despite this recommendation, and despite warnings by other Baptists and moderate fundamentalists, it remains clear that large numbers of fundamentalists *are* being "mobilized" and that their religious and regional conservatism is converting readily into the ideology of the radical right and swelling the chorus of reactionary and apocalyptic voices in the land.

THE MAIN STRENGTH and appeal of fundamentalist conservatism lies in its nativist nationalism. In the "gray atmosphere" of America's tense, cautious international power struggle with the Soviet Union in a nuclear age—an atmosphere made even more troubled by the rise of the minorities within the society—its program of "Americanism" becomes a way of explaining the nation's loss of supremacy and autonomy; it also provides a set of crusading directives for the road to Armageddon that dispels uncertainty and discharges both national tensions and local frustrations. On the international scene, it identifies America's "decline" and the Communist ascendancy with the loss of the West's four-hundred-year monopoly of power and with the passing of Anglo-Saxon dominance. The immense strengthening of America's world position since the war counts for nothing in the light of our failure to assume the world dominance which Great Britain has relinquished. The shock which followed Sputnik has doubtless helped to bring on the somewhat delayed discovery by certain people in the hinterlands that the American century had been lost, just as the Supreme Court decision on desegregation and the election of Kennedy woke many of the same people to the fact that political power in America was also passing out of their hands.

The appeal of the new nativist nationalism, however, need not remain confined to the rabid—as McCarthyism, being a form of revenge politics, necessarily was. The redistribution of power both abroad and at home has disheartened many moderate people—those who gladly might have settled for less than a monopoly if they could be sure that the Russians (and the Chinese) would do likewise, and who might have accepted the claims of the racial, religious, and ethnic minorities (and of labor), so long as these did not encroach upon their own lives, and so long as their own interests continued to be dominantly represented. Feeling that all of this is no longer the case, the nativist segment of the Protestant population becomes a prey of those who would like to replace the pluralistic orientation which has led America to a precarious co-existence by a doctrinaire, chauvinistic Americanism seeking to achieve a *"Pax Americana."* In Protestant fundamentalism, imbued with nationalism—not unlike the case of pre-World War II German Lutheranism—many formerly moderate people find a powerful rationale and symbolism for this complex of attitudes. The practical program to support the "Americanist" effort in foreign affairs has the further attraction of asking for the abolition of the welfare state, which the Protestants in question see as benefiting mainly the minorities whose rise to prominence has begun to threaten their control within the society and reshape their America in a different image. Thus they are susceptible to a program which by calling for a return to a 19th-century type of capi-

talism and an end to collaboration with our allies on an equal basis, will bring into power those native groups who can restore their traditional position in the scheme of things. It is on such anxieties and impulses that the radical right has battened.

Whoever has taken the radical right as amounting to nothing more than the fulminations of a few crackpots, or the temporary prominence of the lunatic fringe achieved mainly by publicity, would do well to ponder the matter further. More thought had better be taken, also, by those who have concluded that since the radical right is unlikely to take over America, it can be disregarded as a growing power bloc and a potential influence for harm.

WHILE IT IS PROBABLY true that the new-found strength of reactionary ideas cannot be said to indicate a turn toward conservatism in the population at large, it does seem to indicate that American conservatism is being pulled to the right. This in itself represents a gain for the ultras. But what gives them an even greater potentiality for influence is the fact that they operate at the local and state levels, where a minimum of pressure can exert a maximum of effect, and where there is no necessity for taking the risk of an all-or-nothing gamble—as McCarthy, working at the national level only, was forced to do. This does not mean that the new ultras are interested only in local affairs. On the contrary, as a distinct and now politically self-conscious minority within the pluralistic pattern, they are demanding a greater voice in the shaping of national policy, which they hope to achieve through a strategy of interlocking local pressures. (The effectiveness of such a strategy can be seen from the enormous amount of attention Manager Mitchell attracted through his attack on public welfare programs in the city of Newburgh; a similar attack in Congress would probably have fallen flat.)

So far as foreign policy is concerned, there is even an advantage to the ultras in being an out-of-power faction: they can conduct their programs with wild irresponsibility, blanketing the country with small undercover cells, repressing free discussion, and imposing a doctrinaire conformity. The effect of all this is to reduce the government's opportunities for a flexible handling of delicate problems such as we now face in Germany, in the UN, in Africa. Perhaps most important of all, the ultras make it very difficult for the country to dissociate itself from the imperialism and white supremacy in which the Anglo-Saxon world has figured so prominently in the past. It is ironic, if not yet tragic, that having more or less united the Western world around the belief that the best way to oppose Communism is through the promotion of social reform and the development of international pluralism, America should now be the scene of a nativist movement which would substitute for this idea a belligerent nationalism, one whose socio-religious mystique is not very different from that with which certain European nations recently experimented and in so disastrous a fashion.

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• FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

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REV. BILLY JAMES HARGIS: THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

In the growing complex of self-appointed America-savers, self-styled experts on Communism and money-minded crusaders which comprise the so-called "radical right" in American life, Dr. Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade rank among the most zealous, the most energetic and the fastest blooming.

Hargis, who operates his Crusade out of Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been claiming to fight communism by radio and from the pulpit for about ten years, but only in the last five has he sky-rocketed to a position of major importance on the radical right. This fall his message will "go national" via the Mutual Radio Network.

Today, Hargis' claimed budget for 1962 is $1,250,000 a quarter-imllion increase from his reported budget for 1961. He broadcasts some 400 programs a week over 200 radio stations in 46 states and over some dozen TV outlets covering some 20 states.

Radical Right-Wing Ideology

There is little doubt that the propaganda line that pours forth from Hargis and his Tulsa headquarters is orthodox radical right-wing ideology. It proclaims that the national government, and the nation's churches, clergy, press, schools, colleges, and labor unions are controlled or strongly influenced by Communists, their tools or their agents. So is the U. S. Supreme Court which, in its recent rulings, has aided the Communist conspiracy, and so is the U.N. At least, so the radical right would have us believe.

In addition to his broadcasts, Hargis pours forth his extremism in a weekly newspaper column, and in articles, sermons, tape recordings, TV films, books, tracts and pamphlets available from Christian Crusade headquarters in a downtown Tulsa office building. (Plans have been underway for the construction of a new $500,000 Crusade headquarters on a piece of property in Tulsa purchased in 1960).

Hargis also purveys the standard radical right-wing line at the numerous rallies he stages in various parts of the country—but mostly in the South, Southwest and Far West. He travels to these rallies in a luxurious "land-cruiser"—a converted Greyhound bus refitted to include living quarters, a drawing room, an office, baths and a recording studio. The land-cruiser was converted at a reported cost of $50,000 and is being paid off at the rate of about $800 a month—but Hargis is a big man and spends money in a big way.

He is on the road some 20 days each month peddling his right-wing extremism in emotional and evangelical tones.

The chapter headings of Hargis latest book—"A Communist America—Must It Be?" give the flavor of his propaganda pitch:

"Communism, Its Founder and Its Objectives; A Bird's Eye View of Treason; America—Marked for Conquest; A Free Press—Leading America Leftward; The Faith of our Fathers; Patriotism—Once Revered, Now Smeared; Communist Influence in American Schools; Communism and the Labor Unions; The Suicidal Folly of American Business; Communism and Racial Tension; A Supreme Court Against America; United Nations—Greatest Hoax Ever Perpetrated on the American Public; Fantastic Foreign Aid; Communism and the National Council of Churches; Christ, The Great Destroyer."

Million-Dollar-a-Year Operation

While Robert Welch and the John Birch Society are ahead of Hargis in volume of national notoriety, the Tulsa evangelist's Christian Crusade ranks along with the Society as a million-dollar-a-year operation, and may

even be ahead in terms of grass-roots impact. While Welch's membership is estimated at about 60,000, Hargis claims the Crusade has more than 100,000 repeating contributors, that his monthly magazine goes to 110,000 and that it is actually seen by 500,000.

In any event, Hargis and the Christian Crusade today are a major force on the "radical right" and the rotund preacher shows increasing evidence of wanting to branch out. Besides his projected nationwide broadcasts, he has announced plans to boost his following ten-fold—to a million—and to launch a campus drive to enlist the support of collegians and save America's college youth from alleged Communist influences.

In addition, Hargis recently took the lead in calling a conference of rightist groups in Washington, D.C. with the stated aim of trying to achieve some coordination in the activities of a large number of such organizations. Included in the goals Hargis announced for the Washington conclave was the election of conservatives—regardless of party—to the U.S. Congress.

Hargis claimed he took the initiative in calling the Washington conference and that he paid for it out of his own pocket, as an individual, and not as the founder and director of the Christian Crusade. This may well have been a maneuver to protect the tax-exempt status of the Crusade because of the political overtones of the meeting in Washington.

Press reports of the number of Senators and Representatives invited to attend the Washington get-together ranged from ten all the way up to 35 or 50. Two attended. One of them was Rep. John Rousselot, Republican of California, an admitted member of the John Birch Society who is also a member of the Christian Crusade Advisory Committee. The other was Rep. E. Y. Berry, Republican of South Dakota. Both spoke at the Washington meeting.

Newsmen Barred From Meeting

Although newspaper reporters and other media were barred from the closed-door conference, Hargis briefed the press afterwards. About 100 leaders representing some 75 rightist groups, he said, had attended the parley, held in the Washington Hotel. Those who attended, according to Hargis, set themselves up as a "coordinating committee" which would meet again in June.

Five men were chosen, Hargis said, to serve as a "steering committee." Several of those he named were fairly well known personalities in rightist activity. Edward Hunter, journalist and author who is regarded by rightists as an expert on Communist brainwashing, is serving as chairman.

Serving with him are retired Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, national chairman of "For America" and identified with a baker's dozen of super-patriotic and rightist groups; retired Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, a member of the Christian Crusade National Advisory Committee, ex military editor of the "American Mercury" magazine, and now editor of the Foreign Intelligence Digest section of Hargis' "Weekly Crusader"; Benjamin Gitlow, long ago a top-ranking Communist and now identified with right-wing activity; and Rep. Rousselot.

Groups Represented

Among the groups identified in the press as having been represented at the Washington meeting were the Daughters of the American Revolution; the John Birch Society; the National Indignation Convention; We The People (of which Hargis is national chairman); For America; Right to Work National Committee; Young Americans for Freedom; American Society of Physicians and Surgeons; American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; Citizens Foreign Aid Committee; Liberty Lobby; the American Free Enterprise Assn.; and the Manion Forum.

The American Legion was also identified in the press as having been represented, but other reports said that Legion national headquarters denied having authorized anyone to represent the veterans' group in an official capacity.

As broad program goals, the Washington parley called for 1) support of efforts to get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S. 2) pressure on U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy to force members of the Communist Party to register under the law, or to prosecute them; and 3) encouragement of courses on constitutional government in the public schools, especially at the high school level.

Exactly what Hargis got out of the conference—or what he hoped to achieve beyond his stated aim of sparking some coordination on the right—is a mater for speculation. One fact is clear; the Washington parley was Hargis' most ambitious venture so far into the national ultra-rightist arena.

FACTS

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Domestic report issues of Facts are edited by Milton Ellerin, director of The Fact Finding Dept. Special acknowledgement to Jerome Bakst for research and editorial assistance in preparation of this report.

Besides the organizations named as having been represented at the Washington conclave called by Hargis, there were also some interesting individuals present. Hargis, for instance, has disavowed Gerald L.K. Smith, dean of anti-Semitic rabble-rousers in the U.S., and has said he wants nothing to do with Smith.

This did not, however, prevent Mrs. Opal Tanner White, Smith's long-time colleague and assistant, from attending the Hargis-sponsored meeting in Washigton. Since admission to the gathering was by invitation only, and since credentials were carefully examined at the door, it can only be assumed that Hargis or his aides blundered by inviting Mrs. White, that she got in without an invitation, that Hargis didn't know who Mrs. White was and what her links were with Smith, or that Hargis knew all about Mrs. White, but didn't care.

Similar questions might be raised about a young man who reportedly said he represented the Nationalist Party of New York, (a gutter-type, anti-Semitic group of young men who hate Jews), and about Willis A. Carto of the Liberty Lobby, an associate of anti-Semites and until 1960 the operator of an anti-Semitic newsletter called "RIGHT".

Hargis' Career

Hargis is an evangelistic preacher who has, with some astute commercial public relations and promotional help, built his Christian Crusade into an operation with a 1962 seven-figure budget. He is dedicated to fighting alleged Communist influences in American life, as well as Liberalism in religion and political affairs. Hargis views Liberalism as posing as serious a danger to America as Communism—and he says so.

Along with the John Birch Society, the National Education Program of Harding College, and the National Indignation Convention, Hargis' Christian Crusade is —today—among the three or four most important organizations on the ultra-right. In his literature and publications, Hargis calls the Christian Crusade "America's largest anti-Communist organization."

Whether the claim is true—or prideful exaggeration—the plain fact is that the Hargis operation has grown with phenomenal rapidity in the last few years. It is a far cry from the small operation of 1951, which Hargis incorporated in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, as Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc.—changed in 1952 to the Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc., which is still the official corporate name of the Crusade.

A rotund, youngish man of 36, who weighs about 250 pounds, Hargis operates with tremendous energy and drive.

Hargis was born in Texarkana, Texas, in 1925. He graduated from Texarkana High School. He then enrolled in Ozark Bible College, Bentonville, Ark., (a small institution with 20 students, no longer in existence) and was ordained a minister in the Disciples of Christ denomination at the age of 18.

[The Disciples of Christ and the Christian Church denominations merged a few years ago. With respect to Hargis' affiliation with the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ), Dr. Gaines M. Cook, executive secretary of the Convention had this to say:

"Mr. Hargis' name has not been listed since our 1958 Year Book was published inasmuch as he no longer serves a congregation connected with the International Convention of Christian Churches, nor any agency affiliated with us. We understand that he is now engaged in a private enterprise which has no connection whatsoever with the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)."]

Hargis assumed his first pastorate at Sallisaw, Oklahoma. Later he served at Granby, Missouri (near Joplin), and then arrived in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, where he was a pastor until 1950. In that year, he states, he resigned to direct his anti-Communist activities.

His Christian Echoes Ministry was incorporated the following year.

In an odd sequence of educational progression, Hargis received a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1954 from Defender Seminary (Puerto Rico), and then went on to a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1956 and a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1958 from Burton College and Seminary, Manitou, Colorado, near Colorado Springs. In 1957, Hargis received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Belin Memorial University, then located at Chillicothe, Missouri, but now located at Manassas, Virginia. And in 1961, the Founder and director of the Christian Crusade received another honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Bob Jones University, Greenville, S.C. Hargis has for some years enjoyed a friendly relationship with Bob Jones Sr. and Bob Jones Jr., founder and President respectively, of Bob Jones University.

It is perhaps pertinent to note that Burton College, from which Hargis received his Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Theology degrees, is listed by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a "degree mill." The Department defines a "degree mill" as "an organization that awards degrees without requiring its students to meet educational standards for such degrees established and traditionally followed by reputable educational institutions."

It is also pertinent to note that Belin Memorial University, too, is listed by the Department as a "degree mill." Dr. Clyde Belin, president of the school, was indicted by a Federal grand jury in Kansas City on June 25, 1959 on six counts of using the mails to defraud. He pleaded *nolo contendere* and was sentenced on Sept. 16, 1959 to a one-year term in Federal Prison, Terre Haute, Ind.

At its new location in Virginia, Belin has a new President but is still listed as a "degree mill."

As for Defender Seminary in Puerto Rico, from which Hargis received his Doctor of Divinity degree, that was an enterprise of the late Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, a notorious anti-Semite of the 1940's, whose bigotry earned him the dubious title of "Jayhawk Nazi."

Hargis, His Crusade and Anti-Semitism

While Hargis and the Christian Crusade do not peddle anti-Semitism, Hargis himself has acknowledged the debt he owes to the late Winrod. Hargis wrote that he once called on Winrod for help and guidance to begin a radio crusade against communism. "Dr. Winrod," Hargis reported in the October, 1959, "Christian Crusade" magazine, "explained the operations of an office and the use of letters to underwrite the cost of such an expensive operation."

Articles and letters by Hargis appeared on a number of occasions in Winrod's anti-Semitic magazine, "The Defender." The November, 1954, issue of Winrod's hate sheet, for instance, reprinted a letter in Winrod's behalf by Hargis to Robert E. Lee of the Federal Communications Commission. In it, Hargis asked that Winrod be permitted to broadcast over local radio stations. Hargis asked Lee to stop the persecution and boycott allegedly being suffered by Winrod at the hands of local radio station owners.

In his letter to Lee, Hargis wrote, in part:

"In my years as a Radio Pastor I have learned to know and love many religious leaders on radio. I have great respect for these men. One of the Radio Pastors I have appreciated because of his sincere and inspiring Christian programs is Dr. Gerald B. Winrod of Wichita, Kansas..."

Hargis added that he was writing to Lee "without Dr. Winrod's knowledge or approval..."

Another to whom Hargis paid tribute, and with whom he cooperated in the past, was the late Rev. E. F. Webber of Oklahoma City, former pastor of the Calvary Tabernacle in that city. Webber was a former associate of Winrod's, and conducted the Southwest Radio Church of the Air. As late as September, 1956, a magazine, called "Truth," published by Webber, was carrying articles by such notorious anti-Semites as Don Bell, George Deatherage and Rev. Bob Shuler, Sr. Shuler for many years edited the now-defunct "Methodist Challenge" and was a notorious bigot and friend of Gerald L. K. Smith. In 1958, Hargis and Webber jointly staged a series of "one-day crusades" in six Texas cities—billed as "The 'Texas Tour' for Christian Americanism." When Webber died in 1959 at the age of 65, Hargis wrote a tribute to him in "Christian Crusade" magazine and acknowledged the help he had received from Webber, as well as from Winrod.

Hargis has also been involved in the promotion of magazines and literature from a few sources that can hardly be called untainted.

At the time of the Little Rock desegregation crisis, Hargis sent out a leaflet to his followers, offering for sale—at $1 a copy—a pamphlet called "The Lowdown on Little Rock" which, he said, he had reviewed in his radio broadcasts. The author of the pamphlet was Joseph P. Kamp, a long-time extremist pamphleteer, many of whose efforts have been replete with ill-concealed anti-Semitic innuendo.

After his broadcasts mentioning the Kamp pamphlet on Little Rock, Hargis indicated that he had managed to get copies in response to requests by thousands of his listeners. "We are proud," he added in his plug for Kamp, "to send you a copy..."

Kamp and Winrod are not the only members of the anti-Semitic fringe upon whom Hargis apparently has relied over the years. He also promoted the "American Mercury" magazine at a time when the once great name in American magazine journalism was serving as an outlet for blatant anti-Semitism.

The December, 1956 issue of Hargis' "Christian Crusade" published a report on a meeting between Hargis and the then publisher of the "American Mercury"—at which, the article said, they reportedly agreed to exchange articles and to offer a special rate for subscriptions to both "Christian Crusade" and the "American Mercury." In a New York television interview, Hargis acknowledged the exchange of articles and the cooperation between his organization and the "American Mercury." A subsequent flyer, issued from Hargis hedquarters, offered—for $5—one-year subscriptions to the two magazines, five back issues of "American Mercury" and a series of 25 so-called "Mercury Reprints." In his flyer, Hargis praised the "American Mercury" magazine.

(The "American Mercury" was sold by its publisher in January 1961 and was taken over by Defenders of the Christian Faith Inc., the late Gerald Winrod's organization. While it now reflects a Fundamentalist and ultra-rightist viewpoint which puts it close to the American radical right, it no longer disseminates anti-Semitism.)

Hargis' Odd Connections

There are a number of other odd connections between Hargis and individuals who have been identified with anti-Semitic activity:

- Ed Hill of Tulsa, Oklahoma, is listed by Hargis as a trustee of the Christian Crusade. Ed Hill of Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been listed by Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious anti-Jewish rabble-rouser, as a financial contributor to Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, Los Angeles, California, for the years 1952 to 1956 inclusive, and 1958 through 1960 inclusive. The total Smith says Hill contributed to his activity in those years was $5,077, his yearly contributions ranging from $520 in 1952 to $745 in 1953—and averaging $634 a year.

- Allen Zoll, a notorious anti-Semite who once headed an or-

ganization called American Patriots Inc., listed as subversive by the U.S. Attorney General, was identified as a staff member of the Hargis Christian Crusade for a few months during 1961. Hargis' magazine also reported that Zoll's files had been acquired by the Christian Crusade, and termed them "priceless"—although the same article fixed their value at $50,000. Asking his flock to contribute towards the $2,400 cost of shipping the files to Tulsa, Hargis said they had been started in 1919, and contained "the names of thousands of clergymen and educatores who have chosen to affiliate with communist front organizations over the years..."

Hargis did not tell his readers anything about Zoll's history as a long-time anti-Semite, nor did he disclose the fact that one of Zoll's organizations was included on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. It is not known whether Hargis was unaware of Zoll's lurid history as a bigot, or whether he knew, and chose to ignore it, withholding the information from his followers. In any event, the Zoll episode tends to suggest that Hargis and his organization may well share a malady of those on the radical right—a lack of awareness, a lack of alertness or a lack of concern about anti-Semitism.

All sorts of similar oddities turn up when one examines the names of other persons with whom Hargis has had relationships of one kind or another, over the years, or who may have graced his platform as speakers before Christian Crusade audiences.

● Willis Carto: Now an official of a right-wing group called "Liberty Lobby," with offices in Washington, D.C., Carto was a featured speaker at a major Christian Crusade convention held in Tulsa in August, 1961. From 1955 to 1960, Carto was executive secretary of a San Francisco organization called "Liberty and Property" which published a periodical called "RIGHT"—a newsletter which purported to be an organ of conservative views and opinion, but which increasingly became a clearing house for information regarding the activities of anti-Semites, and a vehicle for the dissemination of blatant anti-Semitism. Carto was in touch with a number of notorious anti-Semites during his period as executive secretary of "Liberty and Property" and plugged their work and their literature on frequent occasions. The blatant anti-Semitism in the publication "RIGHT"—plus Carto's contacts with known anti-Semites—placed him close to, if not actually inside, the extremist, anti-Semitic fringe of American life during the years 1955 to 1960. For a short time, during 1959, Carto was employed by Robert Welch of the John Birch Society.

● Wickliffe Vennard, Houston, Texas: Manager of an insurance company in Houston, Vennard holds to the view that the Federal Reserve System is the cause of most of the evil in the world generally and in the United States in particular. Vennard's "revelations" about the power and influence of the Federal Reserve System are generously salted with anti-Semitic innuendo and open charges of an anti-Semitic nature. As early as 1954, he distributed a 15-page document in which arguments in favor of an extreme isolationism were spiced with references to "a small minority" that "fomented and financed the Russian Revolution" and which "furnished advisers to our Presidents," etc. Another document by Vennard declared that in the past and now "our enemy was and is within—the international Zionists who have steered our ship of state from Wall Street by means of money control." In "The Federal Reserve Corporation," Vennard apologizes for Hitler's Nazis, and defends Hitler who was, he says, "forced... into power to chase the money changers from the temple..." As "documentary evidence," Vennard cites the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" and charges that "Jews from Eastern Europe have set up an underhanded scheme for world control."

In August, 1957, Vennard's book on the Federal Reserve was plugged by Hargis and the Christian Crusade via a letter offering it to those who would promptly send contributions to the work of the Christian Crusade. In his signed plug, Hargis called the Vennard book "truly monumental" and "dynamic," and described Vennard as "a dear and trusted friend of Christian Crusade." On one occasion, in response to a request that he recommend literature, Vennard suggested that his inquirer read "Don Bell Reports" —a notorious anti-Semitic publication—which Vennard himself had, in his book, shown evidence of having read.

● W. L. Foster, Tulsa, Oklahoma: Until his death last August, Walter Lee Foster of Tulsa was a long-time friend and associate of Hargis. A cover picture in the March, 1960, issue of "Christian Crusade" magazine shows a group that includes Foster, who is identified by the magazine itself as "Dr. Hargis' business advisor." The picture was taken on the occasion of the purchase of a tract of real estate in Tulsa for the new Christian Crusade headquarters. On page 18 of the same issue, an article on the purchase contained the following paragraph:

> "The purchase of the property for Christian Crusade was handled by one of our loyal Tulsa Crusaders and a true Christian patriot, Dr. W. L. Foster. Dr. Foster is well-known in local banking and investment circles, and has served for several years as Chief Business Counselor for Christian Crusade. It was largely through his vision and alertness that we were able to secure this property at a real bargain price."

When Foster died last August, the September issue of "Christian Crusade" carried a black-bordered box relaying the news to the magazine's readers. That box identified Foster as business and financial consultant to the Crusade, and a close personal friend of Hargis. It said that Foster's widow has asked that, in lieu of floral tributes, donations be sent instead to the Christian Crusade.

The Christian Crusade was not the late Mr. Foster's only interest. Reports filed by Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade show Foster to have been a contributor to Smith's operation in 1952, 1954, and 1959, when he gave amonts of $125, $115 and $105 to the West Coast anti-Semitic rabble-rouser.

Foster also served for some time as chairman of the U.S. Day Committee, with headquarters in Tulsa, which was set up to oppose U.N. Day, and in which Merwin K. Hart, a long-time anti-Semite, was one of the main and moving spirits.

Foster was active in a long list of ultra-rightist organizations, such as the Congress of Freedom, and "We The People" of which he was a regional leader in Oklahoma. He was also a member of the National Board of Fellows of the Freedom School in Colorado and of the temporary Advisory Board of Carto's "Liberty Lobby" operation.

At the 1959 "We The People" convention in Chicago, Foster was observed together with Opal Tanner White, Gerald L. K. Smith's long-time colleague in the Christian Nationalist Crusade, and Elizabeth Dilling, a notorious anti-Semite for more than 20 years.

News of Foster's passing was solemnly recorded in such known anti-Semitic publications as Smith's "The Cross and the Flag," Conde McGinley's "Common Sense," and Merwin K. Hart's "Economic Council Letter."

● Retired Marine Corps Lt. Gen. Pedro A. Del Valle has in the past been listed officially by Hargis and the Christian Crusade as a member of the Crusade's National Advisory Committee, although his name does not appear in more recent listings. Del Valle is an anti-Semite, whose record of bigotry goes back more than a decade to the time in 1950 when he publicly endorsed a blatant anti-Semitic pamphlet authored by one Robert H. Williams, a leading anti-Jewish hate peddler of the 1950's, who is no longer active as a propagandist. In 1952, Del Valle addressed a letter to the delegates at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, urging them to read carefully the June, 1952, issue of "Williams Intelligence Summary," an anti-Jewish periodical, now defunct, which Williams published for a number of years. In the June, 1952, issue, Williams characterized General Eisenhower as a dupe of "Zionists and Communists."

Del Valle also has a long-standing close relationship with Merwin

K. Hart, and the National Economic Council. For more than ten years, Del Valle has been an officer of the Hart organization, and at present is listed as one of its vice-presidents.

Del Valle, over the years, has lent his name to a number of extreme right-wing organizations, such as W. L. Foster's U.S. Day Committee, Carto's former organization (called "Liberty and Property" which published "RIGHT"), and has for some years headed up a group called "Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc."

A year or two ago, his name was listed as a member of the Advisory Committee of the newly-formed "Committee on Pan-American Policy" whose president was Harold Lord Varney.

● Harold Lord Varney was associated in the 1930's with Joseph P. Kamp and Lawrence Dennis (author of a book called "The Coming American Fascism") in the publication of a sheet called "The Awakener." During the 1950's, he served as an editor of "The American Mercury" magazine. This was the period during which the "Mercury" had become a vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitism. Allen Zoll (see above) shared offices in Washington, in 1960, with Varney's Committee on Pan-American Policy. Varney, in turn, was listed as a member of the Board of Governors of a group called the Federation of Conservatives, set up in 1960 by Zoll. (Zoll's group also listed Del Valle on its Board of Governors.)

Bible-Balloon Campaign

Hargis first attracted attention in 1953 when his name was identified with an international Bible-balloon campaign, whereby Bibles printed in Russian were attached to balloons and were floated across the Iron Curtain from launching "pads" in West Germany. Launchings were carried out each year from 1953 through 1957. The operation was set up under the auspices of the International Council of Christian Churches, a group of fundamentalist denominations whose leader for some time has been the Rev. Carl McIntire, well-known in the past for his anti-Catholic sentiments. The ICCC also has an American branch called the American Council of Christian Churches, in which Hargis has been active with McIntire.

It was, in fact, McIntire who gave Hargis an early boost by naming him to head up the Bible-balloon project. Their friendly relationship apparently continues; an article by McIntire appeared on page 9 of the September, 1961, issue of Hargis' "Christian Crusade" magazine.

The ACCC, in which McIntire and Hargis are active, along with such other preachers as Harvey Springer of Englewood, Colorado (a violent anti-Catholic known as the "Cowboy Evangelist,") has for years carried on a war of words with the larger and more influential National Council of Churches.

The ACCC and its leaders have charged the NCC with "modernism"—and worse, with being infiltrated by Communists and with doing the work of the Communist conspiracy. This is a line which Hargis has peddled continuously in his speeches, publications and sermons. Today, he is one of the foremost purveyors of these charges.

As far back as 1954, Springer's publication "Western Voice"—which serves as a vehicle for Springer's special brand of bigotry—published several articles by Hargis attacking "modernism," "liberalism" and communism in the churches, especially those associated with the NCC.

In 1960, Hargis made newspaper headlines when he revealed himself as the source of material alleging communist infiltration of the nation's churches which had appeared in a manual prepared for Air Force Reserve officers. Following the outburst of national indignation provoked by the circulation of these charges in a Defense Department publication, the Pentagon withdrew the manual and apologized to the National Council of Churches.

Hargis on Brotherhood

While Hargis has disavowed such a notorious bigot as Gerald L. K. Smith, and has expressed concern over Harvey Springer's anti-Catholicism, these apparently firm stands have not prevented the Tulsa evangelist from declaring publicly that the concept of Brotherhood is an un-Christian idea, being promoted by "modernists."

Here's how Hargis put it in the January, 1961, issue of "Christian Crusade, in an article which was headlined "Brotherhood of Man—A Smoke Screen." In the article, Hargis said in part:

> "No, my friends, brotherhood of all men is not a Christian concept; it is unchristian and even anti-christian. Modernist destroyers of the faith are on thin ice when they promote this false theory. Purpose of a Christian believer should not be to compromise the Christian faith in the interests of so-called brotherhood, but to bring men repentance of their sins and acceptance of Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour. Those who would water the Christian faith down into an all-inclusive religion of togetherness would destroy the truth of our Lord and Saviour."

It would appear that in the eyes of Dr. Hargis, the instruction that "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself" is not part of the truth which Jesus imparted in his teachings.

Hargis and the Birch Society

In the picture he paints of the United States in the process of being taken over—in all facets of its national life—by Communists and Communistic influences, Hargis parallels in large measure the image of America reflected by Founder Robert Welch of the John Birch Society. But while Welch's tone is secular, Hargis' strident preachments are replete with the religious evangelism and fundamentalism that are part of his own background.

The fact is, nevertheless, that a friendly relationship exists between Hargis and his Christian Crusade and Welch and his John Birch Society.

A list of the National Advisory Committee of Hargis' Christian Crusade, circulated in November, 1961, is literally loaded with the names of personalities prominent in the John Birch Society.

Seven members of the John Birch Society National Council are members of the Crusade's National Advisory

Committee. They are: Tom Anderson of Tennessee; Col. Laurence Bunker of Massachusetts; F. Gano Chance of Missouri; Fred C. Koch of Kansas; Dean Clarence Manion of Indiana; Professor Revilo C. Oliver of Illinois, and Hon. M. T. Phelps of Arizona.

In addition, a number of persons listed as members of the John Birch Society Committee of Endorsers in the various states are members of the Crusade's National Advisory Committee. They are: Matt Cvetic and D. B. Lewis of California; Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers of Washington, D.C.; Lt. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry of Florida; J. H. Gipson Sr. of Idaho; Hugh S. Ramsey, M.D. of Indiana; Hon. Wint Smith of Kansas; Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee of Texas; and the Hon. J. Bracken Lee of Utah.

Until his death, the late Kit Clardy, a former member of Congress, also served on both the Christian Crusade's National Advisory Committee and the John Birch Society Committee of Endorsers for the State of California.

Welch and Hargis also praise each other's literature. But perhaps the best evidence of the friendly cooperation between Hargis and Welch was the Third Annual Convention of the Christian Crusade, staged August 4-6, 1961 in Tulsa.

No less than five top personalities of the John Birch Society graced Hargis' platform at that convention—Welch, Anderson, Bunker, Koch and Manion.

Welch and Hargis also are ideologically comparable because neither of them makes any real distinction between liberals and Communists. Their struggle against what they see as Communism or Communistic influences is, in large measure, an attack on a middle-of-the-road position, and on liberalism.

One important difference between Welch and Hargis, however, is that Hargis makes no bones about it—he clearly declares that the enemy is liberalism, every bit as much as it is Communism. While this, in a sense, solves Hargis' problem for him—because he doesn't need to make any precise distinctions between Communists and liberals—Welch handles the problem somewhat differently. He doesn't actually come out and say the enemy includes liberals and liberalism; he simply brands liberals as Reds and has done with it.

Christian Crusade is Big Business

Simply as a money-making operation, Hargis' Christian Crusade is an impressive phenomenon, which has grown rapidly since 1954 or 1955 when Hargis sought out L. E. (Pete) White, a 43-year-old Tulsa advertising man, and placed himself under White's advertising, publicity and promotional guidance. (Earlier, White had built faith healer Oral Roberts into a million dollar business proposition in a few years of intensive promotion.)

When the Hargis-White relationship began, Hargis was limping along with a four-page periodical that reached some 20,000 readers. He was broadcasting over three or four radio stations including two in Mexico, one in Tulsa and one in Siloam Springs, Ark. His billings for radio totalled about $40,000 a year. Today, his total billings are somewhere between $400,000 and $500,000 a year, on which White's ad agency collects the usual 15% agency commission. As already noted, the Hargis magazine goes to some 100,000, Hargis proudly claims each issue is seen by 500,000, and the annual budget of the Christian Crusade has jumped from about $500,000 in 1960, to 1,000,000 in 1961, to $1,250,000 in the current year.

The Christian Crusade is, in short, big business. Hargis, himself, says he draws $12,000 a year in salary. In addition, of course, he receives expenses since he is "on the road" 20 days of each month. Last year, says Hargis, he travelled to 36 states.

In addition to salary, expenses, and the converted Greyhound bus—his "headquarters on wheels"—Hargis is supplied by the Crusade with a "parsonage" (a $43,000 ranch home in Tulsa), with domestic help, and with two cars—a sedan and station wagon—for the transportation of Mrs. Hargis and the brood of four young Hargis children, all of whose initials are "B.J.H."—just like their father's. (A fifth child is on the way).

Promotion and Fund Raising

Most of the tax-deductible contributions received by Christian Crusade are in the $1 to $5 category, and Pete White says they average $2 to $4 a letter. These, and larger contributions from more affluent supporters, bring in the bulk of the Crusade's income.

Another $145,000, it is said, was earned in 1961 through speaking fees, and some $50,000 reportedly was grossed in the form of royalties on books and records albums.

To aid in the task of "bringing in the sheaves," Hargis employs the services of some 52 persons, plus the separate services rendered by Pete White and his ad agency. Everything is strictly busines, and it is fair to say that Hargis and White are fund-raising experts.

When Hargis recently signed to go on the Mutual Radio network, starting in October, 1962, he was able to raise the $39,000 cost of the 26 weekly broadcasts at one session of his Third Annual Convention in Tulsa.

The technique was direct, simple and to the point. As The New York Times of August 7, 1961, described it:

> "... through alternate appeals to God and the 700 persons in his audience the evangelist began a prayer auction to raise the money.
>
> "The 36-year-old Mr. Hargis spoke beneath a banner that read 'For Christ! Against Communism!' He cried out:
>
> " 'I pray to God for one man to sponsor this program for six months. I know that man exists in the audience. Will he stand up?'
>
> "No one stood up.
>
> " 'All right, then, we will divide this burden. I need four men who will accept God's challenge and give $10,000 each to sponsor this program.'
>
> "Two men stood up.

"'Give us four, Oh, God, who would give $5,000 each. Quickly! ... $2,000?'

"One man stood up.

"'One thousand dollars?'

"Three men stood up.

"And so it went down from $500 through $100. At the end, seventy-nine men had pledged a total of $38,870—the exact amount needed."

Hargis and his colleagues are equally persuasive in their written appeals for support, which are not only eloquent, but frequent. (In fact, a person unfamiliar with the Hargis operation would quickly conclude that the Tulsa headquarters was in a constant state of financial crisis, behind in its bills, and frequently, if not continuously, faced with the problem of raising thousands of dollars in a few weeks time to meet the more presing of its obligations. If the picture painted by Hargis in his frequent fund-raising letters is the true one, it suggests a serious inclination on the part of Hargis and the Christian Crusade to spend beyond their means, resulting in repeated appeals for help.)

"Pray"—But Send Money

A Hargis "emergency" appeal for funds from the faithful is—in its own way—a work of art. Whether it is headlined "An Emergency Appeall" or "Wonderful News" the conclusion is the same—"Pray"—but send money. Key sentences are underlined in red or in some contrasting color for the faithful whose attention span may be short. Marginal notes or post-scripts in the handwriting of Dr. Hargis himself appear frequently. Sometimes they may urge the faithful to read a significant chapter or verse from the Holy Bible. At other times they may be more to the point.

"Shall I quit now?" Hargis wrote across the top of a September 15, 1959 appeal, which contained the following paragraph (suitably underlined in blue ink): "We must have help—I mean it. We either receive immediate help or Christian Crusade's fight to preserve our freedoms and our churches may be through." And at the end of the appeal, right near Dr. Hargis' own signature, there was a hand-written concluding appeal—"Oh friends, please don't say NO!" The concluding paragraphs of the 1959 appeal, to which was attached a letter from Hargis' attorney, telling of the Crusade's sad financial plight, read as follows:

"Rush ... rush ... rush. We haven't a moment to lose. Send the largest gift you have ever sent for Christian Crusade Radio and publishing expenses.

"The bottom has dropped out in the last few weeks ... for God's sake, get into this fight. God will lead you to do something now, if you sincerely ask His will. Please ... please hurry. It is that desperate.

"Pray for victory, ... pray for an avalanche of sacrificial gifts now. Oh, dear friends, stand with me. God's truth shall conquer if we hold the line.

Yours for God and Our Children"

A handy coupon was right at the bottom of the page —as it always is—and, of course, there were some printed materials available for those who rushed in their money.

A January 19, 1960 appeal—four months later—struck a similar note:

"Frankly we need immediate money. Our income in December was far below our budget, hence we were unable to pay *thirty* of our radio stations during December. We stand a chance of losing these stations entirely if we don't catch up during this month.

"We are desperate for immediate help. There is no time to lose. We dare not retreat at a time when God and America need this message on national radio so badly. I beg of you not to delay in rushing me an answer to this letter. *Would you please, in Christ's name, rush an answer today?...*

"Bombard Heaven with prayer for Christian Crusade and especially for the new daily broadcast in Washington, D.C. Then show God your love for Christ and Christian America by sacrificing NOW. Send $100.00 if you can. If you can't, please send $50.00, $25.00 or $10.00. Gifts of $5.00, $2.00, or $1.00 are desperately needed. Do your best. The need is great and immediate."

The message was essentially the same in July, 1960, and in many of the following months—right up to November, 1961, when Billy James Hargis and his colleagues declared they were "thrilled at the way God has been blessing us." Telling the faithful of "victory after victory" which God had wrought for the Crusade, Hargis concluded with the usual appeal: "Never before have we needed your support as now ... As you have done in the past, please act *now—today*—by sending the biggest gift you possibly can. We need it *very* badly. We never needed it more.

"This month we start our 14th year in this crusade—please send your Anniversary gift. We are faced with the most vital mission imaginable in this puzzling world."

In short—whether the news is bad or good, there is always, down Tulsa way, need for the wherewithal to do the work of the Crusade.

Attractive Offers for the Faithful

Direct spoken and written appeals for funds are not the only Hargis technique. Every issue of Christian Crusade is loaded with attractive "offers" for the faithful. The November, 1961, pre-Christmas issue of the magazine contained four pages of "soul-saving, nation-saving gifts of worth for a Christ-centered Christmas—cards—books—Bibles—recordings—films ("It is Christ's Birthday! To honor Him and help make America conscious of our godly heritage, take advantage of these gift items; by doing this, you keep Christ in Christmas, and keep Christmas in America—Use Order Form on Page 12").

The June, 1961, issue of "Christian Crusade" is another example of the constant opportunity that is given to the faithful to help Hargis in his struggle—by sending money.

On page 2, an appeal is made for funds to wipe out a deficit in the television fund.

Page 6 urges subscriptions to "Christian Crusade" and if the reader sends in the names of five friends, along with $5, he gets his own subscription free.

Page 7 carries a letter from a Crusader in a small Texas town urging help for Dr. Hargis and telling how "God has prospered me since I've been helping Dr. Hargis with the work of the Christian Crusade..."

Page 8 contains an appeal for subscription to the "Weekly Crusader"—another Hargis publication.

Page 9 urges contributions to pay for the $2,400 dollar cost of moving Allen Zoll's files to Tulsa—funds to be sent to Tulsa in care of the "File Fund."

Pages 10 and 11 are devoted to an ad for the "Gold Star Total Abstainers Hospitalization Policy" (other special insurance offers are frequently made to members of Christian Crusade).

Page 12 offers the faithful 13 films featuring Dr. Hargis at the price of $65 a print.

On page 13, readers are urged to send $1 for several copies of a Hargis speech. Sharing it with friends is described as "IMPORTANT TO THE SURVIVAL OF THE NATION!"

On page 14, there is a plug for "Christian Crusade's Bible study course... your guide to spiritual growth!"—with eight workbooks in three volumes for only $1 a volume. An order for all three volumes brings one a "special bonus gift"—the "Evangelical Sunday School Lesson Commentary" which regularly sells for $2.50. The same page also advertises "inexpensive anti-Communist tracts" written by Hargis on "hundreds of subjects... 100 for only $1.00."

Page 17 offers the Hargis book "Communist America... Must It Be?" with the paper back edition available at $1 and the clothbound available at $2—"regular $3 value."

Page 19 lists a flock of "new anti-Communist publications" hot from the presses—nine of them written by Dr. Hargis himself and available at a dime apiece—minimum order 10 tracts for $1.

The back cover of the same issue contains an advertisement for a song book and record album, also offered to the general public. The songbook was entitled, "Billy James Hargis' Favorite Hymns"—official songbook of the Christian Crusade—and featured pictures of the Hargis family, the Crusade staff and Crusade headquarters, along with the words and music to the hymns and the patriotic music "you love best!" As for the record album, it bore the title, "Songs and Saying of Billy James Hargis"—an LP treat combining a visit with the Hargis family, the best in gospel music, patriotic songs and devotional readings.

Other issues of the "Christian Crusade" have offered readers a wide variety of other opportunities for enlightment and for contributing to the cause: Tapes of Hargis speeches; books and pamphlets offered in return for contributions to the Hargis Radio fund; a chance to invest savings in the "Christian Crusade Property Fund;" Christian Classics record albums through a "Record of the Month" plan; sound and color films at $100 each; Christmas cards; and a "Puppet of the Month Club"—Bible story puppets that "really make Bible stories live!"

Summary and Evaluation

● From the facts and evidence available, it seems clear that Billy James Hargis has built his Christian Crusade into a million dollar a year organization that is one of the major forces on the radical right.

● Like other radical right-wing groups, Hargis and his followers see America as in the grip of a well-advanced and on-going Communist takeover that has penetrated major institutions of American national life.

● With a probable following of some 100,000, Hargis' Christian Crusade ranks among the larger radical right-wing groups and Hargis exerts an undeniable grass-roots impact in smaller cities and towns across the country, but especially in the Southwest.

● Hargis shows unmistakable signs of wanting to "go national" and to break away from his basic identification with the Southwestern Bible belt. Evidence of this is seen in his projected national radio program on the Mutual radio network; his recent effort to spark a coordination of rightist activities; and his statement that the aim of such coordination was to capture one or both of the major national political parties.

● Hargis and his Christian Crusade do not promote anti-Semitism, but like many on the radical right, he shows a lack of awareness, alertness or concern about the danger of anti-Semitic taint. As a result, certain anti-Semites have become identified with Hargis or his Crusade through association or cooperation. Hargis' astigmatism regarding anti-Semites and anti-Semitism contrasts with his repeated calls for awareness, alertness and concern on the menace of Communism and Communist infiltration.

● Hargis shows a marked interest in, and concern for, the financial and fund-raising aspects of his Crusade and bombards his followers with a wide variety of emotion-packed appeals for donations, contributions and emergency gifts. These, along with materials and merchandise available for purchase from "Christian Crusade," have become a prime characteristic of the Tulsa operation, and suggest that if the Crusade is dedicated to fighting Communism, liberalism and modernism, it is committed to doing so on a strictly business basis.

● The Christian Crusade does not have any field organization that reaches the grass-roots. The Christian Crusade is basically Hargis, Pete White, the Crusade staff at the Tulsa headquarters, and a large unorganized group of contributors and subscribers.

● What the Crusade may lack in field organization at the grass-roots level is, in some measure, supplied by the energetic Hargis and his staff. To a great extent, Hargis maintains his hold on his following by direct contact, through his personal appearances, and by the steady stream of written, recorded and broadcast communications he pours out.

Hargis has wrapped the cross of his religious faith in the flag of his country, and is merchandising anti-Communism like a super-salesman, Bible in one hand, ledger in the other.

A Letter to 'Facts'

The following letter was received by the Anti-Defamation League after publication of the issue of "FACTS" on the John Birch Society.

February 17, 1962

TO THE EDITOR OF FACTS:

In the November-December 1961 issue of FACTS (Vol. 14, No. 5), my name appears in the article "The John Birch Society" on page 225.

You are quoting from the Bulletin "The John Birch Society" of April 1, 1961, and, under specific reference to it, you state:

"He (Welch) then goes on to point out that some of his *closest associates and advisers* (emphasis mine) are Jewish: William Schlamm, a writer; Julius Epstein, an author; Morrie Ryskind, writer; the late Alfred Kohlberg, a leading figure for many years in anti-Communist causes; and Rabbi Max Merritt of Los Angeles, an active leader of the American Jewish League Against Communism."

When I asked you to provide me with the source material of this absolutely untrue statement—at least as far as I am concerned—you sent me a photostatic copy of the page on which my name appeared in the Bulletin "The John Birch Society" of April 1, 1961.

As I saw from this photostatic copy, you completely misquoted Mr. Welch's remark about me. He has never called me "one of his closest associates and advisers."

What Mr. Welch wrote about me, was this:

"Of course, I am in fact just about as 'anti-Semitic' as Willi Schlamm, who has been the leading writer for our magazine, AMERICAN OPINION, since its first issue; or as Julius Epstein who wrote specifically for us what is still by far the best and most authoritative exposé of *The Bang-Jensen Tragedy*, which we published as a special monograph issue of AMERICAN OPINION."

Your misquotation, and therefore complete misrepresentation of my relationship to Mr. Welch, has caused me great harm and is continuing to cause me harm.

My study on the Bang-Jensen case appeared in the May 1960 issue of AMERICAN OPINION (Vol. III, No. 5), long before the John Birch Society hit the headlines of the American Press. AMERICAN OPINION was not then and is not now the organ of the Birch Society. When I negotiated the appearance of my work with Mr. Welch on January 16, 1960 in his Belmont, Mass. office I did neither know anything good nor bad about the John Birch Society. At that time, I did not even know about its existence.

I have seen Mr. Welch twice in my life: The first time on January 16, 1960 for about two hours, when the arrangements for the writing and publication of the Bang-Jensen study were made, and the second time on August 12, 1960, when I had made a short stopover in Boston on my way to Provincetown. This second visit lasted less than an hour and had the purpose to obtain some copies of my Bang-Jensen article. Surely, not enough to present me to the readers of FACTS as one of Mr. Welch's "closest associates and advisers."

Whatever the merits or demerits of The John Birch Society may be, and without prejudicing its case one way or the other, I want to stress the fact that I never had any dealings with the Society, but only with Mr. Welch as Publisher and Editor of AMERICAN OPINION, a magazine, the Advisory Committee of which contains—among others—the names of Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey, Professor Ludwig von Mises, and General Wedemeyer.

JULIUS EPSTEIN.

* * *

Although he doesn't care to prejudice the John Birch Society's case "one way or another," we are glad to know that Mr. Epstein does not want his name linked with that organization. But his argument, we think, is with Robert Welch, not the Anti-Defamation League.

Mr. Epstein did not quote the entire paragraph from Mr. Welch's statement. The whole paragraph read as follows (the material in italics being omitted by Mr. Epstein):

"Of course I am in fact just about as 'anti-Semitic' as Willi Schlamm, who has been the leading writer for our magazine, AMERICAN OPINION, since its first issue; or as Julius Epstein, who wrote specifically for us what is still by far the best and most authoritative expose of 'The Bang-Jensen Tragedy,' which we published as a special monograph issue of AMERICAN OPINION; *or as my good friend Morrie Ryskind, referred to earlier in this bulletin; or as was my even closer friend, the late Alfred Kohlberg, who despite having had four coronary attacks, never missed one hour of a single all-day meeting of our* COUNCIL, *and who spent all of Saturday at such a meeting before he died of a final heart attack the following Thursday; or as Rabbi Max Merritt, whose glowing praise of our work we published in the March bulletin of the Society; or as a hundred other good friends of the Jewish faith I could name.*"

Mr. Epstein also declares that "AMERICAN OPINION was not then and is not now the organ of the John Birch Society."

In June, 1960, a few weeks after Mr. Epstein's article had appeared in the May, 1960 issue of AMERICAN OPINION, Mr. Welch announced that the magazine "now belongs to the John Birch Society."

Read Right Now

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE
Suite 909
79 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

EMERGENCY APPEAL 31 October 1962

FROM: Edward V. Rickenbacker; Admiral Ben Moreell; Charles Edison; William F. Buckley, Jr.; James Burnham

RE: Preservation of the Monroe Doctrine

At 8 a.m. this morning, we met in emergency session to undertake the organization of The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine and to draft the attached Statement which sets forth our views and expresses our deep concern over the dangerous concessions offered by President Kennedy to Premier Khrushchev regarding Cuba.

The Administration's propaganda machine is working overtime to present the so-called Cuba settlement as a great Kennedy victory and a stunning Communist defeat. In fact, the exact reverse is true. Khrushchev is now firmly entrenched in Cuba and Communism on that island is guaranteed against attack from any quarter by the President of the United States. We believe it is imperative to register a public protest—and quickly—or we will lose the ball game by default.

We are telegraphing our Statement to hundreds of candidates for Federal office requesting their endorsement. We plan to release the Statement and its endorsers to the press immediately.

We hope you will see fit to join with us in endorsing our Statement and becoming a charter member of The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine by writing or wiring us your acceptance. We call on you to do your utmost to publicize this effort in every way possible. Further, we ask you to immediately approach all candidates running for Federal office in your district and state to take a stand on this issue by endorsing the enclosed Statement.

If we are to proceed with this undertaking, we must have funds in hand. We call on you to wire or air-mail us your maximum financial pledge and/or contribution at once so that we may effectively plan just how far we can go in the critical days before November 6.

Time is truly of the essence. This is an historic moment and the Nation is in critical danger. We hope you will join with us in what we consider an enterprise of transcendent urgency.

Please make your check payable to The Committee for the Monroe Doctrine and mail it to the above address.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

1. President Kennedy assured the United States on April 18, 1961, that at the very least our government would not tolerate the arming of Cuba with offensive weapons.

2. We never doubted the President would be true to his word, and endorse his recent ultimatum to the Soviet Union insofar as it faced up to the problem of Cuba's offensive military potential. However,

3. The President has apparently guaranteed the Soviet Union that in return for dismantling the missile bases the United States will guarantee that Cuba will not be invaded.

4. But the Monroe Doctrine declares that the United States will not permit the imposition by any foreign power of its "system" in any nation in the Western Hemisphere.

5. Therefore, the Presidential guarantee would appear to amount to a guarantee that Cuba will, without forcible interference by the United States, be permitted to remain as a Communist colony and therefore as a base for the continued political and psychological subversion of other nations in this hemisphere: i.e., that Khrushchev's control over Cuba, including an arsenal of tanks, MIG fighters and bombers, radar anti-aircraft batteries, and a "fishing fleet" in Havana harbor—is underwritten in effect by the President of the United States.

6. This renunciation of the Monroe Doctrine—the key defensive doctrine of this nation—should not be sanctioned without a Congressional debate.

7. WE THEREFORE CALL on all members of Congress and all persons running for Congress to pledge to consider the President's guarantee as given to Chairman Khrushchev on Sunday, October 28, immediately upon the convocation of the 88th Congress in January, 1963. And we call upon the members of that Congress there to RESOLVE:

8. That the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine continues to be an essential plank of American foreign policy.

30 October 1962

• FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

NOV.-DEC. 1962 - VOL. 14, No. 8—PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

The Case of Fred C. Schwarz

Frederick Charles Schwarz, M.D., migrated from Australia in the early nineteen fifties to save the United States from Communist conquest, through "patriotic" rallies, "schools" of anti-Communism and the sale of printed matter. His performance as a Paul Revere of the radical right has prompted citizens of every faith to ask: was this trip necessary?

The question is asked by those who sincerely believe in the common sense and the awareness of the American people; in the competence of our schools and universities to teach the meanings of history; in the effectiveness of our communications media to alert this nation to the dangers inherent in the Soviets' ambitions; and in the determination of our government to evolve just and sane solutions to the gravest problem of our century.

These sober citizens find in the Schwarz adventure, as in similar adventures, a genuine danger to the institutions of a free people. They see divisiveness and confusion created by the Schwarzites, as by the Birchers, Hargisites and others, the natural concern of Americans exploited till it reaches paranoia, in which neighbor turns on neighbor, teachers, under constant pressure, become too demoralized to teach, and churches and churchmen find themselves required to defend normal acts of democratic decency from charges of subversion. And in the thunder from the right, they hear ominous overtones of demand for a "preventive" thermonuclear war. They are troubled and with reason.

Schwarz Denounced From Senate Floor

The question is asked, as well by responsible public officials like Senator Stephen M. Young (D) of Ohio, who on the Senate floor denounced the flamboyant doctor from down under *(Congressional Record:* Vol. 108, No. 137, P. 14732); like Attorney General Stanley Mosk of California, who termed the Schwarz operation "patriotism for profit." It is asked by distinguished churchmen, like James A. Pike, Episcopal Bishop of California; Robert D. Bulkley, General Presbyter of the United Presbyterian Church, and Methodist Bishop Everett W. Palmer, who have found in this "Christian" crusade a grave threat to "basic American freedoms."

The question is also asked by professionally expert anti-Communists who have long labored in the vineyard. Veteran George E. Sokolsky, head of the American Jewish League Against Communism, has attacked the Schwarz migration bluntly in his syndicated newspaper column (June, 1962), appearing in the *New York Journal-American,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and 200 other newspapers.

Still others ask the question with a sincere envy of the overnight financial success of the Schwarz Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and its Schools of Anti-Communism. Well they may, for what began as a shoestring operation, fathered in 1953 by a radio evangelist and a printer, now enjoys an annual take of a million dollars plus. In 1961, the reported income of the Schwarz operation was $1,273,492. In 1960, it had been a mere $364,535.

The dollars multiply through sales of books and pamphlets, tape recordings of speeches, admissions to rallies, banquets, brunches, tuition fees at "schools," and the freewill offerings of those who expect this country to be saved by the Schwarz evangelism. These last range from the frightened little old lady who drops a Social Security dollar into the collection basket to heads of big business whose tax-exempt "unsolicited" annual contributions run to multiple thousands.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade conducts public, paid-admission, patriotic rallies throughout the United States. The sessions open with prayer and close with fund raising. The "crusade" has held its five-day Schools of Anti-Communism in a score of cities. For the faculties of his "schools," Schwarz has recruited a miscellany of former Government men, counterspies, Congressional investigators, retired Naval officers and other self-styled experts on Communism. None of them announces his qualifications for pedagogy by academic standards or state licensing regulations for teachers. Hand-picked by Dr. Schwarz, they are given leeway, in the name of academic freedom, to attack the defense policies and diplomacy of the United States, to abuse its educational system and berate its public figures. Schwarz himself, an alien, practices some restraint, devoting his standard lectures largely to the philosophy, intentions and tactics of the Communists, and to fund raising.

Nebulous Foreign Operation

In addition, the "crusade" carries on a nebulous for-

eign operation in several parts of the globe. Since this is an activity on which details are most sketchy, it is difficult to estimate how much is honest enlightenment of underdeveloped peoples, how much dangerous meddling with tax-free American dollars in the internal affairs of sovereign states. In nine years of business and ballyhoo, the "crusade" has adduced no clear evidence that it has diminished the genuine Communist peril at home or abroad.

Until the spring of 1962, Fred Schwarz had enjoyed an apparent respectability and toleration not accorded to other self-appointed saviors of the Republic. By and large, the press had dealt with him kid-gloved. Local officials in California, which is his base of operations and main source of strength, had endorsed and praised. Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D) of Connecticut and Congressman Walter H. Judd (R) of Minnesota had from time to time joined the "crusade," as lecturers and sponsors. It may be significant that in recent months Sen. Dodd has not apeared on Schwarz's platform.

In 1957, Schwarz had been a voluntary witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Though his status as a recently arrived alien might have prompted challenge of his qualifications as an expert on subversion here, he set the date of 1973 for a Communist take over of the United States.

The transcript of his testimony before the House Committee, printed by the Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee, became a major item of merchandise on the literature tables at his rallies, even as the lurid details of the presumptive take-over became a leading shocker in his speeches. The Australian warned: "When they come for you, as they have for many others, and on a dark night, in a dank cellar, and they take a wide bore revolver with a soft-nose bullet and they place it at the nape of your neck" . . . and housewives blanched, junior executives shuddered. The transcript of Schwarz's briefing of the House Committee, his Houston, Tex. disciple, W. P. Strube, Jr. declared, "has had a wider circulation in this country than any document except possibly the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution." *(Harpers,* Oct. 1961).

Life Magazine Mildly Critical

Life Magazine in September, 1961, included mild editorial criticism of Dr. Schwarz in a general review of the burgeoning radical right. It said: "A new kind of revival meeting, serving the nonreligious ends of an outfit called the 'Christian Anti-Communism Crusade' is being held with full hullabaloo and political portent in Los Angeles this week. Like nine other 'crusades' in the U.S. cities during the last year, it is presided over by Frederick C. Schwarz, 48, an Australian evangelist gone secular. Schwarz preaches doomsday by Communism in 1973 unless every American starts distrusting his neighbor as a possible Communist or 'comsymp' (Communist sympathizer).

"Schwarz tries to appear less extreme than the John Birch Society and he publicly disavows Birchism. However, his local steering committees have often included known Birchers. Schwarz himself landed in this country with $10 in his pocket in 1953 but he has built the 'crusade' into a $500,000 business. Having persuaded 41 California mayors to proclaim this week as an official anti-Communism Week,' he now plans to take the road show on to New Orleans and Columbus, then tentatively to Chicago, Washington and New York."

One month later, C. D. Jackson, publisher of *Life* and Vice President of *Time,* who had been special public-relations advisor in a period of administration crisis to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, stood beside a beaming Dr. Schwarz under kleig-lights on a flag-draped, film-star-studded platform in the Hollywood Bowl, apologizing for *Life*'s "oversimplified misinterpretation." "I believe we were wrong and I am profoundly sorry," C. D. Jackson said. "It is a great privilege to be here tonight," he told Jane Russell, Linda Darnell, Ronald Reagan, James Stewart and fifteen thousand other cheering onlookers, "to align *Life* magazine with Senator Dodd, Representative Judd, Dr. Schwarz and the rest of these implacable fighters."

It was a shining hour for the spectacled Sydney physician, the climactic moment of his career. In his Newsletter, he boasted that the publisher had come "at his own request" and that "this action speaks more loudly than words concerning the revised attitude of *Life* magazine to the work we are doing."

Not the Radical Right

Cannily, Schwarz has fought all public identification of his "crusade" with the radical right, crying smear of "guilt by association." He has refused to praise or condemn Robert Welch and the John Birch Society in any save the mildest terms, though the consistency of his coyness slipped when he told Cabell Phillips of *The New York Times* (Apr. 30, 1961): "Certainly these people—these dedicated anti-Communists—want a leader. They want to be led. They want me to lead them. But

FACTS

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
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I won't do it. If Bob Welch wants to do it, he can. He's got a program of action and a lot of ready resolutions. But it's not my business." Then, he added, "You know sometimes I get the notion Welch follows me around the country, signing up the people after I've worked them up."

He has since attempted to repudiate the latter statement, has claimed *The Times* apologized for it. In reference to this claim, *The Times* (Aug. 27, 1962) published the following. "Clifton Daniel, assistant managing editor of *The Times* said last night: 'I apologized to Dr. Schwarz for our delay in replying to a letter from him. I did not apologize for any error in Cabell Phillips' article, because in our opinion the article was correct in all important details."

Schwarz Meets the Press

The Times' statement was prompted by Schwarz's appearance on Meet The Press (Aug. 26, 1962), where he was persistently questioned about the Birch Society by Richard Clurman of *Time* and *Life,* William Rusher of *The National Review,* James Wechsler of *The New York Post* and Lawrence E. Spivak, the permanent panel member.

This is from the printed transcript of that NBC network telecast:

MR. WECHSLER: Will you tell us, Dr. Schwarz, in this situation in this city, what your view of the John Birch Society is? I have read your comments and in many places it seems to vary, depending on what city you are in. I wonder if you could tells us.

DR. SCHWARZ: My view has been consistent but I have established a policy that we specialize in Communist philosophy, morality and education relative thereto, and we do not sit in judgment on other organizations in a general sense and we reserve the right to criticize individual statements in relation to the Communist purpose. I don't feel competent to give an official judgment on the John Birch Society because I don't know too much about it. I am not a member. I have never been a member. I have never met Robert Welch and, if as many inaccuracies have been printed about them as have been printed about us, maybe my information isn't adequate for sound judgment.

MR. WECHSLER: You wouldn't consider that your educational function included getting some knowledge about this?

DR. SCHWARZ: I wouldn't. Because our educational function is a very limited one. We limit it to the philosophy, morality, the nature of the Communist process and we don't claim to be experts in every area.

Later in the program, Richard Clurman of *Life* and *Time,* resumed the questioning about the Birch Society.

MR. CLURMAN: Dr. Schwarz, as a teacher of anti-Communism in the United States, are you at all concerned with the excesses on the right?

DR. SCHWARZ: No, I certainly am not. I think that this tremendous concern about the right is a hysterical escape for people who are not prepared to accept the magnitude of the Communist danger. If this right wing that they talk about had a foreign base, if Hitler was still in power in Germany and had conquered half of Europe and if they had multiple megaton thermonuclear bombs and ocean-ranging submarines and the economic product of one billion people and they were the advance guard of it, I would say yes. But since there is no external base for this alleged threat, I think it is not comparable with the malignancy of the Communist danger.

MR. CLURMAN: May we talk for a moment again about the John Birch Society which you alluded to a moment ago. The John Birch Society and its founder, Robert Welch, have been denounced and renounced by President Kennedy, by the Attorney General, by President Eisenhower, by former Vice President Nixon. Robert Welch himself has said that former President Eisenhower was a Communist dupe, that Allen Dulles and the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, were tools of the Communist conspiracy. Mr. Rusher's magazine, *The National Review,* has denounced the John Birch Society. Surely, as a teacher of how, effectively, to fight anti-Communism (sic), you must have a clearer view of whether the John Birch Society is effective or not.

DR. SCHWARZ: My function is not the adjudication of other organizations or individuals, and people have got the right to do as they wish. If you ask me whether I agree with statements made by the John Birch Society, I am quite prepared to answer them but I find everybody agrees with my principle that I do not sit in judgment on other organizations or individuals, provided I make the one exception in the area where they want me to. I try to make no exceptions and not to condemn organizations out of hand. If you would like to ask whether I think President Eisenhower is a Communist, I think that is a totally inaccurate and ridiculous statement.

MR. CLURMAN: Don't you quite properly, sir, sit in judgment on organizations that you feel are Communist organizations?

DR. SCHWARZ: I feel our field is—we are specialists, if we are specialists in anything, in the field of Communism and I think when people get out of their field, their decisions and their influence is thereby weakened.

MR. CLURMAN: Mr. Welch doesn't think he is out of his field. He says "Dr. Schwarz is doing a grand job of awakening people to the menace of Communism. We frankly do our best to recruit people who have been stirred up, awakened and alarmed by him into the John Birch Society as action groups to do something about it all." Do you welcome that or not?

DR. SCHWARZ: That is his privilege. I have never been associated with it. But we live in a democratic society where every group has got the freedom to recruit whom they will and if people don't agree with that they then have the responsibility to try and take advantage of it for the forces they consider beneficent. I have no association with the John Birch Society and never have had but I am not in a position to adjudicate every organization that has members attending our schools.

MR. CLURMAN: Sir, we are not asking you to adjudicate every organization. The John Birch Society has virtually been drummed out of respectable political conversation. It has been renounced and denounced by the most distinguished Americans. Yet you equivocate on the question.

Schwarz and "The Birchers"

From some cities come reports that known local members of the Birch Society help in the planning and bolster the attendance at Schwarz rallies and rush into the vacuum left at his departure, recruiting memberships. "In the wake of Dr. Schwarz's rallies and anti-Communism schools," wrote Fletcher Knebel in *Look* mag-

azine (Mar. 13, 1962) "sprout militant 'study groups' that expand, subdivide and multiply like human cells. The Rev. James D. Colbert, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, says the Crusade itself has founded 5,000 study groups. Starting with basically sound Schwarz material, many 'students' go on to find Communists in the White House, the income tax sapping America for a communist coup and Red plots behind such proposals as county-wide governments for municipalities."

Declaring his purpose is merely "education, dedication and evangelism," Schwarz offers no panaceas, no solutions to the Communist peril. "What's the answer?" he asks rhetorically. "I don't know. I don't know. The answer lies in the minds and characters of millions of people who can and must think about such problems," the assumption being, apparently, that the obssessed and over-anxious who come in admitted ignorance to his meetings will by some mystical process arrive at the solutions which thus far have eluded the world's statesmen.

Since he leaves no program, no specifics of action, no field supervisors to make sure his students do their homework, the hard core of rightists in the community moves in to nudge the overheated into suspicion of their next door neighbors, of their children's teachers, their clergymen and elected officials.

Schwarz and Anti-Semitism

On the question of anti-Semitism, Schwarz has been vociferous in denial.

The "Christian" appellation of the "crusade" raises in some minds the question of anti-Semitism. "We call it Christian," Schwarz told the Oakland, Calif. *Tribune* (Dec. 19, 1961) "because we who founded it are Christians. We invite and welcome Jewish people to attend the School. We hope they will form Jewish organizations to combat our common enemy. We repudiate any relationship between Communism and the Jews. Communism is not racial or religious or national. It is a conspiracy dedicated to atheism."

Traditionally, New York is a difficult city for promoters to crack. It is huge and it is diffuse. Its news media have a global outlook. The space available for visiting evangelists is necessarily limited. Above all, the city is sophisticated about the nature of Communism. It has seen Khrushchev and Castro face to face. It failed to crowd the Australian doctor's rallies.

The New York news media gave the Schwarz "crusade" what is normally considered fair and reasonable coverage. Yet the doctor cried suppression and persecution. In private conversations he talked about Jewish control of press, radio, and television. He "discovered" a massive campaign of "boycott, bigotry and fear."

Retreating to recoup funds and prestige to the hospitable terrain of Tyler, Texas, on August 7, 1962, before an audience of 1000 in the John Tyler High School and under the auspices of the Tyler Freedom Forum, Schwarz unleashed a fury about Jews which made even extreme rightists in an audience wince. Dr. Walter Kerr, evangelist-director of the "Walter Kerr Youth Force for God and Freedom Crusade" told the *Texas Observer* a week later, "Boy, I tell you he spells out a death struggle with the Jews. I was quite amazed and really rather heartsick. New York is controlled by them, that is by the Jews, he says. He said the thing is divided down the middle, Christians and Jews . . . With people like Schwarz operating this could become a leading problem."

Schwarz continues to maintain it is impossible for him to be anti-Semitic since his own father had been a Jew.

It is true that his father had been Jewish.

Paul Schwarz was a Jew born in Vienna. He left Austria for England at the age of twelve, converted to Christianity, married Phoebe Smith, an English girl who was an active worker in the Methodist Church. He became a Pentecostal lay preacher. In 1905, he emigrated to Australia and prospered there after World War I as a dealer in surplus goods. He fathered eleven children of whom Frederick Charles, born in Brisbane in 1913, was the fourth.

By his own declaration, Frederick Charles was raised in a "Christian home" and at 17 made a "personal commitment to the Christian doctrine and the Christian manner of life." He describes his religious affiliation as "Baptist of Evangelical persuasion."

Fred Schwarz was graduated from the University of Queensland with a degree in science, having majored in physics and mathematics. He later studied philosophy and political economy, obtaining a liberal arts degree. After graduation, he taught briefly in high school before he was engaged to lecture in mathematics and science at Queensland Teachers College.

Pedagogy failed to satisfy him. He turned to medicine. In 1944, he was graduated from the University of Queensland Medical School. He served an internship at the Brisbane General Hospital, then purchased a medical practice in Sydney. There his shingle still hangs and his wife, Lillian May, his children, John, Rosemary and David, reside. Aside from the fact that he served briefly as psychiatrist at the Cathedral Marriage Guidance Clinic of Sydney and the New South Wales Community Hospital, the records of his medical career are scanty.

That the prophet is considerably less than honored in his own country was revealed by Forest Allen of the Cleveland, Ohio *Press*. In a column headed, "They Don't Think Much of Schwarz Down Under" (July 12, 1962) Allen wrote: "Schwarz never took on very well in Australia, I was told there earlier this year. And his blatant promotion of himself in this country hasn't boosted his Australian popularity. In newspaper circles down under, in fact, Schwarz is described as 'Australia's gift to America—in return for Harry Bridges.'

"In the country of his birth, education and citizenship Schwarz makes little impact, has no influence and

doesn't receive much attention on his visits there. He returns every year and made one of his visits in April. I called on an Australian editor and asked how he was received . . . In Sydney, he conducted a long dull meeting before 200. His Sydney collection was $70, it was announced—not enough to pay meeting expenses."

Schwarz's American Sponsors

Two touring Fundamentalist clergymen from North America, Dr. T. T. Shields of Toronto and Rev. Carl McIntire of Collingswood, N.J., in 1950 heard the doctor in debate in Sydney. They found the physician sturdy and personable. He had a waggish grin and folksy manner. He combined an aura of book learning with old-fashioned fire and brimstone. They decided he was a man for their barricades.

Both clergymen were veteran crusaders, chiefly against "modernism" in religious teaching and against the Catholic Church. McIntire had been expelled from the Presbyterian Church in 1936, had organized his own Fundamentalist Presbyterian Church as well as the American Council of Christian Churches, a minority, ultra-conservative wing of American Protestantism. He had become a dedicated foe of the National Council of Churches, the author and promulgator of a running attack, charging that body with Communist infiltration and with serving the Communist cause.

Shields and McIntire invited Schwarz to make a two-month lecture tour in the United States, under the aegis of the American Council of Christian Churches.

Thus began the third and current career of Frederick Schwarz.

McIntire and Schwarz drifted apart. McIntire had found another protege, Dr. Billy James Hargis, had given him the publicity-rich assignment of floating Bible-balloons above the Iron Curtain, thereby launching another money-minded super-patriot on the national scene. Shields died. But by that time Schwarz had glimpsed the lush pastures of fame and fortune in the merchandising of anti-Communism. And he had found another sponsor.

This one was Dr. William Pietsch, an Iowa radio preacher. Pietsch offered Schwarz his microphone for a series of talks on the Communist peril. The listener response was encouraging, and in Waterloo, Iowa, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was born. "God has raised up Dr. Fred Schwarz from Sydney, Australia, as a special messenger on this vital subject," Dr. Pietsch wrote to celebrate the blessed event.

Since that day, Schwarz has commuted across the Pacific. In September 1960, he applied for permanent residence in the United States. He will become eligible for citizenship in September 1965. His status is therefore that of a "lawful resident alien."

"Crusade" A "Non-Profit" Organization

Articles of incorporation of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, as a non profit corporation, were filed on May 12, 1953, with the Iowa Secretary of State. They declared the objects and purposes of the organization to be: "To combat Communism by means of lectures in schools, colleges, civic clubs, service men's organizations and other similar organizations and through radio and television broadcasts and by providing courses for missionaries and others to be used in Bible Schools and seminaries and the holding of religious and evangelistic services and through the publication of books, pamphlets and other literature and by other appropriate means."

The incorporators were: Leonard Bosgraf of Chicago, Ill., William E. Pietsch of Cedar Falls, Iowa, and Robert Sackett of Waterloo, Iowa. Mr. Bosgraf was an attorney, Mr. Sackett a printer. The Crusade's address was Box 508, Waterloo, Iowa.

In 1958, the articles of incorporation were amended. The name of Fred C. Schwarz replaced that of Leonard Bosgraf. By that time, too, the "crusade" had received tax exemption, as an "educational and religious" organization, from the Federal government.

International headquarters and executive offices of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade were established in February, 1958, in Long Beach, Calif., a short sprint on the Freeway from Los Angeles, a metropolis which has been notably responsive to revivalists.

Regional offices are maintained—sometimes in conjunction with the business or professional offices of the regional directors—in San Diego, Calif., Houston, Tex., Seattle, Wash., Kenmore, Wash., Ypsilanti, Mich., and Indianapolis, Ind. The international flavor is supplied by the branch office address of 142 Concord Road, Concord, Australia, where Lillian May and the young Schwarzes reside.

"Crusade" Roster

By the time the "crusade" had hit its stride as a going concern, the name of Dr. Pietsch had vanished from its governing body. The present roster of officers and directors is:

PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, Sydney, Australia
VICE PRESIDENT: Rev. James D. Colbert, Long Beach, Calif.
VICE PRESIDENT: Dr. George W. Westcott, Ypsilanti, Mich.
VICE PRESIDENT: William P. Strube, Jr., Houston, Tex.
SECRETARY: Miss Ella Doorn, Long Beach, Calif.
DIRECTORS: Robert E. Sackett, Waterloo, Iowa
Dr. Joost Sluis, San Francisco, Calif.

No treasurer is listed.

Rev. James D. Colbert, an erstwhile self-employed truck driver, is Director of Missions for the "crusade," co-ordinating and planning its activities. He apprenticed for his career as an expert in anti-Communism as pastor of a church in Pedley, Calif. (Pop. 2226) and as Director of the Riverside, Calif. branch of Youth For Freedom. He has lectured at the Schools of Anti-Communism in Philadelphia, Miami, Los Angeles, New Orleans and New York.

Dr. George Westcott, a surgeon and former medical

missionary to Africa, directs the "crusade's" Michigan activities and renders field service in the Caribbean area. From his medical office in Ypsilanti, he distributes quantities of "crusade" literature. He leaves his practice to attend the Schools of anti-Communism and to tape the lectures delivered there. He has served on the faculties of the "schools" in Milwaukee, New Orleans and Oakland.

William P. Strube, Jr., is one of Schwarz's most fervent disciples, having seen the light at a Schwarz rally which by his own admission left him trembling and a-sweat. He is the only one of the guiding group, outside of the doctor, to have achieved national magazine notice. *Harpers* in October 1961 profiled him as a leading Houston superpatriot. Strube is president of the Mid-American Life Insurance Company and director of the "crusade's" Houston operation. His office is jammed with portable tape recorders, giant tape reproducing machines and technicians, for duplication of speeches delivered by the crusaders." "We must have fast and mass dissemination of the information if we are to preserve our freedom," he declares.

"Keep moving" is Strube's slogan. He advocates above all proliferation of patriotic organizations under different names and banners. "Our strength is not in unity," he said. (St. Louis, April, 1961) "It is in the mobilization of multiple motivation."

"If we had one big group," Strube made explicit, "it becomes easily smeared with a half truth or a news story or something of that type that is not true. If you have one group operating under one name, one story can kill it nation-wide in a few seconds. If you've got 10,000 groups, each one with a different name, built around their own motivations, if they smear one, while they're smearing that one, start ten more and you, in turn, keep moving."

Modestly, Strube describes himself in a self-authored pamphlet as "one of America's leading authorities on the subject of the Communists' tactics in the cold war." Aside from his tutelage by the Australian doctor, Strube's preparation for this role included a year at Hannibal, Mo.'s La Grange Junior College, a few months of Naval ROTC at the University of Washington, Seattle, and University of California, Berkeley, and a year's service as an ensign aboard a destroyer in the Aleutians after the end of World War II.

James A. Spurlock joined the "crusade's" Houston staff in January, 1962. Spurlock has been a professional lecturer on Communism since his undergraduate days at the University of Houston.

Miss Ella Doorn, the Secretary, has been with the "crusade" since its incorporation. Before that she taught school in rural Wisconsin and worked for the Hovland Sheet Metal Works at Eau Claire, Wis. She is the doctor's administrative assistant. At headquarters she shares responsibilities with Frank B. Fuhr, Executive Administrator, who was formerly Assistant Executive Director of the International Christian Leadership, Inc. of Washington, D.C.

Robert E. Sackett, the sole remaining founder, owns the Morris Printing Company of Waterloo, Iowa, having acquired it in 1955 after working there for fifteen years. The Morris Printing Company produces the "crusade's" pamphlets, newsletters and other literature.

Dr. Joost Sluis, born in the Netherlands and naturalized in the United States in 1944, World War II naval veteran, graduate of M.I.T. and Harvard Medical School, is an orthopedic surgeon. He maintains a part-time medical office in San Francisco and is a clinical instructor at the University of California Medical School, but the bulk of his time and energy goes into the direction of the Northern California activities of the "crusade," and to its foreign operations. He lectures at the "schools," distributes films and tape recordings, travels extensively in this country and abroad.

Capt. E. R. Barnes, former District Chaplain of the Eighth Naval District, directs the San Diego, Calif., office; Charles Sarvis and Floyd Burroughs, business executives in Seattle and Indianapolis, direct the "crusade" in their respective areas out of their business offices. Elton Wilson is director of the Australian program, Mrs. Fred C. Schwarz its salaried secretary.

"Crusade" Program

The program for which they assume responsibility has four principal aspects:

The patriotic rally
The Schools of Anti-Communism
The foreign operations
The publication and dissemination of literature and recordings.

THE PATRIOTIC RALLY centers around the personality, philosophy and evangelistic zeal of Fred Schwarz. General admission is one dollar. An offering is taken before the question period.

The size of audiences varies, depending on the efficacy of advance promotion. The audiences are largely middle-aged and middle-class, predominantly Protestant, invariable white. For them, Schwarz has a direct and terrifying message: "They (the Communists) aim to liquidate the bourgeoisie. Who are the bourgeoisie? Well, if you own shares of common stock, it means you. Fifteen million Americans own common stock. If the Reds win, it means the gallows."

The doctor begins his standard lecture with these premises:

The Communists propose to conquer the world.
They are conquering it.
They are doing it by means of a program and a timetable.
If they succeed, it means slavery and death for free men.
Many of us are helping the Communists.
We must do something about the problem.
There is no limit to what we can accomplish if we really want to and if we make the effort necessary.

The program of the Communists, he points out, is to bring about "progressive surrender" through "mil-

itary encirclement, economic encirclement and psychological encirclement." The area of "psychological encirclement" is pre-empted as the Schwarz domain. "Ninety percent of the people get their information from Communist sources," he declared. "We must study the nature of Communism" (from Schwarz literature and lectures). "We must fight Communism with knowledge."

"Each of us has a personal responsibility," he says. "We cannot leave it to the government. The government and the State Department have tremendous problems—an appalling job to do—and it's easy to criticize from the vantage point of no responsibility. But unless each of us does his job, accepts personal responsibility, we have no right to criticize." and "We don't express an opinion on national programs. We will not tell our (sic) government what to do." (Oakland, Cal. *Tribune*, Dec. 19, 1961)

Nevertheless, when the House Un-American Activities Committee asked Schwarz whether he believed it possible to negotiate with the Soviets, he had answered flatly, "To negotiate true peace with people who are utterly dedicated to the concept of the historical inevitability of class war and their victory is impossible. To think that we can do it is to indicate a failure to understand Communism so completely that it approaches mental illness," thus by implication questioning the sanity of four American presidents—Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy—all of whom have authorized negotiations with the Soviets.

Before the House Committee, he has belittled the entire American approach to the Communist danger. "Here is the great paradox. The Communists profess themselves to be materialistic and we profess ourselves to be idealists and spiritual people. As a consequence of these beliefs, the Communists are winning the world by first winning the students ideologically while we try to combat them by material means. Basically, the program, at least if you look at it, budget-wise, is about 40 billions approximately for military purposes, then about three billions for material assistance and a tiny fragment for purposes of information, education and spiritual welfare.

"The paradox is this: basically, much of our program to combat Communism rests on a Marxist foundation. Marxism teaches that the ideas of the mind, as well as the emotions of the heart, emerge out of material environment. When we want the people of the world to resist the Communist idea and embrace the idea of freedom, we think that if we give them material benefits, this will automatically come to pass . . . The foundation is wrong."

This theme—that our foreign aid program is of no value, is materialistic, even Marxist, that our defense spending is absurd—"They (the Communists) don't want to preside over radio-active rubble"—is repeated over and again in his lectures. Communism, he insists, does not have its roots in poverty, ignorance, and despair. It has its roots in students and in intellectuals.

Primary Targets

Hence, the primary target of the Schwarz "crusade" is the student, the intellectual, and the university. It was no accident that when Schwarz spoke of British Guiana's Cheddi Jagan and Jagan's wife, Janet, he said: "He went to Northwestern University in Evanston and received his Communist training in this country. She went to Wayne University in Detroit and received her Communist training in this country." (St. Louis, April, 1961)

The drumfire of criticism, from the man who disclaims the right to criticize, is kept up in city after city:

against broadcasts of the Voice of America: "If we were urging them to revolt against their masters, that would be one thing. But when we keep reminding them they are in jail, I can't see what good that does." (New Orleans, Oct. 1961)

against American hopes for a coalition government in Laos: "It will be playing the Communist game." (Philadelphia, May, 1962)

against Constitutional guarantees of civil liberties: "Americans should be willing to renounce a certain measure of personal freedom in the battle against Communism." (Phoenix, Ariz., April 1961)

"Now let's stop crying about legal technicalities and think about this as intelligent people. The use of the Fifth Amendment protects against punishment by law—and nothing else. There are many things in this life which are not legally punishable but are definitely undesirable. There are many things not legally punishable but come within certain social consequences . . . If a person is asked a question that has two answers—one answer that could incriminate him and the other could not and he replies 'I won't answer because if I did I might incriminate myself," the answer must be incriminating or he's a liar and a perjurer. So when a person is asked, 'Are you a Communist?' and he says, 'I refuse to answer because it might incriminate me,' he is either a Communist or a perjurer and you are entitled to treat him as such . . ." (St. Louis, April, 1961)

The fast exaggeration, the glib overstatement, the startling declaration which cannot be proved or disproved, but leaves the listeners panting and beseeching help, are his stock in trade:

"Communist children are forced to witness mass executions as part of their education. Communists believe they must put about half the world's population to death and the children are being conditioned for their role as adults." (Chicago, Nov. 1953)

"I believe he (Khrushchev) has chosen San Francisco as headquarters of the world Communist dictatorship. The Mark Hopkins Hotel will make splendid offices for him. The people of San Francisco—those they don't dump in the Bay—can be put in the Nevada desert which is quite handy." (San Francisco, Jan. 1962)

"The hour of their final conquest draws near. I think my prediction of world conquest for the Communists by 1973 was too conservative. They are running ahead

of schedule . . . There are one billion people in Communist laboratories today being organized and exploited for world conquest. This is six times the population of the United States . . . Their Godless doctrine of Communism is being taught children at a ratio of five to one over doctrines taught in any school anywhere . . . If Communism takes over the world, it will be unrestrained. People will be animals, to be disposed of. Imagine them coming for you!" (Phoenix, Ariz., Mar. 1961)

Sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, he has attacked organized labor, the film and television industries, as well as universities, liberals, intellectuals and the American governmental agencies, though, he insisted in Seattle (Feb. 12, 1962) "Our purpose is not to create distrust or pit neighbor against neighbor, as they charge. We are out to look at the truth and to examine it." A fortnight before this pious declaration, however, he had attacked the Alameda County (Calif.) AFL-CIO Labor Council which had passed a resolution opposing his "crusade" in Oakland, comparing the Labor Council to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Russia. "It's the same methods the Communists use," he said.

Asked in St. Louis about subversion in Hollywood, he gave a sweeping answer: "There are two things we can do. We can cry out in the darkness. We can cry out about how awful the Communist influence is in radio, TV, the press, in government. We can just regret it all. Or we can light a candle . . . we can personally bring our own program of light, education . . ."

"Hollywood's Answer . . ."

The light was brought, when television Station WPIX, owned by the New York *Daily News,* on November 3, 1961, devoted three hours of prime evening time to "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," a "special," made up of the proceedings of the spectacular Hollywood Bowl Rally of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the "seminars" conducted by the Southern California Schools of Anti-Communism.

Billed by the station as a public service program, the time was nevertheless paid for by the Schick Safety Razor Company and Technicolor, Inc., who had joined in paying for the original live telecast of the Rally over a network of thirty-three stations on the West Coast.

Though the home screen offered George Murphy, actor and vice president of Technicolor, Inc., welcoming to the "crusader's" ranks Jack Warner, Walter Brennan, Pat O'Brien, Linda Darnell, Jimmy Stewart, Ronald Reagan, Y. Frank Freeman, Dale Evans, Roy Rogers, Jane Russell, Connie Haines and other film and TV luminaries; the solemn statements of Senator Thomas J. Dodd and Representative Walter H. Judd, the apology and pledge of alliance by C. D. Jackson, the familiar combination of piety, platitudes, and melodrama of Fred Schwarz, the dramatic honors of the evening were pre-empted by W. Cleon Skousen, of Salt Lake City, Utah, former F.B.I. man, author of "The Naked Communist" and frequent faculty member of Schwarz's Schools of Anti-Communism.

Skousen, a devout Mormon, has been intimately associated with the entire spectrum of rightwing organizations. He does not hesitate to commend Robert Welch and the John Birch Society. "I personally approve of the good work that the John Birch Society is doing. It is a nationwide organization and they're fighting Communists." (Santa Ana, Calif., Mar. 1961)

Before the thousands in the Hollywood Bowl and unnumbered home viewers, Skousen charged that the late Harry Hopkins, adviser to President Roosevelt, had violated the security of the United States in 1943 by sending atomic information to the Soviet Union. He blamed "the planning and thinking of a select group in the State Department" for Communist successes in China, Korea, Laos and Cuba, and demanded: full scale Congressional probe of the U.S. State Department; rewriting of the United Nations Charter and recapturing of the organization by the West or America's withdrawal from the U.N.; outlawing of the Communist Party in the United States; severance of diplomatic relations with Russia; establishment of a trade embargo against the entire Soviet bloc.

He received a standing ovation.

At the St. Louis School of Anti-Communism, Skousen charged: "President Roosevelt died and American foreign policy fell into the hands of a hard core left wing in the American State Department that ran our tragic foreign relations with other governments during the next several years. Now this group that I call the left-wing branch of the American State Department were individuals that seem to feel that somehow we must cut down world tensions through appeasement, gradual capitulation or whatever else was necessary. There were some members of that group with the advisers thereto that were under Communist discipline. Others were Socialists. Others were just confused, depending on their particular state of mind at the time."

At the Greater Phoenix School of Anti-Communism, Skousen had warned of "a small minority of teachers who guide and control thousands of teachers and students in American schools," and of textbooks, "intended to destroy our basic beliefs," and had said: "It is dangerous to point at those teachers who help Communism but are not actually Communists. But it may be pointed out that they are definitely helping Communism."

Anti-Communist "School"

THE SCHOOL OF ANTI-COMMUNISM is Fred Schwarz's favored technique for prolonging his impact on communities and for raising funds for his "crusade." The idea is not original. Similar "schools" of anti-Communism have been conducted by Project Alert, by Education for American Freedom, Inc., and with similar "experts"

as faculty. Yet so highly does the doctor regard his achievements in the educational field that he has talked grandiosely of establishing a university of anti-Communism, possibly to supersede The National Education Program at Harding College, at Searcy, Ark., which hitherto has functioned chiefly as an arsenal for superpatriots, supplying them with literature, films and film strips.

According to the red white and blue circulars which herald them, the Schwarz "schools" have two purposes: 1. "To instruct citizens in the philosophy, morality, organization, deceitful techniques and objectives of Communism; 2. To encourage the students to begin a combined program of study and applied citizenship *in order to transform acquired knowledge into local, national and international programs which will be effective in the maintenance of freedom.*"

The "schools" have nine basic policies: 1. To emphasize the nature and techniques of Communism as revealed in their own basic literature and by their past history; 2. To refrain from judging other organizations or individuals. However, the specific actions of organizations or individuals may be discussed in relation to the announced Communist purpose; 3. No national programs will be designed; 4. The "School" is nonpolitical, nonsectarian and secular; 5. *Academic freedom is granted to faculty members. Their interpretations and suggested programs are presented for consideration and are not to be regarded as the official interpretations and policies of the "school";* 6. No literature will be distributed promoting any organization not formally associated with the "school"; 7. No literature attacking other organizations or individuals will be distributed; 8. No petitions will be circulated nor programs of political action advocated; 9. All speakers and school personnel shall adhere no standards of courtesy and truth.

Policy Number 5 is the disclaimer, officially and in advance, exonerating Frederick Schwarz from the excesses of his handpicked faculty.

Beginning at Long Beach in December, 1958, the five-day Schools of Anti-Communism have been conducted in Indianapolis, Milwaukee, San Francisco, San Diego, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Shreveport, New Orleans, Columbus, St. Petersburg, Oakland, Seattle, Honolulu, Omaha, Dallas, Tyler (Texas), Anaheim (the seat of Disneyland) and in New York City.

Nominally, each "school" is sponsored by a local "citizens' committee" or "freedom forum," built up out of the interlocking directorates and supporters of indigenous "patriotic" organizations, "in association with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade," to which checks for "tuition" are to be made payable.

"Tuition," called "donation" for purposes of tax deductibility, is twenty dollars (closing banquet additional) for five days of instruction. Cut rates are available for ministers, priests, rabbis, teachers, students, policemen, firemen and servicemen. A "donation," varying from four to eight dollars, will secure admission to one day's sessions.

Each "school" day (running time 8:30 A.M. to 9:45 P.M.) begins and ends with a lecture by Dr. Schwarz. The Schwarz lectures follow this order: First day, A.M.: Philosophy of Communism, Part 1; P.M.: Communist Appeal to the Intellectual. (This lecture also has been titled, "Why Millionaires, College Professors and Ministers of Religion Become Communists.") It forms a chapter in Schwarz's major opus: "You Can Trust The Communists (to do what they say)." Of this lecture, *The Christian Century* (Dec. 13, 1961) wrote: "By not naming anyone, he places all under suspicion. He never indicates which millionaire, which professor or which minister becomes a Communist, thus implying that becoming a Communist is a characteristic tendency of these three breeds of men. This is what generates superheated emotion and divides Americans against each other."

The balance of the week Schwarz lectures as follows: Second day, A.M.: Philosophy of Communism, Part 2; P.M.: Communist Philosophy and Methods of Violence; Third day, A.M.: The Communist Party; P.M.: The Cause and Course of Communism; Fourth day, A.M.: Communist Fronts and Captive Organizations; P.M.: Treatment of Communism; Fifth day, A.M.: How to Debate with Communists and Fellow Travelers; P.M.: Principles and Program of Anti-Communist Action. Schwarz also delivers the main speech at the "Design for Victory" banquet which closes the "school." It is a fund-raising function.

The twelve-hour sessions are broken up by showings of films. These may include Blue Print for Communism, Nightmare in Red, Revolt in Hungary (made by CBS and narrated by Walter Cronkite), The Ultimate Weapon (narrated by Ronald Reagan), as well as the discredited documentary "Operation Abolition" and a strip "Communism On the Map" prepared by Harding College. The latter film showed North America as the one white spot on a red global map, with even Hawaii crimson. It was withdrawn from public use by the "crusade" when the San Francisco *Chronicle* (Jan. 1962) protested directly to Schwarz.

Between the doctor's personal appearances, his faculty instructs. The more-or-less "regulars" include Rev. James Colbert, Dr. Joost Sluis, W. P. Strube, Jr., W. Cleon Skousen (previously mentioned), Robert Morris, former Chief Counsel for the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Herbert Philbrick, former F.B.I. counterspy and author of "I Led Three Lives"; Dr. Tirzo Del Junco, a Pasadena, Calif. surgeon, Cuban-born, and John Drakeford, Australian citizen, former patient of Schwarz, now Professor at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Texas.

Professor Drakeford lectures on The Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital. His lecture begins with the proclamation that "Karl Marx was a Jew," and that he was short and ugly, lazy and slovenly and had no desire to go out and work.

"*Crusade*" *Schools Guest Lecturers*

Among the guest experts lecturing at the "schools" have been:

Richard Arens, veteran of fifteen years on Capitol Hill, who is credited with drafting the McCarran-Walter Act. In 1956, Arens was appointed Committee Director of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the following year conducted the friendly interrogation of Schwarz. In speeches, he has declared that there are 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 illegal aliens in the United States, all with Communist leanings or criminal Communist backgrounds, and that "there are 9,000,000 Communist agents in Africa and the House Committee knows for a fact that some African witch doctors have been taken to Moscow, trained and returned to Africa, loaded with the new and terrible drug from which there is no point of return." Arens has been associated as paid consultant with the Draper research project to prove Negroes genetically inferior to whites, has acted as adviser on grants for "patriotic projects" to H. L. Hunt, the Texas multimillionaire superpatriot. Meetings of John Birch Society chapters feature tape recordings of Arens' speeches.

Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor of political science at Syracuse University, author of "A Guide To Anti-Communist Action," foe of liberals in and out of universities, consultant to the House Un-American Activities Committee, active participant in Young Americans For Freedom, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, Conservative Party, Inc., of New York. Bouscaren has publicly approved of Robert Welch and the John Birch tactics.

Rev. C. Stephen Dunker, C.M. of St. Louis, one of the founders of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and for three years its chairman and spiritual director. In "You Can Trust The Communists" Schwarz states this organization was created at his suggestion "to spare the embarrassment of mixing Protestants and Catholics."

John Fred Schafly, Jr., Alton, Ill., lawyer and former member of the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Communist Strategy, Tactics and Objectives, has been actively associated with Project Alert, Education For Freedom, Inc. The favorite target in his speeches is the United States Supreme Court.

F. Gano Chance, electrical equipment manufacturer of Centralia, Mo., former president of the Missouri Chamber of Commerce, member of the National Council of the John Birch Society and founder of its Centralia Chapter.

Rear Admiral Chester Ward, U.S.N. (Retired), Director of Education for the American Security Council, a private intelligence service for businessmen. In his speeches, he names George Kennan, Adlai Stevenson, Senator William Fulbright, Walt Rostow, McGeorge Bundy and Jerome B. Wiesner, as a "power elite" who have "brought defeat to the defenders of freedom throughout the world."

Commander Paul A. Terry, U.S.N. (Retired), of San Diego, Calif., director of the Department of Education for the conservative Copley newspapers, organizer and speaker for Project Alert. Terry has attacked President Kennedy and Senator Fulbright, has defended the John Birch Society. "They are dedicated to fighting our enemy. We never want to lose sight of that."

Half Truths as Whole Truths

In May, 1962, Leola McKie attended the "school" in Omaha, Neb. and recorded her observations in the *Christian Century.* (July 4, 1962.) I heard half truth expounded as a whole truth," she wrote. "I learned how powerful propaganda can be when promulgated through showmanship." She heard Schwarz disclaim responsibility for what his faculty taught and wondered "how many public or private educational institutions could get by without assuming responsibility for what their faculties taught." She listened to Dr. Del Junco's defense of the John Birch Society; Schafly's attack upon the United States Supreme Court, Robert Morris' contention that our military establishment, schools, churches, television, radio, nongovernmental agencies, had been "neutralized" to admit the Communist victory; Skousen's demand for overhaul of the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, and the United Nations.

She heard Schwarz belittle danger from rightwing extremism. "He reminded us that on the 'left' are the communists with 100 megaton bombs and on the 'right' only a candy maker with 1 million bonbons and a few minute men with rifles in their garages.

"Along with his task of disseminating information," she wrote, "Dr. Schwarz introduced sales talks for the books on display (particularly his own), tape recordings and banquet tickets . . . He is not interested in programs, he said, but in people; when people have enough knowledge they will create their own programs. Knowledge is power; we must know the enemy. And there is a price to be paid for that knowledge: $20 tuition for the 'school's' 14 sessions, $2 for a single session; a tape with two speeches for $5; a set of recordings covering all the sessions for $75 ('a bargain!')

"I became in turn frustrated and angry," she concluded. "Bored and incredulous, irritated and amused. But I thanked God that more people were not there to hear the downgrading of my country to which I listened."

Daily attendance at the Omaha "school" varied from 116 to 500, with a no-admission-charge family and youth night, featuring the double bill of Schwarz and Philbrick, which drew 1,750. Cash receipts from the banquet were $17,565 and income from tuition "donations" and sales of literature, $19,644.

Attendance at the "schools" has varied from a low of 75 in Philadelphia to several thousands in Miami. Larger, more sophisticated cities, like San Francisco,

Philadelphia and New York are least responsive. Highly successful in attendance as well as financially, was the "school" in the Los Angeles Sports Arena at the end of August, 1961. The published balance sheet reported cash receipts of $311,253, expenses of $96,496, net profit of $214,757.

Some of these profits—how much cannot be precisely determined—go into the "crusade's" foreign projects.

Foreign Projects

THE FOREIGN PROJECTS have been alternately shrouded in vagueness and boasted about with extravagance.

By its nature, an operation which is perforce shrouded in mystery is necessarily, and for its sponsors, providentially, secret, yet certain details of the "crusade's" activities abroad are general currency. Schwarz's own figures, given to the *New York Times,* reported an expenditure of $234,560 for foreign projects in 1961. Of this sum, Schwarz said, $152,615 went to India, $58,000 "for a rotary press and a building to enlarge the distribution of *The Voice of Kerala,* a daily newspaper the "crusade" has been subsidizing for nearly three years. It has a circulation of 29,000 in an area where the Communists formerly were in control and are still very strong. Also $5,000 was used for an anti-Communist book in Kerala. Ten thousand dollars went to purchase property for a home for orphan boys in Secunderabad in Andhra State and additional amounts for the sustenance of fifty boys and their teachers. Other sums were spent on literature and in support of native organization." *(N. Y. Times,* June 24, 1962*)*

Schwarz was, in this interview, far less specific about the expenditure of $37,067 in British Guiana where Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan had accused the "crusade" of working for the opposition to his People's Progressive Party. According to persons close to the "crusade," the key figure in the "crusade's" grand design for liberating British Guiana is Belrum Singh Rai, an Indian who was expelled from the People's Progressive Party after its April elections.

"In Japan where $11,974 was sent last year, the book 'You Can Trust The Communists' has been translated into Japanese and help is being given to student organizations opposed to communism. Lesser amounts were spent in other countries. A comic book in Spanish distributed widely in Mexico has colored cartoons of Communist soldiers prodding a priest with bayonet, a whip-flourishing woman with hammer and sickle on her uniform threatening helpless children, and a group of slave laborers, one of whom is being lashed by a guard. The "crusade" also paid for 3,000 copies of Dr. Schwarz's book in Spanish for Mexican distribution. Most of the current work in Australia is distribution of literature and subsidizing Dr. Schwarz's book."

In connection with inquiries into his expenditures, Schwarz personally offered figures widely at variance with these. He cited gifts of "approximately" $50,000 to "certain parties" in Kerala for the rotary press, "approximately" $24,000 for the establishment of a daily newspaper, "approximately" $24,000 to the orphanage in Secunderabad, there three grants to India totalling $98,000. In addition, "approximately" $25,000 went to the "Asian Institute of Research in Tokyo" and "approximately" $2,400 to a publication "Our Africa" in Johannesburg, South Africa.

In his Meet The Press interview, Schwarz cited the *Voice of Kerala* as the outstanding achievement of the "crusade" abroad.

> MR. SPIVAK: I believe you yourself admit, though, that British Guiana is going Communist, so you haven't been very successful there.
>
> DR. SCHWARZ: He (Ambassador Morrison) claimed it was very successful because he claimed Cheddi Jagan, whom he named as a Communist, was going to be defeated . . .

(Later in the program, the following exchange took place:)

> MR. WECHSLER: Dr. Schwarz, it is the declared position of the Kennedy Administration, as it was of the Eisenhower regime, that we seek honorable agreements with the Communists throughout the world, however difficult and harassing the quest for such agreements may be. Is it the objective of your movement to disrupt the effort to obtain such agreements?
>
> DR. SCHWARZ: Not for a minute. The objective of our movement is to give education concerning the philosophy, the morality, the educational structure, the techniques and objectives of Communism so that the value of such agreements and the probable future of such agreements may be realized and so that the democratic process may be more effective in this area.
>
> MR. WECHSLER: I think you have answered my question. You have talked a good deal about the function of your movement in educating this country. Is it your view that the leadership of this country is inadequate to that role? It seems to me when you talk of setting up printing presses in India and other places that, in effect, you have set yourself up as an adjunct to our government or perhaps superseding it. Is it your view that the government is inadequate to the task of resisting the Communist challenge?
>
> DR. SCHWARZ: Yes, I believe that the government of the United States is a constitutional government that is established with certain constitutional liberties. It is not a totalitarian government. It has a monopoly in military areas. It does not have a monopoly in many other areas and the government has always encouraged people-to-people and individual private areas to operate in the field of education and we are acting in the area which the government encourages in that regard. I think on the evidence it is quite clear that our past programs, whoever is responsible for them, have been inadequate.
>
> MR. WECHSLER: But isn't the educational program that you are carrying on actually at variance with the stated position and objectives of the United States government?
>
> DR SCHWARZ: Not in any sense because actually . . . various agencies of the government are using our material in many areas of the world . . .
>
> MR. WECHSLER: . . . Could you tell us here which agencies and what material?
>
> DR. SCHWARZ: For example my book, "You Can Trust The Communists."
>
> MR. WECHSLER: What agency?
>
> DR. SCHWARZ: The United States Information Agency has arranged for the translation of it into Korean and we are cooperating with them in the purchase of a number of copies so that they can be distributed to the Koreans in Japan.

The enormous gap between reality and Schwarz's claim became evident in the aftermath. Following Meet The Press, Schwarz told the *New York Times* the U.S.I.A. had arranged with a publisher in Japan to translate the work and that his organization was providing the money to buy "about" 3,000 books, noting that Koreans in Japan had been "especially subject to pro-Communist propaganda."

On August 27, the U.S.I.A. told the *New York Times* it had bought 210 copies of Schwarz's book, had paid the doctor $100 for foreign rights, had paid a printer in Korea $281.31 to run off copies for agency libraries and Korean officials. Distribution was to be limited to South Korea.

"Crusade" Merchandise for Income

THE CRUSADE MERCHANDISE, spread on lobby tables, and also available by mail, runs from hardcover books to "midget missiles," sold in bulk, with blank space on which business firms may print their own names and patriotic slogans.

"You Can Trust The Communists" sells for $2.95, hardcover; fifty cents, paperback. Schwarz says the paperback has sold one million copies. He estimates his royalties at $20,000 a year. He also claims all of his royalties are turned back to the "crusade." However, no entry on the income side of the balance sheets he has made public gives verification of this—nor of an additional claim that he turns back to the "crusade" the hundred dollar fee paid him for each lecture he delivers.

Skousen, whose "The Naked Communist" ($4.95) and Philbrick whose "I Led Three Lives" ($3.00), compete with the master's work, have made no similar claims of generosity.

A basic set of materials is available for $50 to those desiring to go on with their education. Initial equipment consists of twelve sets of booklets and taped speeches by Schwarz, Strube, Jr., Arens and Philbrick. Skousen tapes may be purchased separately.

The "crusade" reported an income in 1961 of $26,110.97 from the sale of printed matter, tapes, films and recordings. For free distribution, it offers a pamphlet "What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?", the Newsletters, issued from Long Beach but printed in Waterloo, and a Government Printing Office List of Publications, issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Adding together the prices of the urgently recommended "crusade" materials, California Attorney General Stanley Mosk observed, "If an individual bought just one of each available tape and one of each booklet, it would cost him $689.10" and added, "No wonder this whole movement has been called patriotism for profit."

In 1961, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade reported a tax-free income of $1,273,492.39 and disbursements of $1,018,838.41.

Its income sources were broken down as follows:

Letters	$127,572.70
Meetings	245,747.21
Books	23,911.15
Pledges	11,214.63
Films, tapes	2,199.82
Interest	411.54
Unsolicited	20,000.00
Banquets	89,104.96
Schools and Rallies	462,662.93
Brunches	290,666.45

Not listed as "income" were sizeable amounts spent by individuals and corporations to buy television time and newspaper advertisements and to reprint and distribute "crusade" literature. The organization's audited reports, Schwarz told *The New York Times* (June 24, 1962) do not "reflect these expenditures because not one penny of that money ever passed through our hands."

Not listed, also, is Schwarz's own purported donation of his royalties and lecture fees, nor income from memberships which range from $10 to $100.

The doctor says his is a grassroots "crusade," with 70,000 individual contributors, one-third of whom reside in California. One of the most generous benefactors reportedly is the Glenmede Trust Company of Philadelphia, credited with gifts of $40,000 from 1958-1960, and with $43,000 in 1961. (Whether at meeting, banquet, rally or brunch is not known.) The Schick Safety Razor Company, Patrick Frawley, Jr. its President, the Rotary Club of Los Angeles and the Richfield Oil Company have also been among the larger contributors.

Accounts in the name of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade are maintained at the Long Beach branch of the United California Bank and Security Company, the First National Bank of the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Long Beach, the U.S. National Bank, San Diego, the Montrose National Bank, Houston, and the Girard Corn Exchange, Philadelphia. Schwarz has a "field account" at the Citizens National Bank in Long Beach, on which he, James Colbert and Ella Doorn sign checks.

The reported expenditures of the "crusade" (*N. Y. Times,* June 24, 1962) list $223,788 spent in 1961 for administrative costs, including salaries of thirty staff members, traveling expenses and rent for branch offices. The top salary reported was $7,800 to James Colbert. In addition, Colbert receives a "house allowance" of $200 a month, and all traveling expenses. Two of his sisters are also on the payroll.

Schwarz says he is paid a salary of only $5,000 a year, plus all living and traveling expenses. His wife, Lillian May, is paid $450 a month to serve as secretary of the "crusade" in Australia.

Strube, Jr. and Dr. Sluis are each paid $500 a month and traveling expenses.

Income from rallies and "schools" has varied from city to city, but until the "crusade" invaded New York in the spring and summer of 1962, Fred Schwarz had not experienced a drastic financial setback.

New York Invasion

THE NEW YORK INVASION began with the arrival of Schwarz, in person, on April 9. One week before (April 2) the Social Education and Action Committee of the Presbytery of New York had issued a memoran-

dum to churchmen which read in part:

"...We support our government in its resistance to a Communist takeover of the free world and we think it should be spared the distraction at home of this lunacy of the extreme right, which the Roman Catholic Bishop John Wright of Pittsburgh referred to as a 'kind of sick-in-the-head patriotism—not patriotism at all but mere nervous indigestion'... Hurling their unsubstantiated charges of disloyalty at leaders and institutions dedicated to building the free society that Communism despises but can scarcely defeat, they are creating an anxiety neurosis in the Nation. They are destroying the people's trust in their free churches, community, schools and elected officials . . . Dr. Frederick Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade avoids the extremes, relatively speaking, of Welch and the Birchites. None the less, there is a disturbing, if unplanned, relationship between these two men that must be kept in mind... Schwarz is supposed to take a dim view of the Birch Society yet he grinningly concedes that Welch signs up people whom he, Schwarz, works up. There is a serious question about a movement that stimulates those whom it reaches to become Birchers . . . He cannot escape involvement in a certain unity of disruption that characterizes the whole right..."

Accordingly, at the press conference Schwarz held on his arrival, the doctor shrugged off identification with the "radical right" as a boon rather than a handicap. "It's easier to go where you're known than where you're not known," he said. And as previously, he declined to denounce the Birch Society. He revealed he had come to New York because the metropolis was desperately in need of education about the Communist menace and announced a "warmup" rally for April 13 at Manhattan Center.

His promotional strategy began immediately to emerge.

His plan involved a technique as old as the art of press agentry. Experienced publicists agree that it is one by which you cannot lose. Its opening gambit is to seek an expression of opinion, favorable or otherwise, from a group which enjoys prestige and the confidence of the community. A favorable expression becomes an endorsement to be spread by advertising. An unfavorable expression can be dramatized as persecution. Controversy is provoked. Controversy makes news.

Schwarz and his advisers chose the Anti-Defamation League as the target of their strategy.

Schwarz and the ADL

On the day of the Schwarz arrival (April 9), Marvin Leibman, a public relations man who had previously serviced the Young Americans For Freedom, the Committee of One Million, the American Committee to Aid Katanga Freedom Fighters, the American Jewish League Against Communism and other causes, telephoned the Anti-Defamation League, suggesting that its leaders meet with Schwarz. No action was taken on the suggestion.

Thus, tentatively, began the setting of the stage for what was later to be touted widely as a massive campaign of "boycott, bigotry and fear."

The warmup "rally" at Manhattan Center drew an audience of 2,000 to a hall which seats 3,000. Members of the Young Americans For Freedom served as ushers and led the applause for the Schwarz routine speech. An appeal for volunteers and money was made. The New York daily papers gave the meeting adequate news coverage.

On May 2, Marvin Leibman again telephoned the Anti-Defamation League, saying Schwarz was eager to meet with the director of its Civil Rights Division and with others of its top leadership to answers questions and "to clear himself." The following day, Schwarz himself telephoned to repeat the request.

While the request for a "clearance" meeting was under consideration, William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of *The National Review,* wrote to ADL's Civil Rights Director (May 10) stating he had been informed the League representative had "declined to meet with Dr. Fred Schwarz" and demanding, "why you declined to see Dr. Schwarz, if indeed you did." Buckley received an answer dated May 17th: "This is in response to your May 10 letter asking whether I have declined to meet with Dr. Fred Schwarz and if so why. I have no need to meet with Dr. Schwarz nor any sense of obligation to respond as to the reason."

On May 29th, as a guest on the Barry Gray program (WMCA) Schwarz said he had sought a "trial" by the Anti-Defamation League to clear up charges that he and/or his organization were anti-Semitic. He admitted no such charge had ever been made by the Anti-Defamation League or any other responsible Jewish organization. "The ADL and the official Jewish bodies have been much fairer and much more objective than some of the Christian groups in their criticism," he said on the air. "I'd like to go on record on that fact."

Even while he went on record for WMCA's midnight audience, the June 5th issue of *The National Review* was on the newsstands carrying a two-page editorial, headlined, "The Impending Smear of Dr. Fred Schwarz."

The editorial spoke of "the tendency, so frequently remarked, to brand as anti-Semitic anyone associated with an explicitly Christian undertaking, who is also a tough-minded anti-Communist or conservative." Declaring that "the ADL executive had flatly refused to meet with Dr. Schwarz" the editorial went on to say that there could be only one reason for the refusal to receive Dr. Schwarz: like so many other enemies of Dr. Schwarz, the ADL spokesman was afraid to put himself in the position of finding out that there is nothing wrong with Schwarz." *The National Review* concluded, "the high command at the ADL evidently reasoned that they would find it much more satisfying to profess ignorance about Dr. Schwarz and therefore encourage the continued circulation of invidious rumors about him than to have to report that they had investigated him, met with him and satisfied themselves that there was not in him the least secretion of racial or religious prejudice."

On that same date of June 5th, ADL's Civil Rights Director, keeping a long standing engagement, addressed the District 1 Convention of the B'nai B'rith at

Kiamesha Lake, N.Y. In a general criticism of the radical right movement in America as a divisive force, he characterized Schwarz as "one of today's foremost practitioners of a philosophy of despair and gloom" and recounted Schwarz's efforts to get the Anti-Defamation League to hold a "formal hearing" to prove the doctor was not anti-Semitic. He stated that the Anti-Defamation League did not meet with Schwarz because "We will not permit ourselves to be used in this way." Of the "crusade's" program he added that it had condemned America's effective programs for combatting Communism and had confused many Americans by offering, "inane, meaningless, black-and-white solutions to our most complicated problems of survival" and would have Americans stand by "mute and disorganized, each man searching for Communists at home while international Communism capitalizes the distress and starvation of the world."

Schwarz reacted promptly, in lengthy letters to the *New York Herald Tribune* (which had reported the Kiamesha Lake speech) and to the International President of the B'nai B'rith. He termed the speech "defamatory" and "inaccurate," declared he had not asked for a "formal hearing" to clear himself of anti-Semitism, but had "merely requested an informal meeting to discuss with responsible officials problems that had arisen and to clarify areas of possible misunderstanding." The Schwarz communication was on the letterhead of the "Greater New York Anti-Communism Rally—Madison Square Garden, June 28, 1962." The name of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade did not appear.

Eugene Lyons, a senior editor of *Reader's Digest,* entered the controversy on June 7 with a letter to the ADL, reporting that he had been invited to address the Madison Square Rally, adding, "I gather that the Anti-Defamation League has been attacking Dr. Schwarz. I would therefore be most grateful if you would let me know without delay what your League knows about him that I don't." He disclosed he had met with Schwarz personally the previous week and that Schwarz had "joined some of the *Digest* editors at a luncheon in which he was thoroughly grilled on all aspects of his work." He added a gratuitous warning: "The ADL stance on this mater is potentially dangerous in terms of anti-Semitism. Dr. Schwarz is meeting in the great Jewish city of New York the kind of harassment he has not met anywhere else. Millions of earnest anti-Communists are likely to misinterpret this and lay the blame at your door."

Before the Anti-Defamation League had an opportunity to answer, Lyons wrote a second letter (June 13th) protesting the alleged failure to reply to him and announcing he was making his own missives available to the press. *The National Review,* which in its June 19th issue had carried a hostile attack on the Anti-Defamation League ("He Shall Not Be Heard: The Anti-Defamation League"), published the Lyons letters in its July 3rd issue, headlined, "Does Mr. Forster Plead The Fifth?"

While the planned, coordinated "controversy" was thus being exploited, volunteers, recruited chiefly from the Young Americans For Freedom, toiled in Marvin Leibman's public relations office, stuffing envelopes, to flood New York with promotional literature for the Madison Square Garden Rally.

Hints Organized Conspiracy

Sizeable advertisements in *The New York Times* and the *World-Telegram* endeavored to explain that the use of "Christian" in the "crusade's" designation did not mean the movement was "anti-Semitic" and that its leader would welcome the opportunity to answer questions of any doubting organization and to confer with its leaders. The doctor also began to hint, in private conversation, as in public gathering, of an organized conspiracy by Jewish groups to prevent him from buying television time, of threats against his sponsors of boycott of their products. Communiques from Long Beach were stating, unabashed, that "New York was a city of bigotry, boycott and fear. In this city it was considered in many quarters un-American to be an unashamed Christian."

Nevertheless, Schwarz was able to report a "breakthrough." Despite "that clique," broadened now to include the National Council of Churches, he had managed to buy evening time on WOR TV (Channel 9) to promote the Garden Rally. He had been an invited guest on the "Long John" Show (WOR radio), had been the beneficiary of news coverage and features in *The New York Times,* and of a laudatory editorial in the *New York Daily News,* which had urged its readers to buy "You Can Trust The Communists." He held "warmup" rallies in the New York suburbs and made personal appearances in Episcopal and Catholic Churches in the four boroughs outside Manhattan.

Yet he found himself in new difficulties. The mayor of Mt. Vernon, N.Y. withdrew, with publicity, as a sponsor of the Garden Rally. The National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans declared the concern of his organization was not the issue of putative anti-Semitism but whether or not Schwarz and his faculty were cooperating with the forces of bigotry, authoritarianism and reaction. And the Internal Revenue Service questioned the tax deductibility of the Greater New York School of Anti-Communism, claiming tax exemption had been granted only to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, which Schwarz had deliberately kept in the background in New York. Indeed, on the Barry Gray Show he had flatly stated, of the "school" and rally: "This is not a function of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. This a nonpolitical, nonsectarian, anti-Communism rally and we're anxious and eager to have full cooperation of everyone."

His mounting panic over expenses and the possibility of failure was tacit in the announcement before the Garden Rally that the School of Anti-Communism would

be held August 27-31 at Carnegie Hall (seating capacity 3,200), not at Madison Square Garden (seating capacity 20,000) as previously announced.

The Madison Square Garden Rally, promoted industriously for two months, drew an audience of 8,000, "less than half the number," *The New York Times* pointed out, "the CACC had drawn in the Los Angeles Sports Arena in August, 1961." A thin line of pickets, whom Schwarz in his Newsletter characterized as "Communists," "Fascists," "Neo-Nazis" and "Anti-Semites" marched outside the Garden. The faithful heard the doctor's hour-long speech, applauded Herbert Philbrick, Eugene Lyons, Arthur G. McDowell, an official of the Upholsterer's Union and Executive Secretary of the Council Against Communist Aggression, booed references to the United States Supreme Court, Bertrand Russell, Drew Pearson and Barry Gray, cheered when Pat Boone, singing star of radio and television, dramatically declared: "I would rather see my four daughters blown into heaven by an atomic bomb than taught into hell by the Communists." In his Newsletter, the doctor crowed, "The Madison Square Garden Anti-Communism Rally was triumphal."

Preparations for the "school" at Carnegie Hall moved ahead under the constant charge of "bigotry, boycott and fear." George Sokolsky in his column complained, "I do not understand why it is 'bigotry, boycott and fear' not to follow the behests of Dr. Fred Schwarz. What is the compulsion to follow his leadership or to attend his meetings? Those who want to go are free to go; those who want to stay away are free to stay away. Is this bigotry?"

Victory or Defeat in Two Months

"The open antagonism of the Communists and Nazis and their affiliates," the Schwarz Newsletter informed his constituency, "is comparatively easily handled. The sly, dishonest opposition of the underground is more difficult to locate and defeat. It must be drawn to the surface before it can be met and destroyed . . . The battle is now raging. The next two months will tell a story of victory or defeat. I need your prayerful and generous help, more than ever before. As the enemies of freedom are routed in New York City, the news will travel the entire world, striking terror to the tyrants and encouraging free men everywhere."

In August, desperate for cash, the doctor flew west, to Tyler and Dallas, Texas, to spell out, in meeting halls, crowded with local rightwing extremists, his battle with the Jews in New York.

His speech at Tyler began, as always, with the disclaimer of anti-Semitism because of his once-Jewish paternity, with the flat statement, "I don't believe that Judaism equals Communism." Having thus implanted an association in the minds of his audiences, he went on to relate that he had been asked to drop the word "Christian" from the name of his "crusade" because there were three million Jews in New York City. He declared Jews had threatened boycotts against his sponsors, particularly against the Schick Safety Razor Company, maintained he had minutes of secret meetings of Jewish organizations, plotting to sabotage him, spoke of the blackout against him by communications media, declared the Jews had persuaded the National Council of Churches and other Christian groups to denounce his "crusade." In response to a question, he said, "I have never believed that Zionism spawned Communism and I think those people who say it are *probably* wrong."

He said the "enemy" was those people hostile to him, that the hostile people were Communists. For the *Dallas News* (Aug. 10, 1962) he listed his opposition: The Comunist Party, Nazis, Fascists, Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike and other San Francisco clergymen, the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches in New York, the Anti-Defamation League, Senator William J. Fulbright of Arkansas and Senator Stephen M. Young of Ohio.

In St. Louis and Los Angeles, he became more circumspect, neglecting to link his Jewish "opposition" with the Communists, as in Texas, though he played upon the theme of persecution. He told his Los Angeles audience he had been able to buy television time only by "storming into the office of the Chairman of the FCC and demanding it."

In a fortnight of barnstorming, Schwarz raised $10,000 to support the enlightenment of New York. He returned to Meet The Press and to preside over the opening of the Greater New York School of Anti-Communism at Carnegie Hall.

Objective observers, accustomed to estimating crowds, place the attendance at no more than 400. The faculty comprised Roy Brewer, former head of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor, and Vice President of the Council Against Communist Aggression, Rev. James Colbert, Professor John Drakeford, Raymond Joseph, a Haitian national, student at the University of Chicago; Dr. Tirzo Del Junco, Eugene Lyons, Arthur G. McDowell, Frank S. Mayer, an editor of *The National Review,* Herbert Philbrick, John Fred Schafly, Jr., Dr. Joost Sluis and, twice daily, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz.

Victory Banquet Fund-Raising

The "Victory Banquet" on the final evening concentrated on fund raising rather than on celebration. Dr. Schwarz announced that the New York "school" had incurred a deficit of $75,000. He said his slanderers and detractors had worked hard for this failure. He said the free will offerings of the dinner guests would be their answer.

In three-minute speeches:

Dr. George Westcott appealed for more money for tape recorders.

Don Smith, editor of *Our Africa,* asked for help to meet his expenses in Johannesburg.

Raymond Joseph begged for dollars for Anti-Communist education in Haiti.

Dr. Tirzo Del Junco read a letter from the Cuban

underground, pleading for cash and for proof that America was doing its share to combat Communism.

George Thomas asked additional money for the "Voice of Kerala" and for his efforts to unite Christians, Hindus and anti-Communist groups in a concerted effort to change the government of this Indian state.

Dr. Joost Sluis said the Communists in British Guiana really fear the work being done by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and that his agents there were in desperate need of money.

Dr. Schwarz asked for an outpouring of generosity. He received $10,000 in cash, $1,000 in stock, $1,200 in pledges, "two-thirds as good as Omaha," he complained. He was disappointed, he said, to see how easily New Yorkers could be hoodwinked by pro-Communists and hesitant about defending their country. He wished to return to New York, he said, because he wants to help New York. He would, however, be compelled to use the money raised in the South and West to help the East. He planned, he said, to crusade immediately in San Francisco and Cleveland.

From Long Beach, dated Sept. 6, 1962, came a Newsletter with these contents:

"As I leave New York, my mood is one of calm jubilation. I believe that the New York School of Anti-Communism was an unqualified success...

"New York was chosen as the site for an Anti-Communism School for a very specific reason. New York City has become the focal point of the counterattack upon the anti-Communist movement. The instruments being used to destroy the grassroots surge of anti-Communism sweeping the country were the national news media . . . We decided to meet this challenge and go to the source from which these false reports originated... The strategy has been very successful and will pay great dividends in the future."

The Newsletter recorded the enrollment at the "school" as "over 2,000" with "a hard core of 400 people who attended and absorbed the complete message of the 'school'." They now form a real bridgehead of informed and dedicated workers for freedom. They are already establishing a network of study groups and clamoring for a return school..."

Dr. Schwarz listed among the "significant acheivements" of the New York incursion, the fact that "the most inflential newspaper in the United States, *The New York Times,* repeatedly reported our activities with objectivity and honesty."

Columnist George Sokolsky wrote the epitaph of the New York adventure on September 13, 1962. He said: "Dr. Fred Schwarz who operates the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade found New York to be a cold, distant city . . . Altogether, Dr. Schwarz is reported to have said that the operation netted him a loss of $75,000.

"That is a lot of money to lose. Dr. Schwarz was apparently poorly advised. New York City is no place to hold such meetings in August. It is too hot, too humid, too sticky. Second, an anti-Communist school implies that folks need to be taught. New York City includes some 60 institutions of higher education, including Columbia, New York, Fordham, St. Johns, Yeshiva Universities, to mention only a few. These universities deal with Marxism, Socialism, Communism, etc. through scholarship and usually students of these subjects are familiar with German and Russian and even Chinese and are doing original research.

"However, the Australian doctor and his associates have since been explaining the failure as the result of a conspiracy against him . . . There was no conspiracy against Dr. Schwarz. Others have failed in New York. The Giants had to move to San Francisco and the Dodgers to Los Angeles. There was no conspiracy against them . . .

"In the five thousand years of Jewish history, the Jews have learned to fear the apostate. Many of the most outrageous libels against the Jews throughout their history originated with apostates. Dr. Fred Schwarz's father was a Jew who became a Christian and here is his son, who, when an operation of his fails, by innuendo blames it upon a conspiracy which, by the way it is said, may be called a Jewish conspiracy . . . But there was no conspiracy . . .

"...An attack was made on Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League that he would not meet with Dr. Schwarz. That is a matter of taste. Dr. Schwarz has been in this country eight or nine years and many persons have not met him. In fact more persons have not met him than have met him."

• • •

Warnings Without Solutions

In sum, to use the words of Fletcher Knebel of *Look's* Washington Bureau, "Dr. Schwarz is like the man who warns that a forest fire is raging toward town from all points of the compass, but shrugs his shoulders when asked how to put it out. 'I don't believe in giving the Government advice," he says. As Dr. Schwarz hurries away to warn another city, local fire fighters move in with their remedies. The more frenzied demand that we burn down the income tax, fry Earl Warren, smoke out the Communists in Washington, uproot the State Department, and don't worry about Khrushchev's bombs—he is bluffing."

In the view of many responsible observers—of all political opinions and religious persuasions—Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade do not represent sound and effective anti-Communism. Schwarz's preachments—and those of his associates—mis-state the nature of the Communist menace and offer no program to combat that menace, which is real enough. Those who view Schwarz's anti-Communism as unsound have sensibly recommended that Americans look to their schools, their universities, their churches and synagogues, and to responsible community and civic groups for dependable information and guidance on how to fight Communism effectively.

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(Because the pace of "right-to-work" campaigns is stepping up in tempo, this and the next edition of the Political Memo will be devoted exclusively to RTW, and the right-wing connections of many of the men behind it.)

The Men, The Money, The Menace . . .

COMMON GOALS UNITE RIGHT-WINGERS, RTW FORCES IN ANTI-UNION CRUSADE

"No person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization . . ."

This sounds like a verbatim quotation from a present-day state "right-to-work" law. But it isn't. Instead, **it is 60 years old and it is the pregnant phrase that gave birth to all state "wreck" laws.** It first came to light in 1903 in a Declaration of Principles of the **National Association of Manufacturers** when that organization launched the original "open shop" campaign.

Though it has appeared under different aliases—American Plan in the 1920s and now "right-to-work"—the character and intent of the original open shop drive has been changeless over its 60-year history.

Not to be outdone by its Siamese twin of reaction, the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1921 joined the NAM crusade when its president declared: **"We stand for the principle of the open shop."** Since then, the NAM and Chamber have been inseparable in their determination to "rescue" American working people from the iron dungeon of trade unionism by throwing them a key labeled "right to work."

OOPS, THE CAT GETS OUT OF THE BAG

"Yes, it **would** weaken unions at the collective bargaining table. **That is one of the purposes of the right-to-work proposal."**—Statement by Prof. Russell Decker, Bowling Green (Ohio) State U., during debate held in Findlay, Ohio, July 17, 1958. Prof. Decker appeared as a spokesman **FOR** the open shop law.

A NATURAL HAVEN FOR THE 'FAR-OUTERS'

Through the years, the open shop movement **has been a magnet for the ultra-reactionaries of the American right wing.** Indeed, without them it would be as dead as vaudeville, for it is the ultras who today carry the load for state RTW movements.

A professional right-winger Vance Muse was among the first to employ the phrase "right to work" as a full-blown slogan. Muse helped organize in the 1930s the infamous **Christian American Association, an Anti-Negro, anti-Semitic outfit.** In Florida (1944) and Arkansas (1947), the first two states to pass scab laws, Muse's hate-mongering CAA played an important role. Muse's activities often were **helped substantially by DuPont money and finances from Alfred Sloan of General Motors.**

In the thick of the Arkansas battle, too, was the Veterans Industrial Association, founded by strong-arm man James Karam. A strike-breaking organization for hire, it had the support and cooperation of a powerhouse of today's right wing, George S. Benson, president of Harding College, Searcy, Ark. **Benson and his college are the fountainhead of rightist films, literature, strategy.**

ENTER THE 'NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE'

Ten years after the war, 17 states had adopted RTW, and the time was ripe for formation of a national front group. Thus, in 1955, founding of the National Right to Work Committee was announced. Its character can be judged by the heralds who trumpeted it onto the scene. One was North Carolina industrialist E. S. Dillard, presently **an endorser of the John Birch Society and of the Manion Forum.** The other was **ex-Rep. Fred Hartley Jr.** whose name endures as the far end of the Taft-Hartley Act. **Hartley himself once was listed as sponsor of a political action conference organized by the late Merwin K. Hart, a holy name in right-wing circles.**

Hartley was president of the newly-formed NRTWC, later became chairman of its advisory board, and after 1958 appears to have severed formal ties with the group. Dillard was NRTWC's first chairman of the board, has remained as a director.

Another of the prime movers in the early days of NRTWC was William Harrison, a disgruntled railroad worker. He served as executive secretary from 1956 to 1961 and left to become executive vice president of a far-out right-wing crowd in Indiana, the Council for Individual Freedom. He has since moved on to another rightist outfit, the National Labor-Management Foundation.

Joining NRTWC in 1961 as vice president and director of information was **Glenn A. Green who had put in 12 years as chief assistant to the previously mentioned George S. Benson.** Under Benson, Green produced propaganda films widely circulated by the John Birch Society and other hallucinated groups. **Green is an admitted member of JBS.**

Among members of NRTWC's board of directors with close ties to the extreme right are: Rev. Howard E. Mather, Amenia, N. Y., a leader of the Christian Freedom Foundation; Rev. Frederick C. Fowler, Duluth, Minn., a speaker at meetings of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade and a director of Christian Freedom Foundation; industrialist Charles E. Daniel, Greenville, S. D., member of the rightist American Good Government Society; Eugene B. Germany, Dallas, Texas, president of Lone Star Steel, one of the big donors to right-wing activities.

Nearly a dozen former directors of NRTWC have long histories of association with way-out right-wing causes.

THE MONEY TREE AND SOME OF THOSE WHO WATER IT

Money is no problem for NRTWC. Since its function is essentially propagandistic, it does not—nor does it need to—deal in millions. The most recent years for which figures are available are 1959 and 1960, during which the committee collected and spent more than $800,000, the bulk of it on "educational" materials.

WHERE MONEY FLOWS LIKE WATER

Speaking of money, the Kansas right-to-work backers shelled out more in 1958 to get the law passed than was spent in **all the Republican and Democratic state and congressional campaigns combined.** (New York Times, November 9, 1958.)

It collects funds on a sliding scale dues basis. For individuals, $1 a year and up; $25-50 for small businesses; $50-100 for average size concerns; $100 and up for large companies.

The big money for RTW comes at the state level (see box). Some of the sources are eye-openers. In Ohio, for example, in 1958 the open-shoppers got a big boost from the **extreme right-wing Committee for Constitutional Government.** The one-time chief of CCG, **Edward Rumely,** was notorious for the inferior quality of his patriotism. **He was convicted after World War I for his wartime activities as a German agent.**

The Toledo branch of CCG, in a letter dated May 1, 1958, **dunned Ohio businessmen for contributions of more than $500 a head** to aid the union-busting RTW campaign. Among signers of the letter were big industrialist members of CCG, one of them the **president of Champion Spark Plug Co.**

The flood of RTW funds in the states, of course, comes from businesses, the state chambers of commerce and state NAM affiliates.

In 1958, when scab law promoters were rebuffed in several major industrial states—among them Ohio and California—many millions were poured into the anti-worker crusade.

TIES TO NAM AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Loneliness will never afflict NRTWC. It has established close and permanent family ties with the NAM and Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber, in 1961, set up its own **Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism,** describing its policy "to spearhead and stimulate a drive for an end to compulsory unionism wherever and in whatever form it may exist."

Heading the committee is Chamber Treasurer Wofford B. Camp, **former director of the California Farm Bureau and member of the rightist American Good Government Society.** Some other committee members are: Alpheus H. Borden, Elizabeth, N. J., Manion Forum endorser; Howard F. Jensen, Dallas, Texas, VP of Lone Star Steel; John J. Jury, Wichita, Kansas, member of the John Birch Society; John Ben Shepperd, Odessa, Texas, Manion Forum endorser. **One-fourth of the Chamber's committee members are directly connected with NRTWC.**

In its brief life, the Chamber's special anti-union committee has published two books, demogogic collections of pro-RTW statements by educators and clergymen. Of those quoted, **nine are connected with NRTWC,** and more than a dozen—**among them former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson**—have open right-wing links.

Not to be outdone—indeed, in order to cooperate to the fullest—the Chamber's soul-mate, the NAM, has set up a special committee which embraces RTW in its jurisdiction, the **Center for the Study of Union Power.** It is an offshoot of an earlier NAM Study Group on Monopoly Power Exercised by Labor Unions, formed in 1956, coincidentally only a year after NRTWC was **launched.**

Members of the first "study group" included such scholars on labor matters as William J. Grede (former NAM president) and Robert Stoddard, **now members of the John Birch Society executive committee;** two endorsers of the Manion Forum and **Lemuel C. Boulware,** General Electric's biggest anti-union weapon.

Among the members of the new NAM "study group" are reactionary ex-Rep. Graham Barden (N. C.); the legislative assistant to right-wing Senator John Tower (Texas); a member of the national advisory board of Young Americans for Freedom; and Godfrey Schmidt, endorser of Manion Forum and luminary in other extremist groups.

(Next issue: Other NRTWC Allies—A Roster of Reaction)

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Part 2: The Men, The Money, The Menace . . .

SCRATCH A RIGHT-WINGER AND YOU COME UP WITH AN RTW SUPPORTER

A listing of the right-wing groups and organizations which support the open shop campaign would approach a complete run-down of ultra-conservative groups. Thus, what follows will be a relatively brief treatment of only those groups which have readily apparent, direct ties to the National Right to Work Committee and its affiliates (see Memo, Dec. 17, 1962).

From NRTWC's first chairman, Edwin Dillard, to its present vice president and director of information, Glenn Green, John Birch Society members have always been prominent in the open shop movement in general and the NRTWC in particular. This is most evident at the state level — which is, after all, where support counts — and the pattern in Kansas, where the law was approved in 1958, is typical.

A Washington Post reporter who studied operation of the John Birch Society in Wichita ("under open colors") wrote that **"The leadership of the Birch Society overlaps heavily with the leadership of the organizations that successfully campaigned in 1958 for a right-to-work amendment to the State Constitution."** Two of these leaders, Coleman Company attorney Leonard Banowetz and box manufacturer Robert Love, were principal speakers at NRTWC's National Seminar in Chicago in 1961.

TOGETHERNESS

That the open-shop crowd is closely integrated with right-wing extremists was proved conclusively last April. Representatives of the National Right to Work Committee were included at a convention of rightist groups, among them the **John Birch Society, National Indignation Convention, Young Americans for Freedom, Liberty Lobby, For America, We the People, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.**

In terms of the links with employer groups at the local level it is also significant that Banowetz, a JBS field coordinator, is **chairman of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce's Labor Relation's Committee** and Love, a member of the JBS National Council, was for five years a **director of the National Association of Manufacturers.**

Others in the Wichita Birch Society who were active in the open shop fight in Kansas were Rock Island Oil and Refining Co. president Fred Koch, lawyers Kenneth Myers and

Thomas Woods, and personnel executive John Jury who, as noted in the last issue of the Memo, is a member of the Chamber of Commerce's Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism.

Still another John Birch Society member who appeared on the platform at NRTWC's 1961 seminar was S. Rayburn Watkins, managing director of the NAM affiliate in Kentucky, Associated Industries of Kentucky. Similarly, for the principal speaker at its 1960 board meeting, NRTWC chose **ex-Rep. Wint Smith (R.-Kan.), a 1961 endorser of the John Birch Society.**

Other leaders of the John Birch Society who have also been active in state "right-to-work" movements include F. Gano Chance of Missouri (a JBS Council member), James L. Doenges of Indiana (a JBS endorser), and Louis Ruthenberg of Indiana (a JBS Council member).

There are undoubtedly other overlaps with the John Birch Society, especially at the level of state "right-to-work" campaigns, but the above cover known public identifications.

OTHER NRTWC ALLIES: A ROSTER OF REACTION

American Enterprise Association: Organized in 1943 by a group of "industrial leaders" as a "nonpartisan research organization which examines the implications of current and prospective legislative proposals." States as its goal "to preserve the American principles of competitive enterprise and constitutional government."

Labor relations and unions are consistently a subject of AEA attention with a study in the field published at a rate of about one each year. Since 1955 these have included: **Three Taft-Hartley Issues** by Theodore Iserman, a member of the NAM Center for the Study of Union Power; **Involuntary Participation in Unions** by Philip Bradley, a contributor to one of the Chamber of Commerce booklets on "right-to-work"; **Legal Immunities of Labor Unions** by Roscoe Pound, who was formerly affiliated with the right wing Committee of Endorsers and its successor group, the Citizens Foreign Relations Committee; **Economic Analysis of Labor Union Power** by Edward Chamberlin, which concludes that "union power should be restricted"; **Labor Unions and the Concept of Public Service** by Roscoe Pound; and **Unionism Reappraised** by Goetz Briefs.

NRTWC reprinted excerpts from the last in pamphlet form. In addition to Iserman, four of the six "professor" members of the NAM's new Center for the Study of Union Power—Gottfried Haberler, James McKie, William Peterson and David McCord Wright—have all written at least one study for the American Enterprise Association.

Christian Crusade: Rev. Billy James Hargis, leader of this organization, has expressed himself clearly on the open shop issue, "The question involved in 'Right to Work Laws' is very simple and basic. It is the question as to whether or not an American citizen has a right to work at a job upon which he and his employer agree **without being forced to join a union and pay tribute to union bosses to whom he is morally opposed."**

As noted previously, NRTWC board member Frederick C. Fowler has been a featured member of the Hargis "faculty" on at least two occasions this year. In addition, Hargis' National Advisory Committee includes F. Gano Chance, Fred Koch and former Rep. Wint Smith, all mentioned earlier in connection with NRTWC's ties to the John Birch Society.

Christian Freedom Foundation: Howard Kershner's organization, which publishes **Christian Economics,** counts **two current NRTWC board members and one former board member among its directors.** At least two more of Christian Freedom Foundation's directors are affiliated with state right-to-work organizations: Rev. Vernelle Dyer of Maine Citizens for Right to Work and Rev. William S. Wise of Pennsylvanians for the Right to Work.

Committee for Constitutional Government: A 1961 issue of CCG's **Spotlight** carried an article by Reed Larson, NRTWC executive VP, urging support of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes state scab laws. (See Political Memo Dec. 17, 1962.)

Kent and Phoebe Courtney: The Courtneys, who publish the extremist **The Independent American** and run the way-out Conservative Society of America, have featured NRTWC leadership at their national meeting in both 1959 (President William T. Harrison) and 1961 (Vice-President L. A. Hooser). At the 1959 meeting, Kent Courtney presided over a panel discussion made up of Harrison, J. C. Laney, Wells T. Lovett and Robert Love, all representing NRTWC. The tape recording of the discussion ran to two hours in length and was offered for sale by The Independent American for $14. David Molthrop, who has been extremely active in the open shop movement at the state level, has been a regular feature of Courtney meetings.

De Mille Foundation for Political Freedom: Operations of this organization in "support of state right-to-work campaigns" have been referred to by NRTWC's former President Harrison in his book. Cecil B. De Mille, late film producer, was an active RTW promoter.

Heritage Foundation: In addition to publishing **The Case for Right-to-Work Laws,** by former NRTWC board member Fr. Edward Keller, Heritage Foundation in Chicago has published three pamphlets by Birch Society endorser Fr. Ferdinand Falque, one titled "The True Purpose of Right-to-Work Laws." The Heritage Foundation is now located in Independence Hall of Chicago, the office building of Cook County Federal Savings, the president of which, Sidney L. DeLove, is author of **The Quiet Betrayal,** an attack on our schools as having "forced Americanism out of the classroom to make way for temporary trivialities" and having accepted "the pagan philosophy of an all-powerful State whose citizens . . . are mere chattels. . . ."

Human Events: NRTWC board member Fr. John E. Coogan is a frequent contributor to **Human Events,** including a full-page article in their recent special issue on "The Labor Monopoly." Another NRTWC staff member who has written for **Human Events** is former associate counsel Warren Richardson. NRTWC President Duke Cadwallader and Executive Vice-President Reed Larson were both "early registrants" for this year's Human Events Political Action Conference.

Labor Policy Association: Organized in 1957 to "make and to encourage researches and studies pertaining to government policies affecting labor and labor relations." Labor Policy Association is headed by William Ingles, who was previously associated with the Organization for the Repeal of Federal Income Taxes. The Labor Policy Association published (1958) Ingles' book, **"The Right-to-Work Handbook,"** which cites various NRTWC publications with approval.

Manion Forum: While NRTWC and Manion Forum are to some extent "competitors" in the open shop movement—each seeking financial support to carry on the battle—they sometimes cooperate. NRTWC figures who have appeared on the Manion Forum broadcasts include

Donald R. Richberg (1957), Rev. Edward Greenfield (1958), Edwin S. Dillard (1959) and Reed Larson (1962). Other "right-to-work" figures who have appeared include former Senator William F. Knowland, former Indiana Governor Harold W. Handley, Wisconsin manufacturer Herbert Kohler and Fr. Ferdinand Falque. As indicated earlier, two NRTWC directors—Edwin Dillard and Eugene Germany—are also endorsers of the Manion Forum.

National Labor-Management Foundation: Its founder, Maurice Franks, is a former director of NRTWC. In addition, eight other directors or former directors of NRTWC have been affiliated with the Franks organization, including former President William T. Harrison.

National Right-to-Work Federation: Organized in 1946 by a group which included Florida Attorney-General Tom Watson and Norman Zolezzi of Indianapolis, Ind., editor and publisher since 1927 of a monthly called **Labor Digest.** After Watson's death, national headquarters of the Federation was moved to Indianapolis and Labor Digest became its official publication. After Norman Zolezzi's death in February 1959, editorship of Labor Digest was taken over by the former associate editor, Allston Calhoun.

In addition to the monthly newspaper, a radio program titled "Americanism Preferred" features Mr. Calhoun and is evidently carried primarily in southern states. Despite the close similarity in names there is no readily apparent connection between NRTWC and the Federation. However, a recent issue of Labor Digest does carry two items—one on the survey by Opinion Research Corp. for NRTWC and one on the activities of Pennsylvanians for the Right to Work—which are taken verbatim from the NRTWC Newsletter (but without credit).

Young Americans for Freedom: In addition to former NRTWC board member Fr. Edward Keller, YAF, the **Goldwater** "student" group organized by William Buckley and Marvin Liebman, has on its national advisory board such "right-to-work" proponents as V. Raymond Edman, Herbert V. Kohler, Reginald Lang, and E. Merrill Root. It is also noteworthy that an article in YAF's magazine, New Guard, by its managing editor, Carol Bauman, utilized information provided by NRTWC.

THAT OLD GANG OF MINE

Defeated ultra-conservative Rep. John Rousselot (Calif.) found a job right away. From just plain representative, he's jumped to governor now . . . **district governor, that is, for the John Birch Society in six western states.**

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Citizens Councils' Simmons Plays Much Discussed Role In Politics Of Mississippi

Boosters Feel He Is Best Hope Of Preserving 'Southern Way Of Life'—Detractors Are Ready With Criticism

By WILLIAM B. STREET
Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 12.—From his office window on the third floor of the Plaza Building, William J. Simmons has an excellent view of the Governor's mansion directly across the street.

This, says Mr. Simmons, has no significance. Others say differently.

The 46-year-old Jacksonian has managed in a relatively short time to blossom into one of Mississippi's most talked about figures.

As administrator of the Citizens Councils of America, his domain extends over 11 states where the private segregationist organizations has chapters.

As secretary of the Jackson Citizens Council, he is a powerful figure in the 6,000-member chapter to which Gov. Ross Barnett and several other state officials pay dues.

As editor of the Citizen, official journal of the Citizens' Councils of America, he selects articles for consumption of an undetermined number of council members over the South.

His boosters—and he has a loyal following—look on him as the man who is the best hope of preserving the "Southern way of life."

His detractors—and there are many—describe him as a powerful behind-the-scenes influence in Mississippi politics, and say the tag of "intergrationist" is applied to those who don't agree with him. He has even been referred to in print by another ardent segregationist as the "Rajah of Race."

Mr. Simmons, now observing his eighth anniversary as a Citizen Council man, says he doesn't believe these descriptions have a direct application to him. "I think they're referring to the issue," he says.

The issue is this case is integration versus segregation and Mr. Simmons' avowed aim is to "get the issue in the open for a clear cut public decision."

sonnel at council headquarters and "they didn't make the call."

He noted you can hear almost anything these days. "I even hear I'm supposed to have made a lot of phone calls at Ole Miss," he said.

The council leader was referring to the time he spent on the university campus in late September before admission of Negro James H. Meredith as a student. He said he was serving in no official capacity and that he was on the telephone no more than five or six times and one of these conversations was a 30-minute talk with a newspaperman.

He indicated he was aware agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are asking questions about his activities in the Ole Miss case. The questions were being asked while agents took statements in preparation for Federal criminal contempt proceedings against Governor Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson.

Mr. Simmons expressed the opinion the task of integrating Mississippi State University and the University of Southern Mississippi will be more difficult than at Ole Miss. He said he felt the administrations at State and Southern "will be firmer" and that Ole Miss, as a liberal arts school, probably has a larger share of students with liberal tendencies.

He did not make any prediction as to violence in connection with other integration attempts.

William J. Simmons

fluence with the Governor the way he has been pictured.

There was a strange happening during the last special session of the Legislature.

Mr. Simmons gets $2,000 a month in public funds from the Sovereignty Commission, official watchdog of segregation in the state, to help operate the Citizens Councils' radio and television forum. This is a reduction from the $5,000 he originally received.

Near the end of the December special session, called to deal chiefly with reapportionment, teacher pay and welfare raises, Senator George Yarbrough of Red Banks presented a bill calling for an additional $75,000 in biennial appropriations for the Sovereignty Commission.

Several days before the bill was introduced, Mr. Simmons spent some time at the Capitol and reports were that the added funds were to be used for purchase of a film on the Ole Miss riot with the film to be turned over to the Citizens Council for distribution. It was also said an effort would be made to use part of the funds to increase the monthly donation of tax funds to the council.

The bill was reported favorably by the Senate Finance Committee and called to the floor during the waning hours of the session.

attacks from Mr. Simmons and some other Council members.

The memory of Mr. Johnston's biting comments obviously still rankles the Citizens Council leader, although he once again declined to discuss personalities. "It was pretty personal," he says, referring to Mr. Johnston's editorial.

He did say, however, he considers Mr. Johnston a sincere segregationist.

Last May, Mr. Johnston made an address at Grenada in which he described himself as a "practical segregationist, who believes in recognition, co-operation and consideration of the colored race."

Mr. Simmons expressed the opinion that Mr. Johnston seemed ready to surrender.

Mr. Johnston was quick to reply:

"When a man can get branded as 'inviting integration' after making a talk urging racial harmony and deploring the threats, intimidations and violence in both races, it emphasizes the tragic fact that Mississippians can hardly make a move or say a word without approval of the Rajah of Race, William J. Simmons, who is Mr. Citizens Council."

The editorial hit at Mr. Simmons' influence on state legislation and quoted a legislator as saying a bill with integration implications was hard to consider on its merits.

"For instance," Mr. Johnston quoted the legislator," a resolution was introduced in the House to urge a boycott of Memphis stores because some of them have desegregated. I know it was ridiculous and would merely amuse North Mississippians who habitually shop in Memphis. The resolution came in the same week that four Negroes were fined in court for boycotting Clarksdale stores.

"Yet, the hot eyes of Bill Simmons were watching. If we had voted against the resolution he would have branded us. So there we were, approving a resolution urging a boycott while a Mississippi court was convicting Negroes for doing what we lawmakers were advocating."

The Simmons wing of the council sought to have Mr.

The issue, says a Simmons critic, is why it's hard for a politician to tangle in public with the council leader.

"The Citizens Council was established on a sound basis and for good reasons. Now, Simmons and his coterie have gained control and we're going to have to fight it but somewhere along the line. But, if I say anything against them in public, I'll be called a moderate, an integrationist, even a communist," said a Jackson businessman.

For several months a number of Citizens Council members as well as some segregationists who are not members—have been working to strip Mr. Simmons of some of the unofficial power they say he possesses. Part of their plan is to separate Governor Barnett from his influence.

Mr. Simmons said the other day he hasn't been very much aware of the efforts against him, although he's sure a lot of persons disagree with him. "We've got to try to keep moving in the same directions," he says with a decided stress on unification.

The public—even in Mississippi — is largely unaware of the struggle. Despite Mr. Simmons' position in the Citizens Council, he has been little known except among politicians and council members until the past few months. He does not seek the spotlight and there are probably a great many council members who wouldn't know him if they met him on the street.

He's tall — six feet three inches — and rather heavily built. His dark hair is beginning to thin, a well-trimmed mustache is a trademark. A smile comes readily to his lips, seldom to his eyes.

He was born in Utica, Miss., near Jackson, one of three children of a wealthy banker, now retired. He has a country home north of Jackson, close to Highway 51 where he lives with his attractive wife, a duaghter, 15, and a son, 9. His speech is measured, deliberate and carefully enunciated.

His suite of offices is well-decorated, but not pretentious. On a shelf at the entrance to the reception room are stacks of routine council literature and auto bumper stickers with the plea, "Help Ross Keep Mississippi Sovereign."

Mr. Simmons' opponents contend his group is trying to extend its influence from political fields into all other phases of Mississippi life, particularly the economic area.

A Jackson executive said last week someone in Mr. Simmons' office phoned a large Jackson industry recently and instructed the firm to fire all its Negro employes. He said the firm did not do so.

Mr. Simmons quickly denied any such call was made. He did say that he had heard a similar report from another source, but checked with per-

Did his statement imply criticism of Chancellor J. D. Williams and the Ole Miss administration? Mr. Simmons said he didn't want to discuss personalities, finally allowing he might not see eye-to-eye with the chancellor and that Dr. Williams "probably feels the same about me."

A poem published in the December issue of the Citizen takes a dig at Chancellor Williams and the 13-member Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning.

The 27-stanza poem — not composed by Mr. Simmons—is a takeoff on Christmas at the Kennedys and includes:

"At Oxford, the marshals were snug in their beds,
While visions of cherry bombs danced through their heads;
"And the Chancellor, with all of his faithful trustees,
Had received absolution from the AAUPs."

The AAUP is the American Association of University Professors, noted somewhat for its opposition to Mr. Simmons.

Another verse has President Kennedy saying to his "elegant spouse":

"Let's shackle Ole Ross
By the chimney with care,
In hopes that Nick (Katzenbach) soon will be there."

The reference is, of course, to Governor Barnett and the deputy United States attorney general who has been active in the Ole Miss case.

Articles in Mr. Simmons' journal in December deal mostly with Africa, including a Robert Ruark piece and another entitled, "Violence In The Congo Is Reminiscent Of Tragedy Of Reconstruction In The South."

A sampling of ads in the issue discloses literature and records which can be obtained—for a nominal fee—through council headquarters in Jackson.

These offers include a phonograph record by former Army Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker, speeches by Mr. Simmons and Richard Morphew, managing editor of the Citizen, and "On The Morning Of March 15," in which "photographic evidence of black savagery in Angola!" is promised. There is a warning it is not a book "for the squeamish!"

Among better known books offered are "Race and Reason—A Yankee View" by Carleton Putnam and "The Case of the Sleeping Peonle" by former United States Representative and Mrs. Dale Alford of Little Rock.

Mr. Simmons has been frequently described as Governor Barnett's chief adviser on racial matters, particularly in the early days of the Meredith case. Some of the Governor's friends complained privately Mr. Simmons had the chief executive "surrounded."

The council leader says these reports are in error, that he is not the man of high in-

Senator Flavous Lambert of Belmont raised the question that the appropriation had not been submitted by Governor Barnett. Only matters submitted by the Governor may be considered at special sessions.

Senator Yarbrough, the Governor's Senate floor leader, challenged the challenge, but then was advised there was no record showing the matter had been submitted by Governor Barnett.

As it developed, the Governor submitted the proposal to the House and Senate at Senator Yarbrough's request. Then, the Governor—without the floor leader's knowledge—pulled the submission messages back after they had lain on the clerk's desk during overnight adjournment of the Legislature. The reason has not yet been explained.

Senator Yarbrough had no choice but to set the bill aside.

The state money, says Mr. Simmons, doesn't go very far in defraying the cost of the council's radio and television forum.

There has been considerable criticism of the grant of state money to the private organization. Some feel that the Sovereignty Commission's own program, which generally features a constitutional government rather than a racial approach, is more effective outside the South.

And in the absence of public records, many have questioned just how many stations are using the Citizens Council forum. Mr. Simmons said about 400 radio stations and 25 or 30 television stations are now receiving the forum. He said a pretty close check is kept by the council on whether the programs are being used.

A survey by a Jackson newsman failed to show any programs being shown on television stations above the Mason-Dixon line.

The Sovereignty Commission's program is headed by Director Albert Jones and Erle Johnston Jr. of Forest, newspaperman and campaigner for Governor Barnett.

It was Mr. Johnston who pinned the "Rajah of Race" tag on Mr. Simmons last summer.

The mention came in an editorial in Mr. Johnston's newspaper, the Scott County Times, as he defended himself against Johnston fired. They couldn't pull it off and the commission wound up praising both Mr. Johnston and Mr. Simmons as dedicated segregationists.

Mr. Simmons says his interest in the racial question first developed during the late 1930s when he became aware of efforts to "socially integrate" this country. He particularly watched the activities of the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

He said he had seen effects of social integration in other countries during his travels and was disturbed at the idea of his country "turned into something like that."

After his graduation from Mississippi College at Clinton, Mr. Simmons traveled extensively. He worked for the British Royal Engineers in Trinidad until 1942, when he returned to Jackson and enlisted in the Naval Reserve. He was discharged later the same year for medical reasons. After World War II, he was in various businesses until the Citizens Council movement claimed his full attention.

Political Memo from COPE

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No. 2-63 January 28, 1963

STATE LEGISLATORS' GROUP LAUNCHES ALL-OUT WAR ON U.S. SUPREME COURT

With little fanfare to alert the public, a major national organization of state legislators **has declared war on the U.S. Supreme Court.** It has launched a three-pronged campaign to:

1. Create a super court, or "Court of the Union," made up of chief justices of state supreme courts, **with power to over-rule U.S. Supreme Court decisions involving states' rights;**

2. **Reverse the Supreme Court decision in the Tennessee reapportionment case** by declaring federal courts have no authority to rule on arguments concerning apportionment of seats in a state legislature; and

3. Give state legislatures more power in amending the U.S. Constitution.

The campaign was formulated, and is being waged, by the potent General Assembly of States, comprised of legislators from the 50 states. The organization apparently is under ultra-conservative domination.

Already, senates in at least two states have approved one or more of the three resolutions. Goal of the General Assembly is to have them introduced in all 50 states.

Each of the three proposals is loaded with dynamite. The first **would sabotage the authority of the Supreme Court** in almost all controversial issues, notably school desegregation. The second would destroy whatever potential gains may result from the historic reapportionment decision of last spring, and **would commit most state governments to eternal horse-and-buggy status** by perpetuating rural domination.

The third would practically assure state control of constitutional amendments. Presently, amendments must be proposed either by a two-thirds vote of Congress or by a national convention called by Congress at request of two-thirds of the states. Amendments then must be approved for final adoption by three-fourths of the states either through state legislatures or state conventions. (Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

The General Assembly of the States wants to change this to by-pass Congress or a national convention any time two-thirds of the states propose the same amendment.

This all sounds very technical, but in practice it could create havoc. One example of what could happen: several years ago two-thirds of the state legislatures approved a resolution to amend the U.S. Constitution by **clamping a 25 percent limit on taxable income, obviously a windfall for the well-to-do.**

Fortunately, they were rebuffed on a legal technicality. But that proposal, or something equally bizarre, could well become law **before anyone knew what was happening** if the present resolution to by-pass Congress or a national convention ever received approval.

The fact that some state legislatures already have swallowed part of the bait, that others probably will, and that most will at least consider the proposals indicates they can't be laughed off as too far-out to get anywhere. **They're already getting somewhere.**

Alert your state legislator to these resolutions and let him know how you feel about them.

MALICE IN BLUNDERLAND — THE RIGHT WING CONVENES

The Paul Reveres of the right wing, more than 500 of them from every corner of the country, rode their white chargers into Washington recently, rallying to a call to arms by Human Events, an ultra-conservative weekly newsletter. The occasion: a conference on political action.

AMA LINES UP WITH RIGHT WING

Right there with the rest of the ultra-conservative groups at the Human Events conference was the **American Medical Association.** AMA President Edward Annis addressed the meeting. His speech could have been interchangeable with speeches by almost any of the other right wing leaders who were there.

Annis went far afield from health care under social security, saying: "Medicare is not an isolated issue. **Whatever form these welfare schemes assume, the aim is the same —complete centralization of authority in Washington . . . and the end of domestic government in this country."**

He pledged **"no compromise"** in AMA opposition to the health care plan.

It was called a homecoming conference, but it might well have been titled: **One If By Land, Two If By Sea — The Reds Are Coming.**

The speeches, according to one who attended the meetings, ran from the fanciful to the fantastic. It was like Alice walking through the looking glass into Wonderland.

To a chorus of huzzahs from delegates, demagogues of the right peppered their favorite villains with verbal heavy artillery. They attacked **"welfare staters," "labor bosses," COPE, the "no-win foreign policy crowd"** and sundry other dangerous elements. "Big government" and "big labor" drew most of the fire. **Curiously, they didn't mention "big business."**

But behind the bluster and tub-thumping was **some solid planning for future political action,**

with emphasis on trick-titled "right to work" drives. The long-standing alliance between the right wing and open shop crowds was further cemented.

Addressing the meeting were Glenn Green, director of information for the National Right to Work Committee (and a John Birch Society big-wig), and Reed Larson, NRTWC executive vice president.

Their position: union leaders are socialists and are parading the government down the road to socialism.

Their solution: **scab laws in all 50 states, or a nationwide open shop law.**

The heart of the conference was in panel discussions conducted by ultra-conservative Congressmen who won last November, some of them unexpected victors over good liberal candidates. Their successful tactics and campaigns were explained in detail. Delegates were urged to go back to the hinterlands and gird for the 1964 campaign along successfully tested lines.

Reflected in the panel meetings was the fact that the ultras **are learning to use the political process,** and it was in these meetings that Alice climbed back through the looking glass into a reality that could create serious problems for liberals in the years ahead.

GREAT MOMENTS IN HISTORY

It is November, 1863. A President of the United States (the Central Intelligence Agency prohibits revealing his name, but the accompanying picture might give you a hint) is on a train for Gettysburg, Pa. He is scheduled to give an address there. He is scribbling energetically on an envelope. Could he be writing what will go down in history as the "Gettysburg Address?" **No, he is filling out an order blank for the COPE Political Memo. He is subscribing for a friend!**

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NATIONAL OPEN SHOP LAW IN GOLDWATER BLUEPRINT

Sen. Barry Goldwater's blueprint for turning back the clock includes a fancy new twist on phony right to work laws.

His latest proposal: **enact a national scab law and permit individual states to supersede it with laws allowing the union shop.** This is a 180 degree turn-about on the present federal law under which the union shop is legal but which encourages states to pass harsher legislation in the form of so-called "right to work."

Maybe the Arizona Republican's next brainstorm will be to **repeal the federal Bill of Rights,** then let states pass them individually if they choose. **States' rights, you know.**

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by Eric Lincoln

THE DOOM OF TOKENISM

by Tom Dent

By MARGARET LONG

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Margaret Long . . . . . Editor

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I CANNOT AGREE with those ardent well-wishers to Mr. James Meredith, and proper patriots who want the United States to prevail over insurrectionists, that Mr. Meredith's threatened withdrawal from the University of Mississippi would have been a severe setback to civil rights in the South, a waste of Mr. Meredith's heroism and a defeat for federal government.

It would have been a pity if Mr. Meredith couldn't make it, for himself, for other Negroes for whom he blazes the way and for many benighted white Mississippians to whom he is demonstrating Negro equality and, indeed, superiority.

But I doubt if there are any 10 of us, black or white, who could come up with a composite man or woman who could have endured the constant danger, the idiot hatred and the incessant humiliations of the Meredith ordeal this long. So, we could scarcely have summoned the impudence to complain that Mr. Meredith ought to stick it out, make C grades and affirm us all, from friendly professors and students at Oxford to the federal government and devotees in Ghana. We can rejoice, however, that this uncommonly honest and stalwart young man did choose to resume the fearful and outlandish trial of desegregating Ole Miss.

It seems a tremendous victory of federal law, personal manliness and emerging Deep South decency over the wildest southern insanity.

But I can by no means see that Mr. Meredith's departure would have meant that this international scandal and southern shame has raged in vain.

Foremost in his accomplishment is that his courage occasioned a federal victory in war with the State of Mississippi and sundry hoodlums, psychotics

(Continued on page 10)

Extremist Attitudes in The Black Muslim Movement

By C. Eric Lincoln

ON SUNDAY the third of June, a hundred and thirty white persons met their deaths in an airplane crash outside of Paris, France. All but ten of the victims were from Atlanta, Georgia.

When news of the tragedy was received in this country the typical American experienced some sense of loss and identification with the bereaved relatives and friends of those who perished. In Atlanta, as the news came in over the radio, church services were interrupted to offer special prayers for the repose of the dead and the comfort of their survivors.

No members of any of the families of any of the victims of the crash were worshipping in any Negro churches in Atlanta, for the churches in that city are segregated. But in the Negro churches, too, services were interrupted and prayers were said on behalf of the dead and bereaved.

In a Los Angeles church, the announcement of the plane crash was received as a beatific revelation of the avenging spirit of Allah. Minister Malcolm X, peripatetic internuncio of the Black Muslim Movement, interrupted his recitation of the white man's abuses against non-white Americans to share the good news with some 1,500 Negroes who had gathered to hear him:

> I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that has happened . . . . I got a wire from God today (laughter). Wait, all right, well somebody came and told me that he really had answered our prayers in France.
>
> He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it because the Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But thanks to God, or Jehovah or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky.
>
> We call on our God — He gets rid of 120 of them at one whop.

Such attitudes of racial extremism have a long history in the Muslim Movement. They are part of the psychological paraphernalia which nurture and sustain the movement and which provide the peculiar attractiveness for the social dissidents who fall under the hypnotic spell of Black Islam in the midst of a white Christian culture.

As is true of most social movements the Black Muslims are not entirely dysfunctional. Some of their behavior contributes directly or indirectly to the improvement of the membership, and thus to the community at large. For example, the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts and alcoholics is certainly socially functional, as is the teaching of thrift, obedience to the law, and employment skills and techniques. The organization's commitment to high standards of personal and group morality commend it to its most severe critics. Yet, it is probably inevitable that a discourse addressed to the "ex-

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tremist attitudes" of the movement cannot avoid some distortion. A more balanced account is offered in my book, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961).

To the Black Muslims, every white man is a devil—the personification of evil. The white man is the genesis of evil and its sole beneficiary. In Muslim mythology, Black Man—"the Original Man," was created by Allah, the one true God. The white man, however, is a "made thing," a beast, a synthetic man called into being by Yakub, the evil principle which is everywhere in opposition to peace, justice and equality. Sometimes Yakub is personalized as the Prince of Devils, the eternal adversary to Allah.

Since the white man is the son of the devil, the white man himself is a devil by nature and is incapable of doing good. Ultimately, the blue-eyed devils must be destroyed. Such is the will of Allah.

Malcolm X's jubilation over the deaths of the white Georgians is as honest as it is bizarre. The Black Muslims have never pretended to love the white man nor to wish him well. During World War II, the Muslims openly applauded American losses in the Pacific because: (1) There would be fewer whites to confront at the final Battle of Armageddon (to be fought "here in the wilderness of North America"); and (2) Japanese victories were proof that a white civilization can be defeated by a non-white power.

In the early days of World War II a number of black nationalist cults came under the influence of the Japanese Black Dragon Society—a fifth column organization which sought to exploit racial bitterness in the United States in the interest of the Japanese. The society was founded by Major Satakata Takahashi of the Japanese Imperial Intelligence in 1930, and was estimated by the F.B.I. to have a membership of 100,000 by 1942. Major units were in Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and other cities in the mid-West.

One of the Negro cults most responsive to the Japanese racial propaganda was the Black Muslims, then known as the Temple of Islam. A Chicago newspaper reports that "Japanese organizers frequently told the hundred of followers of the Allah Temple of Islam . . . of which Elijah Muhammad was high priest: 'Be prepared for the day of reckoning with the pale faces. When the day comes Japan will supply you all with guns.'"

The F.B.I. conducted a series of raids on the Chicago South Side on September 22, 1942 and arrested 12 leaders and 80 members of three black nationalist cults including the Temple of Islam. The nationalists were charged with conspiring to promote the success of the enemy; making false statements to prospective draftees, and disrupting morale causing mutiny.

A month later the twelve leaders (including Elijah Muhammad) were named in an eight-count indictment charging sedition and seditious conspiracy. The indictments centered around the black nationalists' alleged teaching that the Japanese and the "black men" in America were brothers; that Negroes should not permit themselves to be drafted to fight a war in which they had no stake; that if drafted against their wills, Negroes should ask for duty in the Pacific arena where they could defect to the Japanese; that if sent to Europe they should "shoot everything white—in front and behind" to reduce the number of whites it would be necessary to kill later.

J. Albert Woll, U. S. District Attorney who argued the case for the government, charged that the defendants

"made statements as vicious as any ever uncovered by a grand jury."

Elijah Muhammad was sentenced to three years in the federal prison at Milan, Michigan. In prison, he promptly organized a Muslim Temple among the Negro inmates, a practice since continued, and which has resulted in increasing perplexity for prison officials.

Perhaps the most bizarre extremism attributed to the Muslims came in Detroit in the 1930's, the formative years of the movement. This was the teaching that Allah required each Muslim brother to sacrifice four "Caucasian devils" as a condition of escape from the white man's oppression. It appears that the welfare workers in charge of the distribution of food during the depression years, were especially hated.

The accumulated resentments from having to stand in line for hours in order to receive handouts (frequently accompanied by insults) from the hated whites, focused the Muslims' hostility upon the welfare workers as symbolic of the white man's total amorality. Had the devils not stolen the Black Men from their homes and families, enslaved them, humiliated them with a pseudo-citizenship, and then finally reduced them to begging for the very bread they had worked without pay to produce?

The *Detroit Times* of November 22, 1932 reports the following incident:

> An Asiatic trend among the Negro dole recipients of the Elmwood district, noted at the time as a passing whim, today came back with horror to two women welfare workers on learning that the fanatical Robert Harris had intended them for human sacrifices as infidels. . . . Harris stated to the police that each of these was a "no good christian," and that they would have been sacrificed if he knew [sic] where he could have found them.

Human sacrifice was not restricted to the Caucasian devils. Every Muslim was required to swear under oath that he would sacrifice *himself* or any of his family in obedience to the will of Allah as interpreted by the "Messenger" or leader of the cult. In this tradition Minister Malcolm X admonishes his Muslim brothers who are seeking respect and dignity:

> Never be the aggressor;
> Never look for trouble.
> But if any man molests you,
> May Allah bless you!

Indeed, the fiery Malcolm X insists that "if anyone comes to take advantage of you . . . *lay down your life!*"

The theme of self-sacrifice and retributive violence is recurrent in the teaching of Elijah Muhammad. For example he chides the Negro male for his passivity toward the white man's pursuit of Negro women. "If we are too cowardly to protect her against the human beasts," he declares, "we should kill ourselves and our women."

He is also impatient with the white man's notion of justice: "We must take things into our own hands," the Muslim Messenger insists. "We must return to the Mosaic law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. What does it matter if 10 million of us die? There will be seven million of us left."

The Black Muslim attitude toward the state, as presently constituted, is one of extreme negativity. In the first place, all Black Men are Asiatics, and Asia embraces all of the civilized world with the exception of Europe. Asia and Africa constitute a single continent. America is a part of "West Asia," as is illustrated by the fact that the native populations of North and South America were all non-white prior to the coming of the Europeans. Black Men from Africa founded civilizations in Amer-

ica long before the coming of Leif Erickson or Christopher Columbus.

The Muslims deny that they are citizens of the United States. Rather they insist that as Muslims they are citizens of Asia. The white man in America is an intruder. He slaughtered the Indians who are the rightful owners of the country, and set up a spurious democracy which included neither the Indians who were dispossessed of their land, nor the "so-called Negroes" whose labor made America "the richest nation on earth."

Since the Muslims are not citizens they do not vote or otherwise participate in the responsibilities of citizenship. They refuse to bear arms for a country in which they are not citizens "except at tax time and when the white man's enemies have got his back to the wall." To be born in America is not a guarantee of citizenship Malcolm X declares: "A cat can have kittens in an oven but that doesn't make them biscuits . . . You are either a citizen or you are not a citizen. No country has citizenship by degrees."

A citizen is described as "one who can do what any other citizen can do." Negroes are excluded by this definition for "they are the only people in the world whose so-called 'citizenship' is qualified by geography, custom, tradition, the time of day and 'local sentiment!' "

In 1961, Wallace Delancey Muhammah, one of Elijah's six sons and minister of his Philadelphia temple, was sentenced to three years in prison for draft evasion. In permitting his son to go to jail rather than to answer his draft call or accept alternative service in the Elgin State Hospital as a conscientious objector, Muhammad sought to dramatize his insistence that the Muslims not only will no longer fight the white man's battles, but they will not accept his alternatives. The American Negro has been trained like a faithful dog, says Malcolm X. "You tell him to bite the Germans, the Koreans. He will bite anyone you say bite . . . Now when he comes back from biting the Germans and the Japanese, you can hang his mother on a tree and have his wife before his eyes and he will stand there whimpering with his knees knocking and his tail between his legs . . . that's what he's been trained to do."

The Muslims want a national state of their own. Muhammad states flatly that "there can be no peace in the world until every man is in his own country." The white man's country, he says, is in Europe. Nevertheless, the Muslims are willing to divide the country with the white man, at least on a temporary basis. In a recent address in Chicago the Muslim leader demanded that a separate territory be set aside for American Negroes and that until this is done, Negroes should be exempted from any form of taxation. "We must have separation or death," he has declared again and again.

The Muslims leadership does not make clear how much territory is desired, or where it shall be. The area "west of the Mississippi and south of Denver" has frequently been mentioned. At least one Muslim minister has said that no less than twenty-five states will be enough.

The Black Muslims are bitterly anti-Christian, for Christianity is held to be the white man's most pernicious scheme for enslaving the non-white people of the world, while the white propagators of that religion relax in luxury and ease wherever they have found believing dupes. The Bible was originally a true and holy book, but "it has been tampered with" to serve the vicious interests of the white devils.

Christianity itself, is "a lie of the whole cloth, a 'spook' religion."

Muhammad describes this as "a perfect slave religion." It defers the so-called Negro's just aspirations for freedom, justice and a share of the wealth he has helped to produce, to some mythical heaven "over Jordan." Meanwhile, "the white man has made his heaven right here on earth." The Negro Christian minister is called the greatest enemy of his black brothers, for "he delivers his own people chained and bound to the tender mercies of the slavemaster—demanding that they love those who murder them wholesale."

The most prominent feature in the typical Muslim Temple is a large pulpit mural featuring the Muslim interpretation of the relative merits of Christianity and Islam. On the right-hand side of the mural are depicted the Star-and-Crescent of Islam with the legend "Peace, Justice, Equality—Islam!" On the sinister side are shown the American flag, the Christian cross and the swollen, mutilated body of a Negro hanging from a tree. Between these alleged symbols of Islam and Christianity, the question: "Which do you choose? Which will survive the War of Armageddon?"

The Muslims repudiate their "European slave names" (or surnames) and prefer to be known as "X"—James X, John 2X, Mary X, etc., the X in lieu of the family name which was lost when their fore-parents were enslaved and given "property titles" by the slavemaster. The X is also a symbol: it is a question mark, an unknown quantity directed to the attention of the white man. The time will come, says Muhammad, when "we will treat the white man the way he ought to be treated." As a farmer kills the worms and insects which spoil his crops, so much the Black Man be on the alert for the depredations of the Caucasian beast.

Bill Stout of Los Angeles CBS-TV quotes a Muslim leader as promising the whites "No torture—just annihilation . . . . We will not antagonize the while people. Some morning they will just wake up dead."

Traditional Negro leaders too have experienced a liberal measure of vituperation from the Muslims. Dr. Martin Luther King, referred to by the Muslims as "Martin Luther Queen," was ridiculed for "retreating from the portals of death in Alabama (for) the more lucrative haven of Atlanta," after setting the stage for a "bloody racial struggle soon to erupt in Alabama." Denounced as "the Darling of the South and Honey Boy of the North" King is challenged to "clear his conscience" by telling "the Negroes in America the truth—that they will never get . . . anything here on earth . . . until they are ready and willing to shed blood . . ."

To the Muslims, Ralph Bunche is known as "the George Washington of Israel." They condemn him for arranging the Arab-Israeli Armistice which "saved the Jews for annihilation."

Judge Thurgood Marshall is called the "Ugly American—the Negro man dedicated to serving his white masters." When he was with the NAACP, the Muslim press criticized Marshall for being "the American Negro who has made a career of being an Uncle Tom," and who "has consciously or unconsciously accepted Zionism as a philosophy."

The NAACP and the non-violent movements do not satisfy the Muslim concept of Justice. They want the past to be rectified, and the enslavement of their forefathers reimbursed in land and money. "We are not looking for

crumbs," warns Malcolm X. "The black man in America is due not charity, but reparations," echoes the Muslim press. But Elijah Muhammad takes the final step:

"Today is the day of our separation from our slavemasters and NOTHING will stop it; for it is time," is Muhammad's warning to America. "Our hearts are glad and we weep with joy to know that it is OUR TIME to rule the world . . ."

In 1924, a faceless ragged fanatic with a Charlie Chaplin moustache sat in a prison cell in Landsberg, Germany and dictated a blueprint for the Third Reich. In *Mein Kampf,* Adolph Hitler told the world his ambitions for the restoration of the German empire, and how it would be accomplished. The world ignored Adolph—to its sorrow. Adolph Hitler *did* accomplish the establishment of the Third Reich. Further, it required the combined armies of the western world, and an incalculable quantity of human blood to disestablish Hitler's monument to racistic nationalism and his own awareness of a personal manifest destiny.

It is not necessary to argue the possibility of a black nationalist putsch in America, but it is fruitful to look at the facts. The world is in social revolution and the Negroes in America are part of that revolution. The student movement, Martin Luther King's movement, the new militancy in the churches (and paradoxically in art forms such as jazz), the mushrooming cults of black nationalism which keep springing up in the *Black Ghettos* of our great industrial cities, are all shades of protest in a revolutionary spectrum. In New York City alone, at least twenty organizations operate under the aegis of black nationalism. Most of them are small. Some of them are noisy. But all of them accept as viable the possibility that black solidarity can and will reverse the existing political order.

Black nationalism is, in part, the Negro's counter offensive against white nationalism. It is in part, the fruit of oppression—the hate that hate produced. It is the glorification of Negro specificity, the transvaluation of the hated symbols of rejection. Blackness becomes a virtue. Whiteness becomes a symbol of weakness and depravity, political and social decadence.

This *mood ebony* stems in part from the Negro's felt need to identify with the newly emerging Afro-Asian states —people who are going somewhere, whose destiny it is to surpass and supplant the civilization of the white man. Negroes are resentful that here in democratic America, where they are alleged to be citizens by right of birth and contribution, they are begrudged and frequently denied the dignity and benefits of citizenship. They resent the cruel game of having to go into court or take to the side-walks to prove again and again that their citizenship implies the most elemental human rights. They resent the white man's arrogant expectation that they should love him and be grateful for every belated, piddling concession to human dignity they can force from his iron fist. The feeling is widespread, though seldom articulated, that in spite of the fact that American Negroes more nearly approximate the white man's stated ideals, in greater numbers than any other "subject people" on earth, this class of Americans may yet be the last people on earth to become truly free.

Elijah Muhammad has been shrewd enough to capitalize upon the anxiety and frustration of the masses. A man of intense hatreds and an uncanny ability to uncover the latent and carefully sublimated hostilities of the black masses, he is convinced of his personal

messiahship. Further, Muhammad is a man of the most extraordinary charisma. It is probable that no one in the recent history of America has been able to attract such an all-encompassing loyalty from his followers as has this self-styled "Messenger of Allah." Cults like those of Father Divine and Daddy Grace are sometimes suggested as sociological parallels of the Muslim Movement, but such suggestions are naive, and their inferences premature. The cultists are not required to lay down their lives for their leader or his teachings. Theirs is an escapist philosophy—a withdrawal from a world they find hostile and unrewarding to make-believe world of peace and joy.

The Muslims plan to live in the world, reform the black race, survive the Armageddon and establish a black theocracy. Elijah Muhammad's mission is to "cut and clear." He has come to tell the Black Man the truth about himself, his history and Allah's plans for his future. He has come to expose the white man as a charlatan and a devil, and to proclaim the "New Order."

> The root cause of today's confusion is that the time of the end of our enemies' (the devils') power to rule and deceive our Nation has arrived . . . . NOW that ruling power is being interfered with by a Superior Power and Force, which will create a "New World," a New People, a New Order and a New Government.

In the process of bringing about the New Order, retribution must be demanded from the white man. Muhammad charges that "The white race . . . will never agree to divide America with us, though our blood is spilled on this soil . . . ." Hence the Black man is enjoined to "put your brains to thinking for self; . . . your hands to working for self and your children; and fight like 'hell' with those who fight like 'hell' against you." He reminds his followers that "The white race is known to God and his prophets as Satan, the devil, the great enemy of Good, God and his people . . . . We now number seventeen million here in America . . . . The wicked must be punished for their wickedness poured out upon us . . . ."

It is clear that the social policies of the Muslims are directed toward a racial contest between black men and white men. The overtones may be religious, for all is being done in the name of Allah—but the goals are patently social. Again and again Muhammad has stirred his followers to frenzy with the cry "We must have some of this good earth! We must have land of our own!"

As the Muslim Movement has consolidated its strength in the *Black Ghettos,* the Muslims have become increasingly restive. In the past year the Muslims have figured in incidents of violence in a dozen cities across the country: New York; Monroe, Louisiana; Atlanta; Saint Louis; Folsom, California; Washington, D. C.; Los Angeles and other places. Recent incidents seem to become increasingly serious.

On March 5th, of 1935, two hundred Muslims rioted in a Chicago courtroom, and one policeman was killed and eleven others injured. Two Muslims were shot and forty were sent to prison. The struggle with constituted authority has continued in the streets, and especially in the prisons, ever since.

On April 27th of 1962, a riot involving seventy-five policemen and several score Black Muslims left one Muslim shot to death, and seven others injured by gunfire. Three policemen were hurt, one of whom was shot with his own gun. Since then the Black Muslims have been involved in a riot in

the Lorton Reformatory outside of Washington, D. C.

The Muslims themselves are not always to blame, but their public image alone is often the precipitating spark which incites conflict. Their existence is a challenge to the existing order, and an indictment of its inadequacies.

The Muslim Movement is a part of the sound and fury of social unrest. It has all of the symptoms of neurotic social anxiety. It is a reaction to a perceived threat—a threat of political and social meaninglessness; but it is an extreme and bizarre reaction, a reaction which is disproportionate to any obective danger.

If we look carefully, we can see in the Black Muslim Movement a microcasm of social behavior which has often characterized other segments of our culture. In the Muslim's intolerance, and in the pre-emptive place he has reserved for himself in the New Order, we catch a vision of the Existing Order. In seeing the Muslims for what they want to be, we see ourselves for what we ourselves have sometimes been. In the words of Voltaire:

> People will continue to commit atrocities as long as they believe in absurdities.

We can best understand and cope with the Black Muslims Movement and its social implications, when the larger society has abandoned the absurdities the Black Muslims have so recently adopted.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

and race-savers who rallied from far and wide. I could believe with many despairing friends of civil rights that Meredith's leaving would encourage Mississippi to fight the Union again, or discourage the United States from protecting another Negro who enrolls at this excruciating university.

Rather, the President and Attorney-General undoubtedly have picked up an enlightening lesson about the futility of negotiating with and trusting a segregationist demagogue who is running what we call a "hard core Deep South state," a lesson which should have been amply clear from President Eisenhower's dismaying difficulty with the demagogue, Governor Faubus, at Little Rock. So, surely the two Kennedys would be astute enough to send a new Negro hero in with sufficient troops, the first time he approached those magnolia-shaded halls, to enforce federal law and suppress insurrection—unless, that is, they are vastly more slow-witted than I take them to be. So, Mr. Meredith's trial has provided our well-meaning young Yankee leaders with interesting and, we hope, indelible, insights into the behavior of fanatic white supremacists in Dixie.

Even if Meredith had left Oxford, civil rights in the South are advanced by his sojourn there much further than they would have been set back by his retreat, or temporary surrender. Hundreds of Mississippi students have witnessed his valor and composure, and many of them must have been moved and changed by the spectacle. Respectable, if silently irresponsible, Mississippians have been stirred at last to speak for "law and order," business peace and progress and the good name of good people in that distressed state. These moderate voices sound the rise of a new, if timid, tide, and support the lonely and spirited bravery of a handful of sane and liberty-loving Mississippians, like Attorney Williams Higgs, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, P. D. East, Hazel Brannon Smith and others.

(Continued on page 15)

New Law Against Tokenism

By Tom Dent

TOKENISM IN SOUTHERN school desegregation, doomed by five 1962 court decisions and attacked in recent federal rulings in Tennessee and North Carolina, can be done to death in most Deep South states in the next few years.

The five-year frustration of placements, assignments, tests and other "plans" to admit a token few Negroes to white schools and exclude all others, is pronounced discriminatory and "burdensome," "an exercise in futility," and "segregation in its rawest form" in federal rulings which legally open white school doors to Negro students. And the United States Supreme Court next spring will consider Tennessee's Davidson County and Knoxville "racial option" transfers which the NAACP contends work to restore former segregation in those systems.

The decisions certainly are no guarantee of real and rapid school integration in all Deep South states, where new "pupil placement," "free choice" and other procedures to admit a token few Negroes must be combatted in toilsome and time-consuming court action, one by one. Such cases also depend on Negro parents and children willing to endure the trial and tedium of suits and the ordeal of lonely and often persecuted token attendance at white schools.

But the law is here, the breakthrough has come, to overthrow the dodges and deceits of tokenism, where Negroes will take up the burden of invoking it, and where courts compel good faith in desegregation in cities of the South.

In the last year, six federal Court of Appeals decisions have increasingly encouraged all who want to see the South get on with the business of integrated and equal education.

It is well known that local school boards have adopted policies of desegregating at the slowest pace the courts would accept. Only in "fringe" states like Maryland and West Virginia and in the District of Columbia have school boards taken the initiative since 1955 in desegregating without being hauled into court. In other areas where there has been even token desegregation, it has come through about 60 suits filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, subsequently drawn out and almost incomprehensibly complex litigation, and the all too frequent bad faith of local school boards in carrying out court decisions.

The first of the important decisions was made by the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in its March 23 ruling involving the Memphis, Tenn., school system. When the case was argued in 1961 the Memphis board operated dual school zone lines—separate zones for Negroes and white schools. The Board plan approved by the District Court in Memphis in 1960 allowed Negro students to apply for transfers if they were dissatisfied with their intitial assignments. The terms on which transfer applications of Negro children were judged included residence and aptitude. Under this system, 13 Negro children were admitted to all white schools

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in 1961. Those who were denied admittance took their case to the Court of Appeals.

The Appeals Court's three judges first noted that by first assigning Negroes and whites to separate schools, Memphis was operating a system not essentially different from the pre-1954 segregated schools. It found equally reprehensible the Memphis transfer procedure requirements that Negro students pass certain tests and run the gauntlet of academic, residential and often other vaguely defined criteria not applied to white students who sought transfers where racial mixing was not a factor. The Appeals Court maintained that the *Brown* decision of 1954 required some positive action by school boards to set up a "non-racial" system. The Appeals Court rejected the Tennessee Pupil Assignment law as an adequate remedy in a discriminatory assignment system, and remanded the case to the District Court with instructions for Memphis to produce a plan which would be non-racial in all its aspects.

The Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, in a May 22nd decision, examined closely procedures of the Roanoke, Va., school board. The court noted that legal authority for controlling transfers rested with the state Pupil Placement Board in Richmond. In reality, however, city school officials made initial assignments, and these assignments were rarely considered by the State Board. The court also discovered that Roanoke is divided into six school sections, and all Negroes, regardless of where they live, are assigned to Section 2. White children are assigned to districts according to their neighborhood.

When the first 39 Negro students applied for transfers from District 2 in 1960, the applications went to the State Board which replied to local officials with the following revealing questions, as reported by the local superintendent.

> Are there Negro pupils who cannot be excluded from attending white schools except for race? That is number one. Number two: Would the superintendent and School Board so certify the Pupil Placement Board? Number three: And in our judgment, what would happen in the local communities if some Negro pupils were assigned to white schools? Those were the three questions.

Nine Negro students were granted transfers in 1960. The other 30 were denied for a variety of reasons, all amounting to (in the words of city officials before the Court of Appeals) "ruling out those Negro students who would be failures." Those denied were rejected because they lived closed to the nearest Negro school, or because after special testing their aptitude showed below or above the median at the white schools they wished to attend, or because they had brothers or sisters whose aptitude was below the median of comparable white classes.

Chief Judge Sobeloff in his opinion for the unanimous court, categorically rejected such discriminatory transfer criteria. He observed that:

> The Negro child, if he desires a desegregated education must run the gauntlet of numerous transfer criteria in order to extricate himself, if he can, from the Section Two Schools.

The court also ruled unconstitutional Roanoke's initial racial assignment system, and characterized the Board's approach toward Negro transfers as preoccupied with finding "some excuse for denying the Negroes' applications for transfer."

The Fourth Circuit's ruling on June 12 in the Roanoke County school case was similar, but for minor details. In Roanoke County all Negroes go to separate schools. The two requirements for transfer are that the applying Negro child must live nearer a white school and that he must be above the white class aptitude median.

All seven Negro children who applied for transfers in 1960 were denied because of "overcrowding" in the white schools, even though later testimony showed that 12 white students were admitted in September of 1960 to the "overcrowded" school.

> In view of the initial assignment system, the administrative procedures for transfer are, for the most part, applied to Negroes seeking a desegregated education and not to whites similarly situated. To insist, as prerequisite to granting relief against discriminatory practices, that the plaintiffs first pass through the very procedures that are discriminatory would be to require an exercise in futility.

In New Orleans, on April 9, Judge J. Skelley Wright had reached strikingly similar conclusions:

(1) New Orleans maintained "Negro" and "white" schools.

(2) New Orleans maintained racial school zones.

(3) New Orleans maintained under the state pupil placement law certain standards by which Negro students applying for transfers must be measured, such as scholastic aptitude, personal acceptability, and the probable reaction of white pupils and the community to the proposed transfer.

If the child, after these factors, could qualify and was actually transferred to an all white school, state law required separation of sexes in the class to which he was assigned.

Under this system four out of 134 Negroes received transfer in 1960, and eight out of 66 in 1961. Of this transfer procedure Judge Wright observed:

> The Board makes no explanation for its failure to test *all* children seeking to enter the first grade, or any other grade, in an effort to determine whether or not they were intellectually and psychologically acceptable in the segregated schools to which they were automatically assigned. This failure to test all pupils is the constitutional vice in the Board's testing program.

Judge Wright said that the pupil placement law was acceptable on its face, but when applied in a racially discriminatory manner to Negro pupils asking transfer from an initially segregated school system it becomes "segregation in its rawest form." Judge Wright ordered desegregation of the first six grades by September, 1962, that transfers for these grades be allowed on a non-racial basis, and the abolishment of dual racial zones.

Judge Wright left the New Orleans District Court in April to go to the Court of Appeals in Washington, and was replaced by Judge Frank B. Ellis.

Judge Ellis granted a school board motion for a new trial, and later modified Judge Wright's decision, to include mandatory desegregation of only the first grade in September, 1962. Judge Ellis did agree with Judge Wright's findings on the discriminatory character of initial assignments in New Orleans, and he continued the invalidation of the Louisiana Pupil Placement Law when applied in a discriminatory fashion.

NAACP attorneys, and the School Board, appealed the Ellis opinion to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. This court ordered in 1962 desegregation of the first three grades

and provided for abolition of dual racial zones in subsequent years.

But, again, Judge John Minor Wisdom, who wrote the Fifth Circuit decision, pronounced the same opinion about discriminating transfer procedures in New Orleans as the Sixth Circuit had decided about Memphis and the Fourth Circuit about Roanoke:

> When, purportedly as a vehicle for desegregating, the Board applied the [Pupil Placement] Act to first graders only after they had already been assigned to segregated schools in a dual school system, the Board used the Act discriminatorily . . .
>
> This court, like the district court, condemns the Pupil Placement Act, when, with a fanfare of trumpets, it is hailed as the instrument for carrying out a desegregation plan while all the time the entire public knows that in part it is being used to maintain segregation by allowing a little token desegregation.

Last October 12 the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals enjoined the Durham, N. C. School Board from "refusing admission to any school of any pupil because of his race," and said transfers must not subject pupils to "futile, burdensome or discriminatory procedures." The court also ordered the school board to quit "applying the North Carolina Pupil Assignment Law in an unconstitutional manner."

This case — *Wheeler and others vs. the Durham City Board of Education,* filed in 1959, and *Spaulding and others vs.* the same board, filed in 1960 — came before Judge Edwin M. Stanley of the North Carolina Middle District Court in July of 1961, and Judge Stanley sent back to the school board 133 Negro pupils who had been refused transfers. The board then assigned eight of them to white schools. Judge Stanley denied further relief to the others and the NAACP appealed to the Fourth Circuit court, which enjoined the board from this racial discrimination.

The Durham board has taken no action on the Appeals court decision.

Meanwhile four Negroes at Reidsville, N. C., sued the school board on behalf of four children, citing the Fourth Circuit's October ruling on administering the Pupil Assignment Act unconstitutionally. One Negro girl did not seek reassignment; her suit claims Reidsville procedures made it "useless and futile."

On October 8 the Supreme Court agreed to review pupil transfers in Davidson County and Knoxville, Tenn., an action momentous for desegregation because it is the first case involving the "deliberate speed" doctrine to come before the Supreme Court since the *Brown* case of 1955.

Here, the high court will rule on the NAACP contention that the Tennessee "racial option transfer" actually operates to re-segregate desegregated schools. "Racial option" in Davidson and Knoxville permits a child of a minority race in a school or class where the other race predominates to move to a school where his race is in the majority.

This case, appealed from the Sixth Circuit Court, which upheld the Davidson plan of "racial option transfer," brings up the question whether the procedure expressly recognizes race as a grounds for transfer, and whether it restricts Negroes living in Negro neighborhoods to all-Negro schools, while permitting white children to transfer because of race.

We can see in these important recent cases that the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth circuits, which blanket almost the entire South, reject discriminating remedies and transfer procedures of

southern school "plans." And it is precisely this type of catch-all device, under the guise of a "desegregation plan," which enables local boards to impede and prevent desegregation by permitting a few transfers of Negro children.

The courts are ruling out school board administrative schemes which slow desegregation to a standstill, and are judging school board devices by the spirit of the law enunciated in the *Brown* decisions of 1954 and 1955.

Judge Wisdom, in his New Orleans decision of August 6, made plain the path which school boards must sooner or later follow:

> The key to the problem is the elimination of dual or bi-racial school zones. The limiting principle is clear: the [Pupil Placement] Act may not be used discriminatorily. The touchstone is good faith.

Of course, real progress in school desegregation depends on increased initiative of Negro parents willing to undergo the trials of test cases invoking the rights set forth in these recent rulings. A legal right means nothing if that right is not exercised by people, and realized through effective, if sacrificial, social action.

But Judge Wisdom put his finger on the more important barrier, the bad faith and outright lying of so many school boards about their discriminatory practices, when he said "the touchstone (of real progress) is good faith."

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 10)

So, Mr. Meredith's patriotic adventure and the state's disaster obviously have wrought considerable change in this slave-minded state.

Perhaps the most impressive achievement of the Meredith stay at Oxford is the spectacle of the man himself, inviolate in his convictions of public right and wrong and in his conception of his personal privilege and opinions.

Surely no hero of southern civil rights has ever behaved with such offbeat fidelity to himself, his ideas and his rights. Without benefit of any of the familiar cliches and noble stances with which most Negroes properly support themselves in the dangers, pains and frustrations of the Movement, Mr. Meredith repeatedly surprises and confuses his admirers by assuming the attitudes of an individual absolutely entitled to his own judgments, feelings and actions.

To begin with, he dispensed with the popular fiction of most desegregators of white schools that they are simply seeking an education. Mr. Meredith firmly declared that he prepared for eight years to desegregate the University of Mississippi and begin the long labor of making his native heath a fit place to live in. When Army troops on the campus were, as he put it, "re-segregated" to protect Negro soldiers removed from open patrol to garbage-tipping in deference to local sentiment, he issued an outraged statement protesting this demeaning of colored soldiers. He was quite unmoved apparently by complaints that he was "ungrateful" for protection of federal troops which were in Mississippi to uphold federal law.

For reasons not clear to me, he has since protested the 300 soldiers and additional marshals still stationed with him on the campus, maintaining this policing is a state job, which is quite true; but it is a job that the state is unlikely to undertake, as the Kennedys have learned, leaving Mr. Meredith at

(Continued on back cover)

New South

(Continued from page 15)

the mercy of a number of nearby Mississippians who have threatened him with murder. When rifle shots were fired into his parents' home at Kosciusko, he demanded protection of the Justice Department, which declined to usurp this local obligation; so Mr. Meredith complained, quite naturally, that his 71-year-old father, having lived an exemplary life and reared 10 children, was entitled to peaceful sleep at night.

Meredith also disputed with the NAACP, which sued him into the university, to the effect that he was on his own in his desegregation project. Most recently he has made the point that his grades are not important, that the importance lies in his presence at the university. He has also proclaimed his right as a student to succeed or fail, his demand to be treated personally and publicly like any other American and his faith that all Mississippi Negroes will some day be accorded such equal consideration—thus for a time flouting the hopes of maybe millions of friends who expected him not only to desegregate Ole Miss, but to stay there and affirm people of good will and show segregationists that a Negro can prevail, even academically, over riots, hatred, peril, notoriety and ostracism.

I don't fathom all of Mr. Meredith's notions, whims and judgments. But I am awed at his implacable resolve to be the man he is, against all pressures of friends, foes and comrades. He demands perhaps the rarest recognition a famous Negro ever receives, the acceptance of himself as he is.

Ecce homo!

Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 3—63 February 11, 1963

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY BURROWS INTO POLITICS . . .

Like a mole, the extremist John Birch Society is burrowing deep into the political soil. According to the president of California's Young Republicans, JBS is "engaged in a **large-scale organizing and infiltration** effort" to take over the group. His statement coincides with appointment of right-wing ex-Rep. John Rousselot as western states director for JBS.

The Young Republican leader charged the Birch Society has told its members **"to join Young Republican clubs and county organizations just before their elections to pack election meetings and gain control of these groups."**

. . . AND AN EXPERT WARNS ITS POWER IS GROWING

John Birch Society strength and influence are growing, and in future elections it will exert **"real political muscle,"** according to one expert. Lawrence Peirez of the Anti-Defamation League contends that JBS impact on the 1962 elections **"was far out of proportion" to the group's numerical strength.**

In a detailed report, Peirez made these points:

Birch Society fuehrer Robert Welch apparently is **"seeking to unify all radical right forces under his banner."**

JBS is quietly organizing for more political activity.

Membership of the society **has doubled** since 1961. Areas of its most spectacular growth are the Washington, D. C., area; Long Island, N. Y.; Arizona, Idaho, Washington, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana.

The society now has chapters in all states except Alaska and Hawaii, has members in all 50. Members are being recruited by **38 paid full-time organizers and 70 part-timers.** Nearly 50 JBS public "reading rooms," stuffed with extremist literature, are now in operation in major cities.

Peirez reported that towns throughout the nation **"have been split down the middle"** by Birch Society campaigns of smear and slander against school and church groups, the Supreme Court and against merchants selling goods imported from Iron Curtain countries.

(Following is part of a series of descriptions of major legislation pending before the 88th Congress, prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation. Fact sheets on the measures discussed can be obtained by writing to: AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT—SOLUTION NEEDED FOR A NAGGING PROBLEM

In order to open up new job opportunities for America's young people, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), Rep. John Blatnik (D.-Minn.), Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), and many other members of Congress have sponsored legislation to set up a Youth Conservation Corps and to encourage programs of local area community service employment for young people. The Humphrey bill, S. 1, and the Perkins bill, H.R. 1890, have Kennedy Administration approval and support.

More youth employment opportunities are urgently needed because:

- 700,000 young people aged 16 through 21 were **not** in school and were **not** employed in December, 1962.
- Unemployment rates in the 16-21 age group are about **three times as high** as unemployment in the adult population.
- 18 out of every 100 high school graduates in June, 1961 who did not go on to college still were unemployed in October, 1961.
- 28 out of every 100 school dropouts were unemployed in October, 1961.
- 26 million young people will enter the labor market during the 1960's — about 2½ million new young jobseekers every year.
- To employ these young people, **the American economy must create 25,000 new jobs every week for the next 10 years.**

The purpose of the proposed legislation is twofold — (1) **to provide jobs, job training, and work experience for youngsters who are otherwise unemployed, and** (2) **to stimulate development and conservation of America's outdoor natural resources** as well as development of local community service activities.

(Continued on Page 3)

AMPAC LOADING FOR BEAR IN 1964

The American Medical Political Action Committee, satisfied with its efforts in 1962 election campaigns, **is loading up for bear in 1964.** An AMPAC newsletter boasts the organization pitted itself against COPE-supported candidates in 30 Congressional Districts **and won in 25 of them.**

It's readying for the 1964 campaign now by offering basic political education courses to physicians, their wives and friends. The courses will be given by pros who will travel anywhere an audience can be gathered.

AMPAC, thus, **is in business and means business.** It is mobilizing physicians throughout the country for 1964.

How about you? Are you preparing for 1964?

(Continued from Page 2)

The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) and the community service program should **not** be confused with proposals for a "domestic peace corps" or "national service corps" which would recruit more highly trained volunteer workers.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, reporting on the YCC bill in the 87th Congress, stated clearly that **work performed by YCC members should not take jobs away from adult workers. The AFL-CIO insists on protection of existing jobs held by adult workers.**

The Humphrey-Perkins legislation — identical bills in the Senate and in the House of Representatives — is divided into two sections. One sets up a Youth Conservation Corps; the other, a program of local area and community public service activities. Both programs are for unemployed youngsters between 16 and 22 years of age.

1. The YCC, like the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, would enroll young men for outdoor conservation work in both national and state parks and forests, wildlife refuges, soil and water conservation projects. Minimum enrollment is six months; maximum, two years. Compensation would be $60 a month, plus board, lodging, and clothing. State employment services would select enrollees, **with half to come from areas of substantial labor surplus.**

2. Appropriations would depend on the size of the program Congress authorizes. Maximum enrollment is 15,000 the first year and 60,000 thereafter. Cost of the program is expected to average about $4,000 a year per YCC member. One-third of the YCC would be reserved for work on state forests and parks on a 50-50 cost-matching basis.

Following is the program proposed for local area youth employment in community service:

1. To stimulate state and local community service activities by public and non-profit agencies and thus to increase job opportunities and employability of young men and women, the Secretary of Labor is authorized to make 50-50 matching grants to these agencies. The program is designed to **encourage local initiative** in preparing and submitting plans for approval by the Secretary of Labor.

2. Community service jobs approved under this program must increase employability of those enrolled, must contribute extra public service, **must not displace regular workers,** and must provide wages and working conditions "appropriate and reasonably consistent with the rates and conditions applicable with respect to comparable work in the locality."

3. No specific appropriation is requested, but the number of enrollees is limited to 50,000 the first year and to such number as Congress may determine the following two years. Community service authorized under this program might include employment in schools, hospitals, welfare agencies, playgrounds, and migrant farm workers' camps.

Write to your Senators and your Congressman urging them to support and to vote for enactment of the Humphrey-Perkins youth employment bills, S. 1 and H. R. 1890.

ANTI-UNION MESSAGE ECHOS THROUGH THE CIGAR SMOKE

About a thousand businessmen and a lot of cigar smoke were collected together in a big hotel ballroom in Washington recently by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for a two-day legislative and political conference. You can probably guess the major topic of discussion: **"union power."**

Speech-makers were Sen. Barry Goldwater and Sen. John McClellan, whose views on "union power" were already fairly well-known before they addressed the delegates. While paying tribute to "good, honest unions," both men managed to leave the impression **the nation is at the mercy of "bad, dishonest unions."**

The Chamber of Commerce gentlemen shared this sentiment and warmly applauded their Senate friends.

The Chamber itself, ever keen for opportunity, had set up a long table blossoming with literature for delegates to take home and digest. Some of the leaflet titles: "The Davis-Bacon Act: **Shotgun Law;"** "The Walsh-Healey Act: **Horse and Buggy Law;"** "The Anti-Trust Approach to Union Monopoly;" "Why Employers Should Work for the Right to Work."

Funny thing about all that literature: **someone forgot to put the union bug on it.**

URGE STATE LEGISLATURES TO BURY THE POLL TAX

The opportunity is here this year to bury, once and for all, the poll tax. Still effective in five states, the tax forces payment by a citizen for the right to vote.

Congress passed an anti-poll tax bill as a proposed constitutional amendment last year. It must be ratified by 38 state legislatures to become law. All but three state legislatures—Kentucky, Mississippi and Virginia—are in session this year.

Write to your state senator and/or representative urging his support of the anti-poll tax amendment.

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CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
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Date: FEB 20 1963

Resistance Orgs. KKK

Paper Reports Revival Of S. C. Klan Movement

GREENVILLE (AP) — In an editorial for publication Wednesday morning, The Greenville News reports a statewide movement to revive the Ku Klux Klan behind a front organization known as the "Majority Citizens League."

In part the editorial says:

"The Ku Klux Klan, largely dormant and completely discredited in South Carolina since its temporary resurgence a decade or so ago, is attempting to don a cloak of respectability.

"It is still in its beginning stages, but it is a statewide movement headed by remnants of the South Carolina Association of Ku-Klux Klans with its roots in Columbia and the central part of the state.

"So far as can be ascertained, no sizeable organizational meetings of the 'league' have as yet been held, but it has been discussed at gatherings of Klaverns in various parts of the state, including the Piedmont section. And it has been frankly described as a front organization which may attract people who would have nothing to do with the Klan as such but who could be used for its purposes just the same.

"However, efforts are being made to hold an organizational rally in the upstate this week. Leaders have tried to obtain a meeting site in Anderson; one mentioned was the courthouse.

"There has been talk of a similar meeting next month in Greenville, perhaps at Memorial Auditorium, with Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi being invited to speak."

The Greenville News editorial said instigators of the "Majority Citizens League" were "known to be active members and leaders of the Klan" and that what membership remains in the Klan today "can be numbered in the low hundreds" in South Carolina.

The editorial expressed concern that the organization might be mistaken for other segregationist movements.

Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 4—63 February 25, 1963

"BLACK HAND" OF RIGHT WING STIRRED WYOMING RTW DRIVE

After several decades of dedicated practice at mud-slinging, backers of phony right-to-work laws long ago should have perfected the art. Not so. **In Wyoming last month, they surpassed themselves.**

An outfit calling itself the **"Freedom Committee,"** whose individual members are yet unidentified, placed an advertisement (left) in the Sheridan (Wyo.) Press that reached a new low. It not only linked unions by implication to the **Mafia (Black Hand), hoodlum Al Capone's gang and Nikita Khrushchev,** for some reason it linked Young Democrats to them as well.

The ad **reflected the gutter thinking of the extreme right wing,** the only "black hand" involved in so-called right-to-work campaigns. And, of course, "Freedom Committee" has that **unmistakable odor of the far right.**

Two days later, Wyoming Citizens for Right-to-Work Inc. placed an ad in the same paper (below left) disclaiming any connection with "Freedom Committee." **But WCRTW Inc. couldn't resist the opportunity to suggest "Freedom Committee" may actually be AFL-CIO.**

Then, one day later, to wind up the farce, the pages of the Sheri-

(Continued on Page 2)

WHY?

Why Is the Mafia (Black Hand) against the RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW?

Why Are Capone Gangsters against the RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW?

Why Is Khrushchev and his gang against the RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW?

Why Are the Young Democrats against the RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW?

Could there be some Connection?

THINK THIS OVER

(This adv. sponsored by Freedom Committee.)

Who Are They?

The advertisement in the Sheridan Press implying those opposing Right-to-Work are Communists or hoodlums was NOT paid for by the . . .

Wyoming Citizens for Right-to-Work, Inc.

Who is the Freedom Committee? The AFL-CIO? Ask the Sheridan Press.

Wyoming Citizens for Right-to-Work Inc.

I wish to state that the Advertisement which appeared in the Tuesday, January 29th Sheridan Press has no connection with our Right-to-Work Committee. We have no knowledge of who the "Freedom Committee" is. We believe every person is entitled to express their opinion but we do not believe in the assassination of character of people or organizations.

Alex Kaufmann

(Continued from Page 1)

dan Press blossomed with another ad (Page 1 below center) signed by Alex Kaufmann of Sheridan, administrator of Wyoming Citizens for RTW. He again disassociated his organization from "Freedom Committee" and wound up proclaiming ". . . **we do not believe in the assassination of character of people or organizations." (Where's he been?)**

The ads, of course, are sidelights—but important ones—to the main fact: **the GOP-controlled Wyoming legislature passed an open shop law and the GOP governor signed it.** Wyoming became the 20th state and the first in more than four years to approve RTW.

As usual, the proposal had the support of business leaders and the ultra-conservative Farm Bureau. One of the founders of the state RTW committee was Wyoming Farm Bureau President Herbert Livingston, a board member of the National Right-to-Work Committee. **The fight for the law was led by Lloyd Taggart, a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism.**

The victory was a key one for the open-shoppers, giving impetus to their efforts to build sentiment for a **federal RTW law.** More immediately, **it may well encourage other conservative-dominated state legislatures to act.**

GOP PRESIDENTIAL TICKET FOR '64?

Maybe the Republicans will nominate New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for the presidency in 1964 with Gov. James A. Rhodes of Ohio as his vice presidential runningmate, giving us the **"Rocky-Rhodes"** ticket.

TURN RIGHT ON OHIO RHODES

Speaking of Ohio's Rhodes, he's a Rhodes turning right. Not that this comes as any surprise. Ohio labor expected it.

Rhodes appointed as administrator of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation Willard Dudley, a man who was an **active, outspoken campaigner for the 1958 attempt to pass a so-called "right-to-work" law in the state.** Dudley also was a leader in the ultra-conservative Ohio Information Committee, which battled **against** approval of supplemental unemployment benefits in union-management contracts, and against unemployment benefits.

A fine choice for his new post.

TWO NEW COPE LEAFLETS NOW AVAILABLE

Two new COPE Dollar Drive leaflets are now available in quantity. COPE Publication Number 128, **"It's Got a Lot of Muscle,"** and Publication Number 129, **"365 Days a Year, Your COPE Dollar Works for You,"** illustrate how important the COPE Dollar is to the election of good candidates who will support laws good for all the people. Place your orders with COPE, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL GROUPS MULTIPLY

New conservative political groups are sprouting and spreading like crab-grass in the suburbs. The most recent examples are in the Dakotas.

In South Dakota, a group of businessmen, angered by the election of liberal George McGovern to the Senate, formed the **Conservative Voters Association.** It already has touched base in Washington with ultra-conservative Congressmen and Senators seeking guidelines for voter appeal.

In North Dakota, the **Christian Coalition Party** has been organized, avowedly to speak as the conservative wing of the state Republican Party, **perhaps in future to grab control of it.**

The North Dakota group is doing a **grass-roots building job among high-schoolers in the state.** The junior class president of every high school has received the organization's statement of policy and has been urged to **introduce it as a basis of class discussion.**

16 COPE CONFERENCES SCHEDULED

The first of 16 COPE area conferences will be held in Norfolk, Va., March 2 and 3, for delegates from Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and the District of Columbia.

COPE National Director James L. McDevitt has announced this year's conferences will concentrate on analyses of the strengths and weaknesses of labor's role in the 1962 elections and on planning now for more effective activity in 1964.

Delegates to 1963 area conferences will be drawn from city, county, congressional district and state leadership levels, and also will include Women's Activities Department directors.

Following is the schedule of conferences:

March 2-3: Golden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Va.—Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina and D.C. March 6-7: Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tenn.—Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. March 13-14: Shamrock Hilton Hotel, Houston, Texas—Texas and Louisiana. March 16-17: Marion Hotel, Little Rock, Ark.—Arkansas and Mississippi. March 20-21: Sheraton Oklahoma Hotel, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Kansas and Oklahoma. April 2-3: Statler Hilton Hotel, New York, N. Y.—New York and New Jersey.

April 5-6: Bradford Hotel, Boston, Mass.—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts. April 26-27: Penn Sheraton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Delaware, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. April 28-29: Statler Hilton Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio—Kentucky, Michigan and Ohio. May 1-2: Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.—Wisconsin, Indiana and Illinois. May 4-5: Jefferson Sheraton Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.—Iowa and Missouri. May 21-22: FM Hotel, Moorhead, Minn.—Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Minnesota. May 25-26: Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Oregon—Alaska, Idaho, Washington and Oregon. May 28-29: St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.—Hawaii, Arizona, Nevada and California. June 1-2: Denver Hilton Hotel, Denver, Colo.—New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming and Colorado. Florida—to be scheduled.

AMA TAKES NEW TACK IN ANTI-HEALTH CARE CAMPAIGN

The American Medical Association is carrying its campaign against health care for the elderly under social security **into the state legislatures.** It has been reported the AMA is trying to wangle invitations for its president, Dr. Edward Annis, to address state bodies. Annis already has spoken before both houses of the Arkansas General Assembly.

The AMA pitch: a plea for states to implement the inadequate Kerr-Mills law **to stave off "federal intervention" in the medical field.**

BIRCHERS CAPTURE CALIFORNIA YOUNG GOP

Warnings that John Birchers were trying to capture the California Young Republicans (Political Memo, Feb. 11,1963) hit the bulls-eye. Apparently, they've taken over completely.

Robert Gaston, newly-elected president of the Young GOP claims he is not a JBS member. Yet, he had the backing of **John Rousselot, former Congressman and now JBS western states director.**

Ultra-conservatives also grabbed other key posts in the organization.

20 LOCALS CONTRIBUTE 100 PERCENT TO COPE

Three locals have received 1963 COPE honor awards for collecting the equivalent of $1 or more from each of their members. Listed by states they are: **Iowa**—Waterloo, Roofers 107; **Wyo.**—Riverton, OCAW 2-653; Sinclair, OCAW 2-269. Seventeen locals winning 1962 awards are: **Ala.**—Birmingham, Furniture Workers 384; **Ark.**—No. Little Rock, Furniture Workers 390; **Calif.**—San Francisco, Furniture Workers 262; **D.C.**—Washington, IBEW 26; Upholsterers 58; **Ill.**—Chicago, Upholsterers 17; **Ind.**—Portland, Furniture Workers 320; **Ky.**—Henderson, Furniture Workers 237; **N.Y.**—Jamestown, Furniture Workers 40; Furniture Workers 44; LeRoy, Furniture Workers 37; **Pa.**—Carlisle, Upholsterers 319; Frackville, Furniture Workers 505; Lancaster, Furniture Workers 520; Oxford, Furniture Workers 401; **R.I.**—Providence, IBEW 1360; **Tenn.**—Nashville, Upholsterers 1929.

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DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES (Greenville, Miss.)

P.1

Date: FEB 21 1963

Resistance Grp. Miss.

WCG Warned Of 'Evil Force' Here

One of the founders of the Women For Constitutional Government movement said Wednesday that "some evil hidden force is at work in our society, and unless we do something immediately we are destined to become a land of bondage."

Mrs. Florence Sillers Ogden of Rosedale, a member of the advisory board of the national organization which formed late last year, warned that the foundations of this country's freedom are being threatened. She called for action on the part of Washington County women to fight "increasing socialism and violations of the Constitution."

* * *

SPEAKING to approximately 100 mid-Deltans here she listed the platform of the "spontaneous movement of which I'm proud to be a part."

"We love our Constitution; we love our sovereign state; we are for restoration of constitutional government; defeat of communism; support of free enterprise; reorganization of basic responsibilities and integrities of the people; establishment of a foreign policy that recognizes it is not possible to buy a nation; an economically and militarily strong America that can survive without the United Nations; a return to God."

Mrs. Ogden pointed out that the race issue was a part of this movement. "We believe in separation of the races, but this is not our main issue," she said.

To accomplish the goals set forth at the first national meeting of the WCG in Montgomery, Ala., in January this year, Mrs. Ogden outlined the following steps that must be taken:

(1) A defeat of the liberals in political parties. She said that only conservatives must be elected to Congress and other public offices to stand guard on America.

"A good friend of mine told me that another good name for liberals is socialists," she said. She said that "moderates were even more dangerous than liberals."

(2) Know your candidates and issues. (3) Exercise the power of the vote.

* * *

"WE must also work to get the United States out of the United Nations," she continued. "You saw what the UN did in Katanga. Do you want this to happen in America?"

"Now is the time to unite and fight those who would destroy our way of government as it was originally formed," she concluded.

Mrs. Robert Neal of Leland listed ten instances which she felt were violations of the Constitution, concluding the meeting.

Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 5—63 March 11, 1963

U.S. CHAMBER LOADS 'LABOR SPEAKERS' BUREAU WITH ACTIVE RIGHT-WINGERS

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce publishes a little brochure listing the names of 76 gentlemen from various parts of the country, describing them as **"qualified speakers on labor legislation, personnel practices, and activities of organized labor."**

The Chamber distributes the brochure, "Let's Talk About Labor," to its members, urging them to draw on the speakers bureau for conventions, meetings or special programs.

Of the 76, **at least 10 have known right-wing affiliations** and at least **10 more skirt the fringes.** Unquestionably, closer study would reveal others who habitually hob-nob with the extreme right.

Listed below are some of the persons, and their affiliations, the Chamber presents to its members as likely speakers:

Raymond A. Armstrong, managing director, Oklahomans for Right to Work; participant, 1961 National Right to Work Seminar; active leader in successful right to work campaign in Kansas, 1958.

Dr. James O. Baird, president, Oklahoma Christian College; president, Oklahomans for Right to Work. Oklahoma Christian College is **a kissing cousin of Dr. George Benson's Harding College, Searcy, Ark., which produces mountains of right-wing propaganda.** O.C.C. conducts a similar program of seminars, is also a major right-wing propaganda outlet.

Leonard F. Banowetz, attorney, Coleman Company Inc., Wichita, Kansas; **field coordinator, John Birch Society;** chairman, Kansas State Chamber of Commerce Labor Relations Committee; speaker, 1961 National Right to Work Seminar.

Desmond A. Barry, president, Galveston Truck Lines, Houston, Texas; speaker, right-wing **Human Events Political Action Conference,** March 1962.

Elden R. Carl, general manager, California Association of Employers, San Francisco; 1960 board member, National Right to Work Committee; former employee of National Association of Manufacturers; chairman, National Advisory Committee for rightist Council for Individual Freedom.

Edward W. Greenfield, pastor, Church of Reflections, Buena Park, Calif.; former editorial and program director of James Fifield's **extremist Spiritual Mobilization.**

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

Howard Jensen, vice president and general counsel, Lone Star Steel Co., Dallas, Texas. Lone Star Steel president E. B. Germany is **one of the right-wing's big financial "angels."** The Texas AFL-CIO describes the company as **"probably the leading union-busting company in Texas."**

Rev. Edward A. Keller, University of Notre Dame; member, National Advisory Board, extremist **Young Americans for Freedom;** member of board, National Right to Work Committee: board of advisors, ultra-conservative **National Labor-Management Foundation.**

William L. McGrath, chairman, The Williamson Company, Cincinnati, Ohio; member, national policy committee, ultra-right **For America;** national committee member, **Citizens Foreign Aid Committee;** national board, **Committee Against Summit Entanglements;** endorser, **Manion Forum;** trustee, **American Enterprise Association.**

Herbert M. Ramel, chairman, executive committee, Precision Automotive Components Co., University City, Mo.; trustee, rightist **America's Future.**

COPE LAUNCHES 1964 REGISTER-AND-VOTE CAMPAIGN

More liberal and more modern state registration laws, and registration committees in every local union in the country—these are the goals of COPE's 1964 register-and-vote drive, launched recently by the COPE administrative committee.

In many states, the committee noted, complicated, restrictive and out-dated laws **are designed to limit, rather than increase,** the number of people who go to the polls. Changes in state laws will be sought this year by appealing to state legislatures, 47 of which are in session.

In addition to the legislative approach, the committee recommended all international unions amend their constitutions **to require a registrar or registration committee in every local,** charged with the task of registering members, wives and children of voting age.

More than 25 percent of all union members move every year, the committee pointed out. Making sure they are all properly registered is a major undertaking. Part of the 1964 effort will be concentrated on getting workers who move to register as quickly as possible in their new locations.

AS MAINE GOES . . .

It used to be said, "In politics, as Maine goes, so goes the nation." But like so many slogans, it just didn't prove out. Often Maine would go one way and the nation another.

In one recent situation, though, let's hope the old slogan holds up. **Maine citizens rebuffed an open shop drive by declining to sign petitions in sufficient numbers to put a phony right-to-work proposal on the ballot.**

Ordinarily, RTW promoters can **buy** all the signatures they need to get a spot on the ballot. But in Maine, they found **they were as welcome as a cold wave in Miami.**

THE SNEER THAT'S MADE MILWAUKEE FAMOUS

Most people always thought the more citizens who vote in an election, the truer will be the consensus, and the fuller will be our practice of democracy. **Not so the Milwaukee Sentinel.** It sneered at the idea in a recent editorial noteworthy only for its rich flavor of 18th Century thinking which judged that only property-owners should have the right to vote. Oh, yes—Milwaukee is in Wisconsin, which sent a man named **Joe McCarthy** to the Senate. **The Sentinel was one of his most devoted supporters.** Its editorial **on good citizenship** is printed in full below:

There is a bill before the state senate to permit door to door registration of voters in Milwaukee.

To a degree, this puts a Milwaukee newspaper on the spot.

Get out the vote campaigns have become almost as traditional as campaigns for traffic safety. Being in favor of a big vote is almost like being in favor of motherhood or honesty in government.

And yet, in good conscience, we cannot favor this proposal.

Door to door registration undoubtedly would lead to an increase of registered voters in Milwaukee. That, in turn, would lead to an increase in the number of votes cast, although probably not in the same ratio as the increased registrations.

But do we want those votes? Would they be informed, intelligent votes? Would they improve our chance of electing qualified candidates?

We doubt it.

We have already made registration extremely easy, with convenient hours and neighborhood registration centers. Anyone with genuine interest in his government and desire to participate in it through his own ballot has ample opportunity now.

To go further than we have gone, to have election officials seek registrations from door to door, would, in a sense, be stuffing the ballot box with the votes of our least interested, least intelligent and least informed citizens. We would be sacrificing quality for quantity.

We might better say: If you don't WANT to vote, please don't.

(An interesting sidelight: the same law being proposed in Milwaukee was in effect in Wassau, Wisc., in 1956, and **99.9 percent of that city's eligible voters registered.** For this record, the city received an American Heritage Foundation Award. The Sentinel aims to see that Milwaukee gets no such recognition.)

IN OTHER WORDS, LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP!

"It often happens that Washington pushes into areas . . . simply **because private initiative has failed to do the job.** Those of us who look upon self-reliance as a cardinal virtue had better **look to our own performance before we criticize government intervention too loudly.**"—John T. Connor, president, Merck & Co., drug firm, addressing **Texas Medical Association** conference.

MORE PROOF: BUSINESS BUCKS BACK RIGHT WING

One of the well-springs of right-wing economic propaganda is the Foundation for Economic Education. Its ultra-conservatism would have embarrassed **even old Adam Smith,** who made the scene a couple of centuries ago as the first of the profits-above-all political economists.

Among its leaders over the years have been many of the union-hating busy-bees of ultra-conservatism: Adm. Ben Morreel, industrialist Roger Milliken, right-wing publisher Eugene Pulliam, oil magnate J. Howard Pew.

The Foundation has been around for years, outlasting many other rightist groups. It's easy to see why by looking at the money behind it. Figures taken from hearings by a committee of the House of Representatives show that in the period 1946-50 a total of **more than $1,100,000 was poured into the Foundation by 40 king-sized industries and wealthy individuals.**

General Motors gave $50,000. Chrysler, Consolidated Edison, U.S. Gypsum, DuPont, Gulf Oil, Montgomery Ward, Sun Oil and U.S. Steel **all turned over $40,000.** Republic Steel gave $37,500; B. F. Goodrich, $35,000; National Steel, $22,500.

Among other big doners were Armour, International Nickel, Libby-Owens Ford Glass Co., Standard Oil of New Jersey, Monsanto Chemical, Sears-Roebuck, Detroit Edison, Westinghouse, Humble Oil, Nash-Kelvinator, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, Owens Illinois Glass, Electric Auto Lite, Champion Spark Plug, S.S. Kresge, Ford Motor Co., General Electric, Eli Lilly.

Biggest chunk, $170,000, came from the William Volker Fund, a sometimes philanthropic fund which often donates large sums to right-wing groups.

MAY IS COPE DOLLAR DRIVE MONTH

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NEW ORLEANS
TIMES-PICAYUNE
P11-51
Date: MAR 13 1963

Desegregation Grps. WCC

Citizens Council Leader Flays School Mix Plan

Doesn't Consider What's Best for N.O.—Irwin

The chairman of the Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans charged Tuesday that a desegregation plan adopted by the Orleans Parish School Board Monday night neglects to consider what is best for the city.

"This plan disregards the fact that some school buildings could be closed and disposed of due to small attendance, thereby sparing some neighborhoods from complete destruction as far as property values are concerned," said Dr. Emmett L. Irwin.

Dr. Irwin said that Dr. Shirley Fitzpatrick, director of research, census and planning for schools, failed to face up to the fact that thousands of white students will not attend the desegregated schools in September, 1963.

"To save tax money, the schools which are under-populated should be closed," said Dr. Irwin. "This he has not seen fit to recommend. Instead, he has recommended the construction of approximately a dozen new schools ranging in cost from a quarter of a million to over a million dollars each, when we might very well have empty schools when the Fitzpatrick desegregation plan goes into effect in September, 1963."

Dr. Irwin said "we must work to secure modifications which could possibly save some of the real estate values of some of the neighborhoods surrounding the elementary schools."

He said the school board cannot remain aloof and detached when the welfare of so many property owners is at stake. The board must cooperate with the city and state agencies charged with the responsibility to protect its citizens and their property, he said.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
p 14
Date: MAR 25 1963

Wise Mississippi Move

The word from Mississippi is that appointment of weekly newspaper editor Erle Johnston, Jr., of Forest, as director of the State Sovereignty Commission is judged a body block at the Citizens Councils.

Reports for some time have indicated struggle in connection with the commission, and there has been rather hot debate about the course of the Citizens Council in Mississippi. The council has been strong; it has been the kind of organization, it seemed at times, which was sacrosanct.

Then, last summer Editor Johnston took some rather incisive shots at council policies and leadership. He said of the council's "national administrator," William J. Simmons, that he "doesn't want harmony. He wants strife, confusion and violence." Mr. Johnston wrote same in his paper.

The editor has reportedly wanted no praise for this position. He stands as a staunch Mississippian who believes in segregation. But it can only be concluded he thinks that, in serving the Southern cause, level-headedness and restraint in policy can pay off. Of course it can. Trying to put across the argument that the South is not altogether without some experience in delicate racial relationships requires finesse—not the broad ax, the hot word, the counter-charge.

These may comfort some aggrieved Southerners, but they don't sell anyone any merchandise. The South's principal objective ought to be to convince all people, everywhere, that common sense *can* prevail here—but that just by writing orders, issuing edicts, etc., you do-not change deeply-rooted convictions, practices, or relations.

The Mississippi decision to make Erle Johnston, Jr., head of the Sovereignty Commission, obviously is a sound move and it deserves wide recognition as a step toward balance.

Microfilm Code No.

Resist Repr. - WCC

SERS Library

MEMPHIS
COMMERCIAL APPEAL
p. 14
Date JAN 10 1963

Meeting Picketed By Four Negroes

Signs Displayed At Session Of Citizens Council

Four Negro men picketed a meeting of the Memphis Citizens Council at the Memphis Public Library at 258 South McLean last night.

The Negroes apparently were protesting a resolution adopted unanimously by the 25 council members calling for an independent investigation of the local welfare office.

One sign read "Citizens Council Unfair to the Welfare Department" and another said "We Protest Memphis Citizens Council Meetings." The picketing began at 7:30 and lasted an hour and a half.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

MONTGOMERY
ADVERTISER
p. 2A
Date MAR 2

Resista

Reported Cool Citizens Coun

(AP) — The power it once ex professional administration of wields the nett.

During the first two years, the council leader to run the state

Barnett deliver pared at counc The professiona him on out-of-state administration's S mission voted to cils' radio-televis $5,000 per month

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CUTS CONTRIBU

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Barnett also back leadership during integration crisis. O jections from coun governor conceded effort to keep James of Ole Miss after on the campus.

SERS Library

CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
2B
Date MAR 29 1963

Resistance Repr. WCC

Integrated Social Tabbed 'New Trend'

GREENVILLE (AP) — William Lowndes of Greenville, chairman of the South Carolina Association of Citizens Councils, issued this prepared statement Thursday on a barbecue staged for members of the state legislature near Columbia Wednesday night by a labor group:

"Those who are familiar with the contrivances of the professional politician realize full well that politics does indeed make strange bedfellows.

"The fact that the recent barbecue social sponsored by the CIO-AFL Labor Council, which was reportedly attended by both whites and Negroes, including a large number of South Carolina legislators should make it quite clear that a new trend is being developed in the social and political affairs of South Carolina."

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WON'T YOU DO YOUR PART, DEAR CITIZEN?

Red Rights Bar

As a citizen, it is your duty to learn more about WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. Come to the New National Guard Armory in Selma, Friday morning April 19th at 10:30 sharp, and hear Mrs. Mary Cain Editor of the Summit Sun and other informed speakers. They will tell you why women must come to the rescue of our nation and how they can do it.

WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT was founded in Jackson Miss. by almost 2000 indignant women meeting spontaneously after the Federal Government had violated numerous provisions of our Constitution of the United States. Women came from seven states to this meeting on October 30th, 1962.

On January 17th, 1963 1100 women met and organized with thirteen states represented. Several were northern states. They are just as alarmed as those in the southern states because their constitutional rights are being violated too.

WOMEN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT is conservative. It is not politically affiliated with any party and is not denominational. It is opposed to liberals of both parties. Members of this organization vote for the man and not the party! Our organization is opposed to communism. We believe in a return to God and morality in the affairs and functions of America, regardless of the beliefs of other nations. We ask the guidance and understanding of God, our Father, in all we do.

PLACE: NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY AT SELMA
ON HIGHWAY 22 WEST
TIME: APRIL 19, 10:30 AM (SHARP!)

This is a women's organization but men are welcomed in order that they better understand what women plan to do. They should never underestimate the power of a woman.

REGISTRATION BEGINS AT 10:00 A. M.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

RICHMOND
NEWS LEADER
p. 19
Date: APR 18 1963

Recent Trips, WCC

Many 'Reverse Freedom Riders' Pay Dearly-

NEW YORK, April 18—(AP)—Nearly a year has passed since the first Negro left the South for the North on a one-way bus ticket supplied by Southern segregationists. He was followed by more than 100 others, many of them children accompanying their parents.

What has become of them?

To all, one truism has emerged:

The living isn't easy, North or South.

A dreary picture emerges, for the most part, from surveys in the cities to which the voluntary exiles went in search of a better life—Hyannis, Mass., near the summer home of President Kennedy; New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Dayton, Ohio and Chicago.

Any other result would have been astonishing, for the "reverse freedom riders"—the South's answer to the "freedom riders" — were ill prepared to cope with a high-cost area alien to them.

Not all can be traced, but it was ascertained that many had returned home, disillusioned and homesick. Some went on relief and are still receiving assistance. But some found jobs and are working out new lives for themselves and their families.

One of the first to come North was Louis Boyd, 41-year-old unemployed New Orleans longshoreman. With him on his arrival in New York on April 21, 1962, were his wife and eight children, ranging in age from 3 to 12 years.

"My wife and children were needing," Boyd said in explaining why he had accepted an offer by the Citizens Council of New Orleans to send North any Negro who thought he might fare better there than in the South.

Things looked good at first for the Boyd family. The Travelers Aid Society placed them in a three-room, $25-a-day suite in the Wolcott Hotel in mid-Manhattan for a week end, and he promptly got a job.

But the firm which had employed him as a $100-a-week handyman was out of business within a month.

Boyd finally got another job at a small steel mill in Jersey City. He and his family live in a federal housing project, the children are in school and two of them sing in the choir at St. John's Episcopal Church.

"Yes, I suppose they're getting along all right," said the Rev. Robert Castle, rector of St. John's. "About as

-Before Buying Tickets for Trips Back Home

well as 10 people can get along on $75 a week."

Of six others who followed Boyd to New York City at least two — Junius [illegible], 21, and Morris Price, 20, returned to New Orleans less than two weeks after their arrival.

Another, Shelva Williams, 36, found a job in a grocery. There is no record of what happened to the others.

Ninety-six went to Cape Cod. Of these, a mother and her family of 11 remain on public relief in Hyannis. She occasionally earns a little money when older children relieve her of family tasks on non-school days. One boy has a newspaper route.

Two young women and four children remain in Newburyport, Mass., to which they were sent from the Cape for housing and public care. The women are working and virtually self-sustaining.

Of the remainder sent to Cape Cod, the majority have wound up in Boston jobs.

It is known that at least four others have returned South and that five left seeking jobs outside New England.

A few others found summer work in hostelries and went South last autumn with employers who maintained winter establishments in Florida.

Massachusetts law bars disclosures of identities of persons on relief.

Archie Campbell of Macon, Ga., arrived in Detroit May 18 but returned to Georgia two days later on a bus ticket supplied by Ronnie Thompson, a jeweler in his home town.

Three Louisiana Negroes chose Chicago, but one, Rezzie Moffett, 45, of New Orleans, returned there after nine days because he failed to find a job.

And the latest case of the "reverse freedom riders" is proceeding on a happy note. It's that of Joseph Parker, his wife and their five daughters.

They arrived in Dayton, March 24 from New Orleans, and Parker soon got a job as a carwasher with a meat packing firm. His employer, Hy Feinstein, said "He seems to be doing a good job and everything is going along very smoothly."

Dayton civic groups paid two months rent on a house for Parker and furnished it.

"We'd just like to live a normal life," said Mrs. Parker. "We were only half living down there." Parker had been unemployed since September.

SERS Library

CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S. C.)
6B
Date: APR 22 1963

Resist. Segr. WCC

Citizens To Hear Miss. Segregationist

By LEVERNE PROSSER
Roving Reporter

FLORENCE—One of the nation's best known proponents of recouping dwindling state's rights from the mushrooming federal government—Lt. Governor Paul B. Johnson Jr., of Mississippi—will address a giant rally of South Carolina's Citizens Council members and others here tonight.

An outspoken defender of segregation, Mr. Johnson is expected to unwrap plans designed to obtain "a better bargaining position for the south in national politics" during his speech at McClenaghan High School beginning at 8 p.m.

Here under the sponsorship of the Florence County Citizens Council, Mr. Johnson contends "the South, by sticking together and withholding electoral votes" can garner a greater voice in the operation of the federal government.

Mr. Johnson became a prime target for Northern political figures, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Northern press last September when he and Gov. Ross Barnett refused to admit Negro James Meredith to the University of Mississippi at Oxford.

Mr. Johnson is expected to reveal "many unpublished facts" about the riots that broke out when U. S. marshalls forced the admission of Meredith to Ole Miss. The fiery Lt. Governor was incapacitated by nausea gas during the riots that left two dead and scores injujred.

Florence Council Chairman George L. Ivey said yesterday Mr. Johnson would dwell at length on how, by sticking together, the Southern states can play a leading role offsetting the action of "left wing" and "centralized government" groups.

Advanced comment from Mr Johnson contends "organization is the key to victory for the South." He will seek support for presidential - elector primaries adopted by the Mississippi legislature.

An announced candidate for the seat now held by Gov. Barnett, Mr. Johnson says the leaders of seven other states are already considering adopting a presidential elector primary and similar plans.

A host of South Carolina Citizens Council executives including Executive Secretary Donald [illegible] teat of Charleston, President William Loundes of Greenville, Steve Gentry of Sumter and Farris Smith of Lynchburg are expected to turn up for the rally.

Lt. Gov. Johnson and Mississippi Citizens Council President Leon Hillis will be guests of honor at a special 6 p.m. luncheon scheduled for Hornes Restaurant at 6:30 p.m.

A press conference will be held one-half hour earlier.

The two will be met at the Florence Municipal Airport at 2 p.m. by a group of Florence governmental officials and members of the local citizens council board including Hugh Willcox, E. Morgan, Tim Miller and [illegible] Newton.

Tonight's meeting at McClenaghan High School will be open to the public.

Mr. Johnson will be introduced at the rally by peppery Rep. A. W. (Red) Bethea of Dillon—a key spokesman against integration in South Carolina.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

JACKSON DAILY
NEWS (MISS.)
Date: FEB 26 1963

Resistance Segr. WCC

Preservation Of Segregation Council Aim

OXFORD, Miss. (AP)—A Citizens Council leader told an Oxford unit of the organization Monday night that continued economic and political pressure would be applied to preserve racial segregation in Mississippi.

Robert Patterson of Greenwood, state secretary of the Citizens Council, spoke to the Lafayette County Council. He discussed the overall integration-segregation situation.

About 35 persons attended the session, including several students from the University of Mississippi, which was desegregated last fall.

It was announced that State Sen. John McLaurin of Brandon would address the group's next meeting. McLaurin is an announced candidate for state attorney general.

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

MONTGOMERY
ADVERTISER (ALA.)
p 2A
Date: MAR 25 1963

Resistance Orgs. U

Barnett Reported Cooling Toward Citizens Councils

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI) — The Citizens Councils' professional leadership no longer wields the power it once enjoyed under the administration of Gov. Ross Barnett.

During the administration's first two years, it appeared that the council leadership was helping to run the state.

Barnett delivered speeches prepared at council headquarters. The professionals accompanied him on out-of-state trips. And the administration's Sovereignty Commission voted to give the councils' radio-television department $5,000 per month.

The first indication of change in the power structure came last summer when Erle Johnston Jr., public relations director of the Sovereignty Commission, became involved in a dispute with Willaim J. Simmons, the council's administrator.

Barnett stuck by Johnston, who had accused Simmons of stirring hate, and the Sovereignty Commission ignored a move by some council members to have Johnston fired.

CUTS CONTRIBUTION

Shortly thereafter, the commission voted to reduce its monthly contribution to the "Citizens Council Forum" to $2,000. And Thursday, Johnston, with Barnett's support, was promoted to commission director despite strenuous opposition from some council elements.

Barnett also bucked the council leadership during the Ole Miss integration crisis. Over heated objections from council sources, the governor conceded defeat in his effort to keep James Meredith out of Ole Miss after rioting erupted on the campus.

SERS Library

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
P1.
Date: MAY 18 1963

Resist. Orgs. WC

Same old slap at Dixie, says Wallace

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, May 18—Gov. George C. Wallace told an enthusiastic crowd attending a Citizens Council dinner here last night that the fight that is being waged against the South on racial issues "is nothing new."

"It's the same old fight that in former years sought to keep the South in bonds through unfair freight rates and other forms of discrimination," Wallace declared.

ALSO ON THE PROGRAM was Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, who, after a standing ovation, urged citizens to please let the law enforcement officers handle any racial trouble. This is the reason we got along so well in Birmingham. You have got to keep them (white and Negro) separate when you are having trouble."

Connor said he was not so afraid of the Negro "as I am the white man."

"We are sitting on our hands. They are working; they are organized."

WALLACE CHARGED that economic interests in the North are exploiting the racial question to keep the South under attack.

"They know we are making great strides and they are trying to block us."

"Certain business interests and groups in the North know that the South is making great strides today and they are seeking to block us by attacking the South on the racial question.

"On the slightest racial provocation, magazines and newspapers of the North and East, entirely unmindful of their own obvious defects and shortcomings, send their writers and photographers to the South who come back with stories and articles that are not only deliberately and grossly unfair but in most cases strongly libelous."

Gov. Wallace declared, however, that he was not implying that the South has no friends in other parts of the nation.

"BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC and Pacific and from the Canadian border to Mexico there are millions of people outside the South who look upon the South not only as able to take care of itself but as the nation's last bastion of freedom and liberty," he declared.

Wallace said that if someone says to you, "I'm for segregation but," put him down for what he is, namely, that he not.

The governor declared also that the South—Alabama in particular—is gaining millions and millions in new industry "even though there are some who try to tell you that the way to get new industry is to integrate."

Wallace said that about this time last year "the cry went up that Alabama couldn't get a $20 million rubber plant, but we did."

The governor said that he and others who have been working to get industry to come to Alabama are providing prosperity and more jobs for whites and Negroes.

"By way of contrast, I ask what is this Negro King doing? "He comes in for his own ends and leaves his own fellow Negroes upset and almost friendless.

"I ASK YOU, HAS HE done anything to help create jobs for his own race that will mean happiness and a better way of life for them?"

Wallace declared that politically the outlook is not dark for the South.

"The big political parties are realizing more and more," he said, "that a presidential candidate will have to carry at least seven Southern states to win. Even now we are beginning to get better consideration from them."

Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

NO. 10-63 May 20, 1963

what an understatement

PROGRESS-BLOCKING AMENDMENTS MAKE HEADWAY IN STATES

Three proposals to **curb the U.S. Supreme Court** and bolster "states' rights" (Political Memo, Jan. 28, 1963) have cut a swath through some state legislatures with little opposition and a minimum of public attention. The resolutions were dreamed up in December by the General Assembly of the States, a conservative-controlled organization of state legislators. They would:

1. Change the process of amending the U.S. Constitution to give states greater power in the procedure—**approved in 11 states.**

2. Prohibit the Supreme Court from deciding reapportionment cases—**approved in 12 states.**

3. Establish a "Court of the Union" made up of the chief justices of the 50 state supreme courts, which could over-rule the U.S. Supreme Court—**approved in four states.**

In all, **20 states** have dealt affirmatively with or have taken steps to approve, one or more of the proposals: Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

GIVE US "LIBERTY" OR GIVE US DEBT

And speaking of bizarre proposals the shopworn **"Liberty Amendment"** is still making the rounds, vigorously pushed by rightists who feel taxation is the root of all evil. The amendment would wipe out the federal income tax and would require the government to hand over to private industry whatever enterprises it conducts. This would involve **more than 700 operations,** among them TVA, rural electrification, and atomic energy projects.

Biggest feature of the amendment would be scrapping of the personal income tax. This would cut at least $45 billion from federal intake. Where money for defense and needed welfare programs would come from is anybody's guess, unless the right-wingers want more debt. It has been estimated a **10 percent federal sales tax** would be necessary to make up the loss.

Six state legislatures already have approved the "Liberty Amendment," Wyoming, Texas, Nevada, Georgia, South Carolina.

FOUR-YEAR RIGHT WING COLLEGE IN THE WORKS

Colorado Springs, Colo., is a lovely community at the foot of towering Pikes Peak. It enjoys an ideal climate. Its charms are many, its attractions varied.

Unhappily, it also is a **hot-bed of right wing activity** stemming from the presence of one of the most horrible examples of a daily newspaper this side of Pravda. The paper, the Gazette Telegraph, is owned by **R. C. Hoiles,** whose publishing empire stretches from California through New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, and Ohio.

Hoiles, 84 and rich, thinks the **National Association of Manufacturers is too left wing,** hates the public school system, opposes taxes of any kind. He is a right-winger's right-winger, an all-American arch-conservative.

He puts his money where his mouth is. He has underwritten an academic sewer called **Freedom School** which offers short courses in right wing theory and practice. He now wants to expand this into a full four-year school called **Rampart College.**

A lot of folks in Colorado Springs are up in arms over this, and understandably. Rampart College would be like Freedom School, only more so. A tip-off on what it might be like is available by studying a roster of the phony "faculty" now at Freedom School. Among the "faculty" are William Grede, **John Birch Society endorser** and former NAM president; writer Frank Chodorov, leader of several rightist groups; James Doenges of **We, The People;** Percy Greaves, **Christian Freedom Foundation,** and about a dozen other extremist big-wigs.

The titles of some of the courses have a flavor all their own: "A Comprehensive Course for People Willing to Work and Apply Themselves in the Pursuit of Philosophic and Economic Truths" (the course is over before the title has been memorized) and "Explorations in Human Action" (for business executives).

Hoiles plans to put up **$5 million** to launch Rampart, just another indication that rightist leaders **have money and are willing to use it.**

GOP HEARTS FOR GOLDWATER, HEADS FOR ROCKEFELLER

Among Republicans, there's a huge gap between "whom do you think" and "whom do you want" for President.

Polled by Congressional Quarterly, delegates to the 1960 GOP convention by a solid 46 to 34 percent margin expressed a personal preference for Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater over New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. But by an even wider margin, 64.4 to 26.4 percent, they admitted Rockefeller more likely would be the presidential candidate. Polling was done before Rockefeller's remarriage. Any effect this might have therefore was not reflected in the poll.

Michigan Gov. George Romney was named most likely candidate by three percent of the delegates and was preferred by 4.3 percent. Dragging along behind were Richard Nixon, Sen. Thruston Morton (Ky.), Gov. William Scranton (Pa.) and Gov. Mark Hatfield (Ore.).

EXTREMIST ACA LAUNCHES 1964 POLITICAL DRIVE

The militant right wing isn't waiting for 1964 to start its 1964 political push. **It's beginning now,** in 1963.

This week, Americans for Constitutional Action will dash out of the starting gate with a reception in Washington honoring 153 members of Congress who fit ACA's description of **"constitutional conservatives."** Translated, this means reactionaries.

ACA vows to enter more races than it did in the 1962 elections, when, it boasts, 135 of 184 "assisted" candidates were successful. It's counting, too, on increasing the number of field men—18—it had operating in 1962.

The early ACA drive dovetails, perhaps coincidentally, with announcement by the National Association of Manufacturers that it's **kicking in $100,000 to launch BIPAC,** the Business-Industry Political Action Committee.

ATTENTION ALL CARS, BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR...

The above-mentioned ACA claims membership is growing and that it has penetrated more communities than ever. Presently, it has chapters in the following 29 cities. If you live in, or near, one of them, **watch for evidence of ACA activity.**

Birmingham, Ala.; Burbank, Calif.; Augusta, Ga.; Arlington Heights, Lake Bluff and Villa Park, Ill.; New Orleans; Baltimore; Libby, Mont.; Pittsfield, N. H.; Norwood, Mass.; Oklahoma City; Fernandina Beach, Fla.; Huntingdon, Pa.; Prospect, Ky.; Minneapolis; Bartlesville, Okla.; Ferndale, Mich.; East Wenatchee, Wash.; Philadelphia; Milwaukee; Wheaton, Md.; Shelbyville, Ky.; Elm Grove, Wisc.; Wayne and Columbus, Nebr.; Springfield, N. J.; West Lafayette, Ind.; St. Charles, Mo.

NEWS FOR BYRD-WATCHERS

One of the most interesting specimens for American Byrd-watchers is the **Virginia Budget-Slashing Harrybyrd** (known also as the Dixie Apple-Growing Money-Making Harrybyrd). The habitat of the Harrybyrd is Capitol Hill, Washington, D. C. He is found most commonly perched at tables in committee rooms, but often wings his way around the Senate floor during federal budget season chirping his famous Byrd call, **"Cut 'n slash, cut 'n slash."**

Besides apples, his diet consists of gobbling up programs for public health, education and welfare. He chews vigorously and has a voracious appetite. For dessert, he usually eats jobless pay bills.

It has been reported that he's particularly hungry this year.

HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED YET?

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GOP "LOYAL OPPOSITION" IMAGE TARNISHED

The picture of congressional Republicans as a constructive, loyal opposition group doesn't go over with the public at large. The obstructionism of the Hallecks and Dirksens and their party pals instead seems to have created the image of **old-fogey, stand-pat, Katie-bar-the-door politics conducted by a crowd of nay-sayers.**

A recent Gallup poll found that only 19 percent of all those questioned felt the GOP is working harder than the Democrats for the nation's welfare. Forty percent believed the Democrats are trying more earnestly to solve the country's problems, and 41 percent saw no difference or had no opinion.

Of Republicans polled, one out of every two admitted the **Democrats are working harder** to find solutions than are GOP congressmen and senators.

AH, THOSE SUBVERSIVE LITTLE WICKER BASKETS

Nothing is too small for right-wingers to notice—not even **wicker baskets.** In Columbus, Ohio, prompted by ultra-conservatives, the city government passed an ordinance requiring merchants to purchase a license for the sale of goods manufactured in Iron Curtain countries.

The law smacks heavily of **an outgrowth of John Birch Society activity.** JBS members have made a habit lately of touring stores and putting nasty little greeting cards on Iron Curtain country products.

The first arrest recently was made under this law. A merchant was caught selling Yugoslavian-made wicker baskets without a license. Maximum penalty is $500 fine and six months in jail.

Now that we've exposed Red wicker baskets, let's go after those **pin-cushions** next.

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Racist Propo. KKK

(Photo taken at Candler Park, Atlanta, Ga.)

Are these your children?

FACTS: Known identified members of the Communist party are connected with Martin Luther King and his organization (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference).

Hosea Williams, the Negro trouble maker of Savannah, Ga., has been meeting with identified members of the Communist party.

Dr. W. G. Anderson, Negro leader of Albany, Ga., signed the petition to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. This petition according to officials was instigated for the Communists' benefit. King was also a signer.

These three Negro outlaws are operating within the state of Georgia. Yet our Governor and his official staff refuse to investigate their actions. WHY???

Due to the continued threat of violence by the Negro leaders, be advised every white community to organize for their own defense.

Fish Fry. Saturday, July 13th., for state Building Fund, Oakland City swimming pool, Campbellton Rd. & Oakland Dr. S. W., Atlanta. 11 a.m. until dark. Donation $1.00. Everyone invited.

Cross Burning Public Speaking Saturday, July 13th. Go 3 miles east of Cleveland, Ga., on Hwy. 115 to Kart Race Track. 8 p.m.

Cross Burning Public Speaking. Saturday, July 13th., at 8 p.m. Hwy. 85 off of the Expressway (old Campbell No. 29). Welcome.

Property and buildings needed for public speaking.

Over 5,000 attended this organization's meeting at Savannah, Georgia, June 29, 1963.

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC.
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN
P. O. Box 10753, Atlanta 10, Ga.

New Surplus?

Although the economy grows, the number of people in the job market also increases and technology displaces others more rapidly than new jobs are developed.

This June, there will be a test of the current business upswing's ability to provide jobs. The first big postwar baby crop will enter the labor market.

The year 1947 saw the first big crop of postwar babies born. Those babies turn 16 this year and in most states 16 is the age when compulsory schooling ends.

Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Labor Dep't's Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, looks for more than a million more youth to "hit the labor force."

The implications of the labor force growth are explosive. Unless there are jobs for the overwhelming majority of new workers, a fuse may be lit under a social H-bomb of delinquency and unrest.

Even if unemployed young workers remain relatively passive, there's trouble ahead unless there are jobs. Prof. Philip M. Hauser, chairman of the University of Chicago's sociology department, recently explained what could happen.

The bulge in new workers coming at a time of automation and high unemployment, may constitute a major challenge to the stability of the U. S. economy which has been seen as a major beneficiary of population growth.

Young workers without jobs may not marry but may double up with their parents. Instead of providing stimulus to the economy, they may become a drag upon further growth.

The answer, of course, is to provide wealth-creating jobs. The age of automation must not be permitted to produce surpluses of people as well as goods and foodstuffs.

Conway Named

President Kennedy has named Jack Conway, executive assistant to IUD Pres. Reuther, and Roland M. Sawyer, housing consultant to the United Steelworkers of America, as two of the eight public members on his Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The eight public members will join seven Kennedy Administration officials and former Gov. David Lawrence of Pennsylvania. The Committee is charged with helping to implement last November's executive order barring discrimination in federally financed housing.

Radical Right Organization Calls Tune for Congressmen

The far right called the tune last month and 147 members of Congress joined the dance. Seven more who were honored refused to take part in festivities.

Honors were conferred by Americans for Constitutional Action, headed by Ben Moreell, a retired admiral. Awards were based upon an ACA voting record and anybody who voted for anything truly humanitarian was automatically excluded.

Awards were presented to the 147 for preserving "the integrity" of the Constitution. Winning 100 percent in the ACA voting record were: Sens. A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.), Strom Thurmond (D., S. C.), Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) and Reps. Paul Findley (R., Ill.), Ralph Beerman (R., Nebr.), Glenard P. Lipscomb (R., Calif.), Clarence E. Kilburn (R., N. Y.), John Bell Williams (D., Miss.), Donald C. Bruce (R., Ind.), John M. Ashbrook (R., Ohio), Joe D. Waggoner, Jr. (D., La.), August E. Johansen (R., Mich.), H. Allen Smith (R., Calif.), Elmer J. Hoffman (R., Ill.), Bruce Alger (R., Texas).

Others rating over 90 percent in the ACA scale included such solons as Sens. Harry C. Byrd (D., Va.), Wallace F. Bennett (R., Utah), Norris Cotton (R., N. H.), John J. Williams (R., Del.), Karl E. Mundt (R., Nebr.), Reps. Charles M. Teague (R., Calif.), Frank T. Bow (R., Ohio), James B. Utt (R., Calif), and at least a dozen others.

Seven conservatives declining ACA awards were: Sen. Frank Lausche (D., Ohio), and Republican Reps. Leon H. Gavin (Pa.), John Kyl (Iowa), Charles A. Mosher (Ohio), Richard Schweiker (Pa.), Robert P. Griffin (Mich.), and Fred Schwengel (Iowa).

ACA was blasted on the House floor by Reps. Ronald Cameron (D., Calif.), and John Brademas (D., Ind.). Cameron, who defeated John Bircher John H. Rousselot, denounced ACA and other rightist groups for spreading hate and fear. He pointed out that half of top ACA officers are also leaders of the John Birch Society and that a fifth of its financial support comes from Birchites.

Brademas quoted from a book, *The Far Right,* which found that the Birch Society is "more effectively subversive" than the Communist Party.

Earlier, Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R., Calif.) had denounced the radical right as "fright peddlers" in a Senate speech which has won wide praise and notice.

Kuchel blasted the outpouring of "fright" mail he has received charging that the nation is being sold out to the Communists, that Red Chinese troops are in Mexico, that the United Nations stands poised to take over the U. S. by force, and other related nonsense.

"It is disgusting," Sen. Kuchel said, "to find self-appointed saviors whether infantile or cunning, preying profitably on the fears of Americans in the name of anti-Communism."

IUD BULLETIN

Published Monthly by the

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Rightists Drive to Change Shape of U.S. Democracy

Right-wing elements are driving hard to change the shape of the American democracy with three proposed constitutional amendments being pushed in state legislatures.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has alerted all unions and AFL-CIO central bodies to the danger. It has urged maximum opposition wherever the proposed amendments are put forth.

The amendments are being pushed by the General Assembly of the States, a rural dominated group. Its chairman is W. Stewart Helm, speaker of the Pennsylvania House and an employee of Sun Oil. Spark-plug of the group, which is acting through the Council of State Governments, is William V. Chappell, Jr., a former speaker of the Florida House of Representatives.

The *St. Petersburg Times* recently reported that $12,500 of state money had been used in the drive under authorization of Mallory Horne, the current House speaker.

Last December, the General Assembly of the States began to push its three amendments. They have since been introduced in 32 state legislatures. The AFL-CIO Council has asserted that their purpose is to establish rural minority control over the nation "to implement the political and economic program of reactionary big business."

A first amendment would change the method of amending the U. S. Constitution. It would provide for amendment by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states without approval by Congress or a national convention as now required. As little as 15 percent of the population could, in effect, change the Constitution because of rural dominated legislatures.

The second amendment would deprive the federal courts of the right to require the states to reapportion. This would permit flagrant gerrymandering, and rural control to be foisted on the nation forever.

The third amendment would permit the Supreme Court to be overruled by a so-called "Court of the Union," consisting of the 50 State Supreme Court Chief Justices. The AFL-CIO has termed this a "Court of Disunion."

The court amendment has been approved by Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Wyoming. The reapportionment amendment has had approval in Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The method of amending the Constitution has been approved in Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

Chief Justice Warren has spoken out against this current madness from the right. The Bar Association has finally condemned two of the proposed amendments. In New Jersey, Gov. Richard J. Hughes and Sen. Clifford Case have warned that the amendments could be used to disenfranchise Negroes, and the State Senate has just canceled its previous approval of two of the amendments.

Sudden publicity on the amendments plus leadership against them from responsible officials and labor has resulted in a new setback in Ohio where the apportionment amendment was turned back by the defection of a GOP state senator whose vote was needed to get it out of committee. In Pennsylvania, Gov. Scranton has indicated his opposition.

Approval of 34 states is required to force the calling of a Constitutional Convention. This is the objective of the rightists in the present drive. Even W. Stewart Helm has expressed doubt that approval will be achieved in more than 25 states now that the nation is alerted.

Teachers Press For Bargaining

Detroit teachers, members of Local 231, American Federation of Teachers, are seeking collective bargaining rights.

The teachers' local is circulating petitions in the schools which are expected to gain tremendous support. The local expects to present the petitions to the school board in the near future. They ask a collective bargaining election similar to that conducted in New York City

Meanwhile, in Illinois, the state House of Representatives has enacted a bill which would permit collective bargaining for teachers and other public employes. The bill now awaits action in the state Senate where it has been reported out of committee by a 13-8 vote, despite school administrator opposition.

The Chicago Federation of Teachers is already pressing for collective bargaining. Dr. Benjamin Willis, city school superintendent, is fighting the proposal. The Chicago teachers will rebut Willis in a new appearance before the Board of Education shortly.

HEADS LABEL DEPARTMENT. Mrs. Min Mathieson, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was recently named by Ladies Garment Worker Pres. David Dubinsky to head the ILGWU Union Label Department. Mrs. Mathieson has worked in the field of organization, has a Scottish husband, two college student daughters, and a "professional background like a Hitchcock thriller."

UAW Local Rejects Wage Reduction

United Auto Workers Local 137 and officials of the Gibson Refrigerator Division of the Hupp Company renewed talks late last month in a dispute over company wage cut demands bolstered by a threat to move from its Greenville, Mich., location to Mississippi.

The company arbitrarily demanded that UAW members take a 29-cent an hour cut in pay if they wanted to keep their jobs. Nearly all the 1,300 members of the local turned out and voted 1,294 to nothing to reject Gibson's "final offer."

The company "offer" came after a year of talks. Hupp is in excellent financial condition and made $4 million last year against $2.3 million the year before.

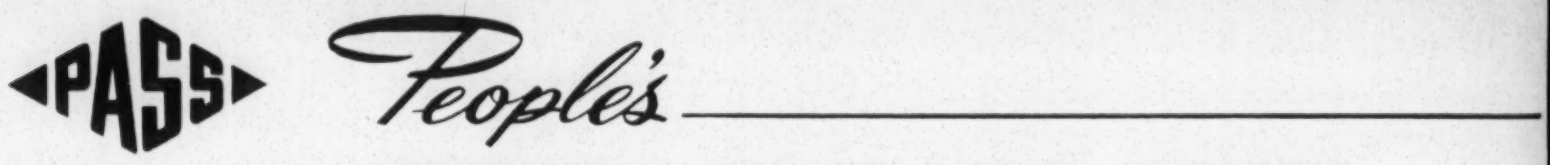
Following the union rejection of the company "offer," Mich. Gov. Romney called upon both sides to meet in private for a one-week cooling-off period. Finally, after a series of meetings, "some progress" was reported by the press.

The company originally demanded cuts in wages and fringes of 47 cents an hour. It then scaled down its demand to 29 cents. Gibson wages are already well below those paid by Kelvinator.

UAW Regional Dir. Ken Robinson had recommended that the local turn down the cut. He said that the company's position "boils down" to a demand for low wages because it can make even higher profits in low-wage Mississippi.

Mailed out to businesses in Atlanta

Resist. Orgs. Leaders



...ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

P. O. BOX 1212 - ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

PURPOSE: *To fight for the restoration and preservation of Constitutional Government and to protect the jobs and security of White Americans.*

PLEDGE: *With tens of thousands of White Americans losing their jobs, homes, schools, churches—other properties and their rights and freedom because of attacks from Communist inspired, lawless racial agitators that foster racial integration and amalgamation, the members and supporters of PASS are pledged to "Pass By" the services and products of merchants, manufacturers and industries that place Negro employees on jobs formerly held by White Citizens.*

June, 1963

SPECIAL ATLANTA

TO ATLANTA BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS:

The "People's Association For Selective Shopping" (organized less than six months and now operating with active members in ten states) urges that there be no further surrender to the Communist inspired lawless racial agitators, within the Atlanta area business community.

Very soon our organization will be operating effectively in most of the United States; and with our largest membership in Georgia-we want to assure Atlanta business and civic leaders that we will concentrate our efforts on Atlanta business concerns that surrender to the racial agitators. We are fed up with the business leader and the public official who for the sake of a dollar would destroy the "American Free Enterprise System" and representative government.

Our rapidly expanding Georgia membership will be fully informed of those business houses such as Stouffer's Restaurants in The Atlanta Trading Mart Building, The Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn, Rich's Department Store, Colonial Bread Company, and other concerns that are leaders in the surrender to racial integration, and racial amalgamation that is sure to follow.

Let all who read this understand that if there is a general break through of integration in the hotels, motels, restaurants and other business concerns in Atlanta--"PASS" will immediately activate a massive and never ending campaign to keep all "PASS" members and supporters from doing any shopping, whatsoever, in downtown Atlanta. In addition to our purpose to protect and preserve racial identity, our fight is to help preserve the "American Free Enterprise System", that we may as a free people continue to enjoy freedom and liberty generated from this system.

We have provided you with information concerning "PASS" that you might be fully informed and in a better position to determine the policies of your company.

PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

PASS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS . . . POST OFFICE BOX 1212, ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

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★ ★ "PASS" IS AMERICANS IN ACTION ★ ★

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BULLETIN IS TO FULLY INFORM RETAIL MERCHANTS, WHOLESALERS, THE SERVICE INDUSTRIES, MANUFACTURERS, NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS, BROADCASTING OUTLETS, PUBLIC OFFICIALS, AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES OF THE ACTIONS OF "PASS".

Effective immediately, all members and supporters of PASS are to "PASS BY" the products and services of Dairies, Bakeries, Restaurants, Groceries — and Drug, Variety and Department Stores. Also Banks, Oil Companies, Newspapers; Manufacturers of Automobiles, Furniture, Appliances, Clothing, Tobacco Products and all other Manufacturers, Wholesalers, Jobbers and Retailers and Service Industries, not herein named, that place Negro employees on jobs formerly held by Whites. Not only are members and supporters to pass by products and services of said merchants, manufacturers and service industries, but merchants, manufacturers and service industries handling such products and services will be placed on the "PASS BY" list of PASS.

The products and services of sponsors of National Television and Radio Programs that practice, teach and support racial integration will be on our "PASS BY" list. Public officials who fail to support the objectives of PASS will also be placed on our "PASS BY" list.

In addition, members and supporters of PASS will please notify National PASS Headquarters at Post Office Box 1212 Atlanta 1 Georgia, if you lose your job because you are White or if you know of others who suffer similar hardships where Negroes are placed on jobs formerly held by Whites. Include complete information as to company, job, product or service involved. NAMES OF INFORMANTS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

This (PASS) is a Nationwide movement and members and supporters are to write or call your friends locally, in other cities and in other states to seek their participation.

PASS will publish and distribute "PASS BY" lists of products and services not approved for PASS" purchasers. The active support of more than 2500 conservative organizations in America will be solicited.

PASS NEEDS YOU!! — YOU NEED PASS!!

You are urged to act now. Join and support PASS. Help to organize your community, city, county and state. THE JOB OR HOME YOU SAVE MAY BE YOUR OWN, or that of your child grandchild or neighbor.

Yours For Freedom and Security

Lester Maddox

Resist Dep. KKK

RPT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JULY 8, 1963.

KLAN CHIEF URGES SAVANNAH RALLY

Georgians Told 'Antidote for Poison Is Poison'

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Ga., July 7 — The leader of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan has called for a mass demonstration by 50,000 whites at Savannah on July 20 and a return to "fighting" principles.

Calvin F. Craig of Atlanta, grand dragon of the Georgia Realm of the United Klan of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, spoke here last night to a rally of 300 persons on the city's outskirts.

In a reference to the current racial crisis in Savannah over mass Negro protest marches, he said:

"The antidote for poison is poison."

Mr. Craig said Klan members from Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida would participate in the Savannah rally. It will be followed by a march downtown.

"Why don't you good people get a motorcade and come down to Savannah?" he urged his audience.

Some responded with shouts of "We'll be there."

'Self-Preservation' Matter

"Let's make Savannah, Georgia, the biggest, the gigantic-est rally that's ever been held," Mr. Craig said.

"I do not believe in violence but I do believe in self-preservation," he declared.

"Now is the time to get back in the race and get this fight back on the road," he continued. "It's always been a fighting organization—you can check on the history of the Klan."

Mr. Craig attacked the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro civil rights organization.

"Martin Luther King says he's willing to violate any law that he doesn't think is just," he said.

"Well, I look at it this way: It's about time to start violating some of these rules these communities have passed to protect these niggers."

Expects Protection

"We are going to demonstrate in any city that we take a notion to demonstrate in and we're going to expect the full protection of the laws," he asserted.

Mr. Craig told his listeners they should not allow the presence of Negro demonstrators to discourage them from patronizing businesses.

"If these niggers here in Dougherty County lays down in front of a store, don't walk around them," he said. "Step on 'em and go on in there and trade with that man!"

Judge Clayton Jones of the Albany City court spoke before Mr. Craig. The jurist contended that anti-segregation demonstrations were Communist-inspired.

"Don't think that those people there in the North are not aroused equally with you in Georgia," he said.

"This is a nationwide matter that is being fostered by the Communists in Russia. Russia! The Machiavellian hand of Khrushchev is behind this agitation."

Judge Jones called on the audience to "hurl back that black tide that's trying to engulf you and take over this country."

He said that the Negroes' objective was intermarriage.

'White Faces' to Trust

The judge said he did not have long to live.

"But I hope that God will grant me the power to come back," he went on. "And when I do, may I still see white faces in the positions of trust, not black faces."

"Understand, my fellow hearers," Judge Jones said in conclusion, "this is your country here. And if it is worth living in, it's worth fighting for, and if it's worth fighting for, it's worth dying for."

The rally here, one of many held across the South in recent weeks by the Klan, took place in a clearing of a vacant field.

A red pick-up truck stood by the roadside at the entrance. On its side was the message, "K.K.K. Ralley Johnson Rd. Tonight 8:00 p'clock."

Other signs read, "Positively 'no' alcoholic beverage. K.K.K."

Most of the audience arrived in farm trucks and old model automobiles. However, there also were a number of foreign cars and new American models. Several women held children in their arms.

Fifty members in sheets formed a circle around a cross, which was made of 8-inch steel pipes shrouded in oil - soaked burlap and hoisted into place by a farm tractor.

As a Klansman lighted a torch to it, the public address system carried a recording of "The Old Rugged Cross."

Wednesday, July 10, 1963 THE WASHINGTON POST

Klan Chieftains Order Fight on Desegregation

Resist Imp. of KKK

By Don McKee

ATLANTA, July 9 (AP)—Ku Klux Klan leaders today said the robed order is launching a large-scale campaign of white resistance to desegregation throughout the South and in other parts of the Nation.

The credo of the new Klan move will be one of nonviolence, but self-protection.

Klan leaders said their methods would include marching demonstrations, rallies, economic reprisals and white voter registration drives. In recent months, the Klan has been generally inactive.

"The thing we've got to do is shock people into reality," said Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton Jr. of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Georgia's grand dragon, Calvin F. Craig of Atlanta, voiced a more ominous assessment of the racial conflict:

"The Negroes are not going to be satisfied until we have open racial war in this country . . . One race will have to dominate."

Savannah March Set

Shelton and Craig belong to the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They say their order is the only authentic Klan.

Craig, 35, tall and heavy set, said the Klan would stage a street march July 20 in Savannah, Ga., where Negroes have been conducting demonstrations against segregation.

"I certainly hope no Negroes throw rocks," Craig said.

"I don't necessarily mean we'll take a violent stand, but if the State can't protect citizens, we'll band together to protect ourselves."

Craig said he would not encourage violence, "but I'm going to encourage self-protection. The white people have been trampled on — a man can't even operate his own business in an orderly manner."

Throughout Georgia, he said, he found the majority of white men "almost ready to take up arms."

Craig, formerly in the dry-cleaning business, declined to say what his occupation is for fear of reprisals against his family.

50,000 a Week Is Aim

Shelton, also 35, a mild-mannered and slightly built man, said the Klan would try to reach at least 50,000 persons a week in public rallies.

Three rallies were held Saturday night in Gadsden, Ala.; Albany, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. Shelton said three to five rallies a week were planned during the next two months in Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Tennessee.

Giant rallies are planned July 27 in Jacksonville, and Aug. 17 in Spartanburg, S. C., Shelton said.

The imperial wizard said the Klan was expanding its activities in the North and the Midwest.

"They're not in the open in the North because of economic reprisals," Shelton said. "They are not identified as Klan organizations, but are operating on the same principles.

"We have pretty broad coverage now in 34 states."

Shelton, a former rubber plant worker, now devotes full time to the Klan.

Give Broad Goal

Both Klan officials said their fight was not confined to segregation but was aimed also at preserving "the constitutional form of government and keeping it from buckling under to a military dictatorship of the Kennedys."

Shelton said Georgia State officials have done nothing to stop Negro demonstrations and desegregation. He said he hoped the march planned at Savannah would "encourage white people all over the country."

"We're almost in a revolution," he said.

"All you need is a spark."

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Maddox - Atlanta

Atl. J+C 7/4/63

Resist Desegr. Leaders

Maddox and 33 Businessmen Set Up Anti-Integration Group

By JOHN HERITAGE

Some 34 Atlanta businessmen met twenty-nine Wednesday night at the Henry Grady Hotel to form what was described by restaurateur Lester Maddox as a conservative "Independent Business Association."

The group will represent businessmen ranging from barbers to doctors who aren't being given a "voice" in Atlanta civic organizations and city hall, Maddox said in his remarks to the meeting.

The gathering was apparently in reaction to a recent decision by some Atlanta hotels, motels and restaurants to integrate.

Maddox said the group that its members "don't have to be publicly known . . . they don't even have to join a membership if they want to support it otherwise." Shortly after Maddox made that remark, one man handed another some paper money and left.

Henry Grady manager Emory Crenshaw, who has said his hotel would maintain a policy of segregation, and Pickrick owner Maddox were at the head table at the meeting.

Maddox said he hoped the group would "pull together" and lend its support to other organizations who want to publicize their side of the integration debate.

The Pickrick owner said it was reported to him that four businesses had decided Wednesday to withdraw themselves from the recent integration agreement. He did not name them.

Maddox said the integration agreement had brought a 30-day truce on Negro demonstrations, but that "it won't be but a few weeks" before the demonstrations resume—asking for more integration.

Shortly after Maddox had finished speaking, a man in the audience suggested that everyone at the meeting introduce themselves. A Southwest Atlanta dentist and a druggist gave their names. Then Crenshaw interrupted to tell if any reporters were in the audience. A Constitution reporter identified himself, but Henry Grady manager Crenshaw asked him to "leave the premises."

Resistance Groups - Misc.

White Group Sets Up A 'NAAWP' Chapter

Cin. Coust. 7/15/63

CINCINNATI (AP)—The first chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of White People was formed here Sunday.

William E. Miller, president of the organization, said its purpose is "to promote, to aid, to sustain and defend our American form of government; to keep the general public aware of the elements which seek to impair and destroy their government; to promote the social, educational and general welfare of the Caucasian race."

Miller said the organization's name was chosen for psychological reasons. He said Negroes can join the NAAWP "if they are for constitutional government."

About 15 persons attended the meeting.

Miller said the NAAWP will apply for an official charter from the Ohio secretary of state and then will ask President John F. Kennedy to call on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "to stop civil disobedience."

Resistance Groups - Misc.

Virginia Court Gets Charges Against 3 American Nazis

EMPORIA, Va., July 22 (AP)—Charges against George Lincoln Rockwell and two of his American Nazi followers of conspiring to incite racial violence were certified to the Greensville County Circuit Court Monday.

The next grand jury is scheduled to convene Oct. 1.

"When I think of Nazism," said County Court Judge Ralph Slagle, "I think of storm troopers . . . concentration camps."

Mr. Rockwell, Roy James, 25 years old, and Dedalus Wiley, 21, all of Arlington, are charged with "conspiring to incite the white population to acts of violence and war against the colored population."

The self-styled Nazi leader and his followers were arrested here Friday night as he was preparing to speak in front of the Emporia Town Hall.

Mr. Rockwell has been on a speaking tour of Virginia, attempting to enlist support in a counter protest to the planned march of civil rights groups on Washington Aug. 28.

Atl. Jour. 3/9-8/63

Resistance Groups - Misc.

Tremor in Mississippi

WHEN THE dust settled at the University of Mississippi, most eyes turned elsewhere. Accordingly, not many eyes were looking when the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission elected a new director a few days ago.

The man chosen is Erle Johnston Jr., a weekly newspaper editor whose views on segregation are about the same as those of most Mississippians.

The important thing about Johnston, however, is that recently he has been a troublesome opponent of the Citizens Councils leadership, which for two years had seemed invincible. The councils' leaders strongly opposed Johnston's election by the Sovereignty Commission.

Under Gov. J. P. Coleman, the Sovereignty Commission was the usually calm state agency which had the primary mission of saving segregation. The noisier and more irresponsible Citizens Councils organization, at its peak in statewide membership, was permitted no direct voice in state affairs.

The councils chafed under this restraint, and they turned the tables when Ross Barnett, a strong supporter of the councils, succeeded Coleman. Barnett for two years seemed to rely uncritically upon the judgment of Citizens Councils Administrator William J. Simmons, his traveling companion and adviser. The Citizens Councils even received a state subsidy of $5,000 a month.

One of the first major voices to speak against the extremist approach was Erle Johnston. It was like a thunderclap in Mississippi when, last year, Johnston rebuked the Citizens Councils and said the state must keep order and establish cooperation between whites and Negroes.

Now Johnston is director of the state's official segregation agency. In other states agencies similar to this commission have helped to make token integration eventually "respectable" to the politicians.

Mississippi is a long, long way from that, but even a small step away from violent irresponsibility is an important step.

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PATHOS AND DANGER Atl. Jour. 9/18/63

It's Always a Good Show When These Happy Folks Get Together

Resist. Imp. WCC

By PAT WATTERS

SOMETIMES IT is better to laugh than to cry. At the meeting the other night of the Atlanta Citizens Council to hear Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett, there was much of tragedy and pathos.

The solemn preacher, Dr. John R. Richardson, Westminister Presbyterian Church, praying ("Engrave thy moral law in our hearts"), the fair-faced, fine Boy Scout leading the pledge of allegiance ("with liberty and justice for all"), the cruel humor (from Lester Maddox): "Even if you're on one of Kennedy's welfare programs, you can squeeze out a dollar a week" for the Citizens Council . . . from James Gray: "They (Negroes) asked why they could not go swimming. I said you can—just go out and buy your own swimming pool . . ."), all require ability to stop tears and anger.

MONEY

The two old men with rose buds in their lapels, out of the country, middle-class of gentle, aged gentility every neighborhood and business knows, avidly drinking it all in. . . . The money givers, including the bland-faced, doom-blocking man pledging $100 . . . the air of gleefulness, of communion . . .

It is bad to turn from these quickly to the show aspects, including the virtuoso performance of Barnett in a speech art form almost extinct, full of finger pointings and hand wigglings and bursts of words run together (the people of Mississippi) rising in a war cry.

Sociological Note: The crowd that heard General Walker earlier this year in this same room was about the same size (3,000), but more sophisticated, well-heeled. . .

Mr. Gray introduced the governor (after Mr. Maddox had started things with a fervent, eyes-bulging appeal for money for the organization), presenting Barnett as one "possessed of a keen, well-disciplined mind." Barnett began loud, a slow wind-up, fast delivery speaker, and soon he was deep in revelations of ancient history, of how Egypt was an old-time white civilization of highest order until black folk came slipping treacherously down the Nile to go to school with, dance with the Egyptian children.

He hailed the Savannah lower court ruling against school desegregation as a "real landmark," failing to say the decision was slapped down and the judge fussed at in less than a month. He deplored 25 per cent illiteracy in parts of Washington, failing to mention Negro illiteracy in his own state, or how many of the Washington illiterates might be from there.

"Mississippi has a new law this year," he cried. "Let me tell you how it works. . . ."

"Let us put our talent together," he said to this crowd of old and sprinkled very young whose chief platform claim to community leadership was Fulton County Attorney Harold Sheats . . . "put our heads together, join hands, and we can win victory."

He went on at rather great length about the "rights expressly reserved to the states by the tenth amendment," and other tenets of the 1860's. He spoke of "old Gunnar Myrdal who admits he's a socialist."

"Due process of law," cried a woman excitedly, irrelevantly, in one of his pauses. He blinked a moment, then said gravely, "You're right."

He gave the new battle cry: "Friends, a man has a right to run his business as he sees fit," and this they cheered loudest. He told of how Hitler got to power pretending to protect minorities, a startling revelation.

GOLDWATER

He wouldn't speak of Goldwater, harping instead on his unpledged elector scheme, and the crowd's cries of "Goldwater, Goldwater" seemed to indicate a split in the seeming solidarity. This was confounded by the hiss of one of the faithful at the mention of Goldwater: ". . . That damned Jew."

It was best to attend to these entertainment aspects of the meeting, and not think too much about the shoving of Negro-movement pickets on the sidewalk beforehand, or of the Atlanta cop yelling at the white crowd, "I don't care what you do as long as you keep moving. I don't do this because I want to . . ." or of the terrible irony of Barnett charging that normal America has a controlled press and police rule. Keep smiling. Mississippi can't happen here.

Viva Barnett, Segregationist Tells Meeting Told

Resist. Imp. WCC

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 10 (AP)—The chairman of Louisiana's joint legislative committee on segregation says the country needs people like Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas.

State Rep. John Garrett, addressing a citizens council meeting last night, criticized the Kennedy administration for displaying "a great deal more enthusiasm in sending troops to Mississippi than stopping communism.

"If this train of federal thought is not changed," Garrett said, "there will be no state government within five years. And if America is to survive, state sovereignty must be preserved."

ANOTHER SPEAKER, Melvin Bruce, a 35-year-old Georgia trucker arrested after the University of Mississippi campus riot, told of his 54 days of imprisonment.

"Since 1948, I have been a self-informed student of communism," said Bruce, a World War II disabled war veteran from Decatur. "I have read many books on the subject and what I experienced at Oxford, Miss., was communism at work."

Bruce said sometime after he was arrested on Oct. 1, he was taken to an open compound enclosed with wire without sanitary facilities and practically no food. He said it was freezing weather and said no measures were taken to protect those held.

HE SAID he was taken to the Memphis, Tenn., jail where all visitors were refused except his wife. He was released on $35,000 bond the day after Thanksgiving.

"Many of the marshals," he said, "were federal prison guards accustomed to dealing with hardened criminals instead of young college boys and girls."

Bruce is charged with interference with federal officers in performance of their duties, conspiracy to impede officers, rebellion and insurrection, and conspiracy to oppose the authority of the United States.

A MASSIVE SOL...

Atl. Jour. 7/19/63

Mr. Cook and the KKK

Resist. Orgs.

ALTHOUGH THE courts have held that no state may usurp federal prerogatives in dealing with subversive activity against the United States government, some states continue to dabble opportunistically in this field.

We consequently cannot avoid a sense of doubt about a new action by Georgia's attorney general. Mr. Eugene Cook says he is investigating the Dorchester Center, a foundation-financed, church-related voter registration school operated by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The explanation of Mr. Cook's inquiry suggests he expects to find evidence of Communist activity. That is the job of the federal government, and it is doing the job.

The record in witch-hunting by state officials is already bleak. It undoubtedly has worried responsible people concerned with the delicate business of national security.

But there is one other aspect of the Cook undertaking that really confounds us. It is the disclosure that the attorney general has sent a telegram to the leader of the Ku Klux Klan saying this:

"Have tried several times to reach you by phone. . . . Two agents and I are leaving today for on-the-spot investigation of Dorchester College, Liberty County, operations. Will advise upon completion of investigation."

Since when does the attorney general of Georgia tell the Klan that he has been laboring to get in touch with it and will "advise upon completion of investigation"?

The Ku Klux Klan's sudden apparent respectability in Mr. Cook's eyes belies the fact that, in one form or another, it repeatedly has been on official lists of subversive organizations.

Do subversive organizations, sick and ineffective though their remnants may be, tell our attorney general who is subversive these days?

COMMITTEE FOR SEGREGATION distributed in front of Lebs 7/26/63

P. O. Box 1062
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

July 24, 196

This constant and quite often violent agitation for integration is quite definitely backed by the communists and socialists. They are dedicated to a classless Society, and this classless society can not be attained until there is complete and total integration to the point of intermarriage (amalgamation).

The integration of all public accomadations are merely steps toward the final goal of amalgamation of the races resulting in a nation of mulattoes.

Integrating the restaurants is another move forward toward this satonic goal.

Integration of the schools was the first step toward this end. This was followed by integrating public transportation, rest rooms, public parks, golf courses, public libraries, theatres, swimming pools, housing, hotels, integration of work forces resulting in the displacement of white people in favor of negroes is fast being pushed. The integration of barber shops and beauty salons will probably be next.

William Z. Foster, former national chairman of the communist party of the United States of America, in his book "Toward a Soviet America" had the following to say about integration:

"The party lays the utmost stress upon its demands for the negroes. It demands full economic, political and social equality for them; it fights to eliminate the entire system of discrimination to which negroes are subjected in industry, in the distribution of unemployment relief, in segregated dwelling districts, in hotels and restaurants, in trade unions, in the courts, in political activities:"

"Communist action is based upon the slogan of "Class Against Class:"

"The communist party, alone of all the political parties, fights for the liberation of the negro --"

"In a Soviet system, the negro will have the most complete equality - economically, politically, socially. The doors to every occupation, to every social activity will be wide open for him. He will have ample land confiscated from the great white landlords." Editors Note - It is quite clear that the Democratic Party at the behest of John F. Kennedy and brother Bobby and other ultra-liberals have adopted

the principles of the foregoing.

"The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage."

" --Contact between these two races, bred of modern industrialization, is just as irresistibly breaking down these racial differences and bringing about racial amalgamation."

The communist party is working hard to have repealed all laws forbidding miscegenation (intermarriage).

The N.A.A.C.P. has as one of their objectives the repeal of all laws forbidding miscegenation.

The United Church of Christ held a youth forum at Clark College here in Atlanta in June. According to an article in the June 24, 1963 edition of the Atlanta Journal "Rev." Archie Hargraves of New York spoke to this group and stated: "Marriage without reference to color represents the major breakthrough to the integration problems of the nation."

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity" of which one "Rev." John B. Morris, a long time member of the N.A.A.C.P. and who has seen the inside of numerous jails, is executive director, distributed a pamphlet stating that commingling between the races had a tendency to cause familiarity. They too would like to see amalgamation of the races.

Interbreeding of the races is the objective! Is this what you want? Do you want your son or daughter, grandson, granddaughter or sisters to marry a negro?

If you do not, then you must do your part in stopping this satonic push for integration now!

Do not eat at any of the restaurants appearing on the attached black list:

Editors Note - It is not implied in any manner that any of these restaurant owners are communists or a conscious part of their conspiracy. Quite to the contrary, they are good Americans misled and/or pushed to this satonic deed.

There are plenty of other restaurants available that have remained segregated,

just look for them. Eat at any restaurant not appearing on this black list. If there is not one convenient - then pack your lunch from home.

Do not eat at any of the following restaurants:

Herren's - 24 Luckie St. NW (A ringleader for race-mixing and bragged about it.)

S&W Cafeteria - 189 Peachtree Street

Davis Brothers - all locations

Davis Fine Food - all locations

Johnny Reb - all locations

Polly Davis -- see Miami Buffet

Miami Buffet in Atlantan Hotel; Peachtree Road; Buckhead on East Paces Ferry

[illegible] Harvest House, Lenox Square, owned by F. W. Woolworth Company.

Dale's Cellar - 400 W. Peachtree

The Farm - 3820 Roswell Road

Colonel Sanders Fried Chicken (owned by Davis) - all locations -

Caruso's Italian Restaurants - 1892 Piedmont Avenue; 2496 Stewart Avenue -

Golden Palm - Americano Motel (brags about it).

Seven Steers - Roswell Road (Buckhead) Peachtree

Stauffer's - Merchandise Mart

Top of The Mart - see Stauffer's

Shoney's Big Boy Drive-In - Brookhaven on Peachtree Road (already integrated); College Park.

Howard Johnson Motor Lodges and Restaurants, all Atlanta locations and all others except South Georgia that do not belong to Howard Johnson Company but are franchised.

Yohannan's - Lenox Square (a leader for integration).

John Escoe's - Peachtree Road

Mammy's Shanty - Peachtree Road

Sprayberry's Cafeteria - 888 Peachtree Street

Camellia Garden - Peachtree Road (says he has segrated; let's see).

Remember - integration is not God's will, but the Communist's way - when you eat at any of these integrated places, you are helping the Communists.

Criticism in the Christian World

Books

The New Know-Nothings

THE RADICAL RIGHT. Edited by Daniel Bell. Doubleday, $4.95.

✦ LEADING historians, sociologists and political scientists here collaborate to produce what is in this reviewer's judgment the most satisfactory description and explanation so far of our country's radical right in its present phase. The bulk of the book consists of revisions of essays from a 1955 volume, *The New American Right,* which dealt with the McCarthyite phase of the movement; in this revised version the authors criticize and expand their earlier analyses and interpretations. In addition one new chapter discusses the John Birch Society and another compares the social climates of England and America in relation to rightism. The authors are Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons, Alan F. Westin, Herbert H. Hyman, Seymour M. Lipset; these men could not produce an inconsequential book if they tried.

The essays provide convincing evidence that confusions and insecurities within conservative ranks concerning the changes taking place in American life are at the root of the new radicalism—a radicalism ready to discard constitutional processes and to suspend civil liberties to "save the American way of life from communism." As Westin points out in regard to the Birchers, what has emerged is a new kind of fundamentalism. Among the new development's characteristics: (1) It assumes that simple solutions to any problem are possible and believes that failure to arrive at solutions must be due to conspiratorial activity. (2) It contends that the conspirators are the accepted leaders of churches, unions, political parties, the press—and even some leaders of the business community. (3) Adherents of the new radicalism reject and distrust our nation's political system, believing it incapable of coping with communism. (4) The new radicals spurn all social and economic programs for dealing with international problems and demand vague apocalyptic solutions on a crash basis. (5) They urge "direct action" to circumvent the conspiracies they imagine —action which generally adds up to hate campaigns.

Several of the book's contributors acknowledge that since 1955 they have discovered how large a part fundamentalism and political revivalism have come to play in the emergence of the radical right. Prof. Hofstadter, for example, admits that while in 1955 he could see only small effects resulting from fundamentalism, he would now insist that its role is "very large indeed." "To understand the Manichaean style of thought, the apocalyptic tendencies, the love of mystification, the intolerance of compromise that are observable in the right-wing mind, we need to understand the history of fundamentalism as well as the contributions of depth psychology." Lack of more careful examination of the factor of fundamentalism is an omission in this otherwise knowledgeable book.

HAROLD E. FEY.

Last Free Choice

THE WINE IS BITTER: THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA. By Milton S. Eisenhower. Doubleday, $4.95.

✦ THIS BOOK is an important addition to the study of inter-American affairs primarily because the sayer validates the saying. Writing out of a lifetime of interest in Latin America and eight years as personal representative of Pres. Dwight Eisenhower, with the rank of special ambassador to Latin America, Milton Eisenhower repeats much that is now well known to informed students of U.S.-Latin American history. In 1953 Pres. Eisenhower asked his brother Milton "to get a broad view of the conditions which affect the total relations of the United States with the republics of Latin America. Keep an open mind and consider what we can do, what policy changes or programs will be necessary, to unify the republics of this hemisphere." *The Wine Is Bitter* is the first public summary of the eight-year study and of the author's involvement in inter-American events immediately following his official appointment.

What is old in this report—the despair, anger and bitterness of oppressed and humiliated Latin Americans; the contribution United States imperialism made to that condition and that mood; the rising spirit of revolution sweeping through Latin America—gains authenticity from the scholarly objectivity of the reporter. What is new adds substantial data to what is well known. I found Eisenhower's description of the economic complexity of U.S.-Latin American relations illuminating and his narration of the abortive Tractors for Freedom episode both informative and absorbing. Furthermore, the author's compassion, his genuine affection for Latin Americans, his detachment from party-line politics, his refusal to romanticize Latin American reactions to U.S. policy, his understanding of the Latin American spirit and his genuine devotion to policies which will "unify the republics of this hemisphere" make this a book which should be read not only in this country but also south of the border, where Milton Eisenhower won many friends for himself and the United States and where the Alliance for Progress now gives Latin Americans what may be their last free choice.

KYLE HASELDEN.

To End Division

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. By Douglas Horton. Thomas Nelson, $4.00.

✦ THIS STORY of a highly significant ecclesiastical wedding—that between the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church—unfolds dramatically with the new denomination's constitution as guideline. Author Horton, former dean of Harvard Divinity School, describes the constitution of the United Church of Christ as "seasoned wisdom in a courageous mood." With like wisdom he puts spirit of life and breath into the constitution's provisions and describes how the United Church serves humankind.

Never was such a union consummated in all church history, what with several previous mergers on both sides and a diversity of ecclesiastical backgrounds. Congregational roots are deeply embedded in the rich soils of English, colonial and Pilgrim custom and thought; the Evangelical and Reformed Church, presbyterian in form and emerging from continental Europe, reflects the influence of Calvin, Luther and Zwingli. Writes Horton: "The United Church of Christ is Presbyterian in its legislative function, Episcopal in its administrative system, and Congregational in its judicial branch." The two bodies did not unite to stay alive;

Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 15—63 July 29, 1963

DRAFT GOLDWATER LEADER OLD HAND ON THE RIGHT

One of the prime movers in the Draft Goldwater Committee, agitating for the GOP presidential nomination for the Arizona senator, is its chairman, **Peter O'Donnell.** He carries an impeccable right wing pedigree. O'Donnell is an advisory board member of **Young Americans for Freedom,** a collection of young Tories who have declared the 20th Century unacceptable. O'Donnell shares advisory board billing with several members of the **John Birch Society** and other rightist leaders.

He also is a trustee of the **Intercollegiate Society of Individualists,** an educational rather than political right wing group. Its trustee board and advisory board, too, abound with John Birchers, among them **Clarence Manion, Bonner Fellers, J. Bracken Lee** and others. O'Donnell is on the contributions policy committee of the **American Security Council** which provides a **blacklisting service** for industry; and he is trustee of **American Enterprise Association,** another dedicated band of rightists.

WAIT NO MORE—ACA VOTING RECORDS ARE OUT

The world has been waiting for it in hushed expectation, and here it is! It's the right-wing **Americans for Constitutional Action** box score on freshmen congressmen and senators for the first six months of the 88th Congress. ACA gave top ratings to legislators voting **against** such proposals as additional funds for area redevelopment, mass transportation, youth conservation corps, feed grains program, debt limit increase, among others.

The big home run hitters with perfect ACA batting averages are three GOP senators, **Dominick** (Colo.), **Mechem** (N.M.), and **Simpson** (Wyo.), and 19 representatives, **all Republicans.**

The villains, with flat zero ratings by ACA, are **Senators Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.)** and **Ted Kennedy** (Mass.), both Democrats, and 24 members of the House, all Democrats.

KENNEDY OUTPACES TOP GOP TRIO

The latest Gallup Poll shows President Kennedy running far ahead of any of the three most frequently mentioned GOP presidential nominees. If the election were held today, according to Gallup, JFK would trounce **Barry Goldwater,** 60 percent to 34, with six percent undecided. It would be the President over **Nelson Rockefeller,** 63-30-7, and over **George Romney,** 59-33-8.

HUMAN EVENTS PARLEY MAPS RIGHTIST TAKE-OVER OF GOP

Like humidity and hay-fever, the right-wing Human Events Political Action Conference has become an annual summer irritant. Some 600 ultra-conservatives flocked to the recent parley in Washington to be stirred by a squadron of good patriots, headed by **Barry Goldwater, Sen. Strom Thurmond, Adm. Ben Moreell** and other rightist leaders and legislators.

Among the patriotic outbursts that roused delegates were: we could run the United Nations **"if we could get idiots like Stevenson out";** "We ought to let (Red China into the UN) and they can have our seat"; "The Democrats have become the socialist party of the United States"; **"JFK, we shall bury you."**

Behind the pep-rally slogans, however, were hard-headed schemes to harness the energies and efforts of rank-and-file right-wingers into **political action.** An open pitch was made for ultra-conservatives to **capture control of the GOP** as a stepping-stone to success in presidential and congressional elections.

This came in the form of a blueprint for take-over of party apparatus, and seminars on political tactics conducted by successful rightist candidates.

All in all, the tenor of the conference seemed to bear out the words of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller when he warned his party: ". . . the vociferous, extremist elements are embarked on a **determined and ruthless effort to take over the party,** its platform and its candidates on their own terms. . . .

"I am now convinced that . . . the Republican Party is in real danger of **subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly-disciplined minority. . . .** One must be either for or against these forces. **The time for temporizing is over."**

VERY NICE OF YOU, SENATOR . . . NOW WILL YOU KINDLY REMOVE THE KNIFE

"The (head of) the American Communist Party is urging the defeat of all Republicans in 1964. . . . He found much that was praiseworthy . . . with the approach of the New Frontier.

"I am not suggesting that Democrats are communists. And I am not suggesting that the Communist Party has captured control of the Democratic Party. I am not saying that anyone on the New Frontier is a communist. **I am merely giving you the Communist Party official appraisal of American political parties and its proposals for action in 1964."**—Sen. Barry Goldwater, addressing right-wing Human Events political action conference in Washington, July 12, 1963.

AND IN THIS CORNER . . . .

The Christian Science Monitor is reviving **Richard Nixon** as a potential GOP presidential nominee. Its New York bureau chief, Godfrey Sperling, sees the possibility of Goldwater and Rockefeller knocking off one another, paving the way for a Nixon-Kennedy rematch.

Floyd Patterson had a rematch, too.

BEHIND THE BALMY BIRCH SOCIETY SLOGANS: A PRACTICAL, EFFECTIVE PROGRAM OF ACTION

(The Political Memo of July 1, 1963, carried quotes from the John Birch Society "Blue Book," revealing the mind of the right wing. Below, also taken from the "Blue Book," is the JBS program, revealing the method.)

1. First we would establish reading rooms . . . in just as many of the cities, towns, and villages of this country as we could, just as rapidly as we could.

2. Second . . . we would see that the circulation of the conservative periodicals was expanded as rapidly as it could be done. . .

3. We would do everything we could to support, maintain, increase the number of stations used, and widen the audiences of, such radio programs as those of **Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion,** and dozens of more localized broadcasters throughout the country.

4. We would institute . . . full and effectively coordinated use of the powerful **letter-writing weapon** that lies so ready at hand. There should be a **continuous, overwhelming flood of letters,** not just to legislators or the executive departments in Washington, but to newspaper editors, television and radio sponsors, educators, lecturers, state legislators and politicians, foundation-heads and everybody else whose opinions, actions, and decisions count for anything.

5. **We would organize fronts**—little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts.

A part of this same operation is the gathering of petitions, local petitions, national petitions, dealing with political matters, economic matters, education matters and everything under the sun.

6. . . . we would start shocking the American people . . . into a realization . . . how far and how completely Communists and Communist influences have crept right into communities, institutions, and activities where the general public does not have the slightest suspicion of such infiltration.

Some really dramatic exposures would be worth a lot . . . We would run in the Birch Society magazine an article consisting entirely of questions to the man singled out for exposure, which would be devastating in their implications. The question technique, when skillfully used in this way, is **mean and dirty.** But the Communists we are after are meaner and dirtier. . . .

7. . . . . There are now dozens of slimy characters at loose in our midst, whom I'll (JBS chief Robert Welch) call to your attention by describing one who is more or less typical.

(A lengthy section follows explaining how John Birchers can disrupt a meeting of their opponents by attending the meeting, sitting apart from one another and shooting embarrassing questions at the speaker. By doing this, says Welch, ". . . we could silence them with comparative ease.")

8. We would line up a large list of speakers. . . . Then we would go to work putting together the huge lists of church clubs, P.T.A. groups, and others who use such speakers, and start making known to them who was available on what subjects.

9. . . . For many reasons we would start extending our body into other countries. . .

10. **Finally, and probably most important of all these courses of action, we would put our weight into the political scales in this country just as fast and far as we could.**

BARRY BOOSTS BIRCHERS

Here's Barry Goldwater's analysis of the John Birch Society and its members:

"These are intelligent people who are doing an effective job of calling attention to the dangers of communism."—Milwaukee Journal, June 24, 1962.

"They aren't doing any harm."—Washington Star, Feb. 15, 1962.

"You frightened people amuse me when your knees tremble at the mention of an organization whose major sin is being against communism."—Washington Post, March 3, 1962.

30 MORE LOCALS EARN COPE HONOR AWARDS

Thirty more local unions have earned 1963 COPE Honor awards for contributing one dollar to COPE for every member. They are: **Calif.**—Stockton, St. & Electric 276. **Fla.**—Tampa, OCAW 3-656. **Ga.**—Savannah, OCAW 3-643. **Ill.**—(no city), Amalgamated OCAW 7-670; Chicago, Rubber 429. **Ind.**—Indianapolis, Rubber 655. **Kan.**—Topeka, St. & Electric 1360. **Mich.**—Battle Creek, Papermakers 1021. **Mo.**—St. Louis, Brewery Workers 246. **Mont.**—Billings, OCAW 2-470. **N.J.**—Elizabeth, IBEW 675. **N.M.**—Albuquerque, Heat and Frost Insulators 76. **N.Y.**—Brooklyn, Upholsterers 634; North Hoosick, Papermakers 645; New York, Upholsterers 151. **Ohio.**—Akron, Rubber 5, Auxiliary; Bryan, Upholsterers 605; Cincinnati, St. & Electric 627A. **Okla.**—Sand Springs, OCAW 5-296; Enid, OCAW 5-220A. **Ore.**—Astoria, Fire Fighters 696. **Pa.**—Philadelphia, Upholsterers 37. **Tex.**—Lubbock, Packinghouse 777. **Vt.**—Bennington, Upholsterers 158; S. Shaftsbury, Upholsterers 645. **Wash.**—Vancouver, Papermakers 293; Wenatchee, Operating Engineers 621; Pulp and Sulphite 784. **Wis.**—New London, Upholsterers 642. **Wyo.**—Cheyenne, OCAW 2-574.

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RULES FOR CONDUCT IN SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS – (As directed by the NAACP, on suggestions by Brother Shuttleworth and on the advice of Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, and sanctioned by the Communist Party.)

1. TAKE A BATH – Don't be afraid! Five New York doctors have proved that a bath will not hurt you and it will be an experience for you.

2. HAVE MONEY AND IDENTIFICATION – Cash your relief check or Social Security check and have your CORE, INC., membership card or your Eleanor Roosevelt Social Club.

3. EMPTY YOUR POCKETS – Leave zip guns, razors, congo beads, mau-mau literature, statues of Hugo Black, guns, knives, brass knucks, and parole card at home.

4. DRESS NEATLY, CONVENTIONALLY – Wear yellow or green sharp pointed shoes, pegged pants, purple or black hat with large white or black and white coat. Girls should use extra amounts of perfume and at least two pounds of Royal Crown Hair Dressing.

5. SING LOUDLY – Suggested songs are "Glory to the Kennedy Brothers," "My Country Tis of Thee, Soon You'll Belong to Me," "The Communists Love Me-This I Know, for Martin Luther King Tells Me So," "The Mau-Mau March," "Onward Christian Negroes," and our National Anthem.

6. AT THE COUNTER – Don't use napkins for blowing your nose. They are not for that purpose! Try not to act as if you were at home. Don't order hog snouts or chitterlings.

7. IF REFUSED SERVICE OR ASKED TO MOVE ON – Go into your act of social pity immediately. Show your Eleanor Roosevelt Social Club Card, flash your Earl Warren button, and squeeze out a tear or two. We must arouse the pity of the whites for mistreating (refrain from snickering) Negro citizens.

8. IN THE EVENT OF VIOLENCE – Here we is really king. Remind the White Folks that you is the sweet adopted chillen of the Supreme Court, the U. S. Army is your army and you have a direct line to President Kennedy.

9. DON'T BE AFRAID – With the Government, the Northern press, the Army, and the Communist Party on our side and the Welfare Department paying our way, we is running the country.

10. TAKE THE FOLLOWING SIT DOWN OATH: "I will sit down because we has sat while the world has fed us. We has sat while the country was at war. We has sat down while the house and housing projects was built for us. We has sat while schools was built . . . . We sits to get medical care. In fact, we is natural sitters. We get all we want sitting, and is going to keep on sitting until we gets the whole world. We will sit because the past has proved we gets all we want sitting down."

Rad. Rights Dem.

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THE CHALLENGER

NEWSLETTER of GEORGIA YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

Number Three June-July, 1963

KENNEDY'S SHAMEFUL PROPOSAL

By Silas Moore, Editor

John Fitzgerald Kennedy has recently topped all of his previous efforts to lead, entice, or drag America down the road toward totalitarianism. He has proposed federal legislation which would smash the basic right of a man to determine who may be admitted to his property. The new bill would invent a new "right" alien to the highest concepts of western civilization. It would invent the right to trespass.

A civil right is a right specified by a valid law. Therefore, it is totally incorrect to describe "sit-ins" at private establishments and other demonstrations against property rights as "civil rights demonstrations." Many agitators, politicians, and newsmen flagrantly misuse the term to further their collectivist aims.

Other words which leftists have tried to redefine are "public" and "private." The confusion peddlers would have us believe that when an enterpriser opens his doors for trade, he automatically forfeits property rights, and his private establishment becomes akin to a public city street. Nonsense!

"We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone." This writer once read those familiar words on the menu of a Chinese restaurant in Pasadena, California. And why not? That simple statement succinctly expresses a vital principle of the free, capitalist society.

We are proud that Georgia's senior Senator, Richard B. Russell, is leading the freedom fighters in battle against J.F.K.'s shameful proposal. In a magnificent 900-word reply to the Chief Executive's radio-TV speech Senator Russell said that "the President of the United States has a higher call to leadership than to use threats of mass violence and disregard of reasonable local laws as a means of securing action in the courts and legislatures, however laudatory it may regard his to be."

Senator Russell also made this observation: "The outstanding distinction between a government of free men and a socialistic or communistic state is the fact that free men can own and control property, whereas statism denies property rights."

That the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution has been twisted before does not justify Kennedy's attempt to introduce a far more monstrous distortion. The Challenger supports whatever legal means are necessary to prevent the enactment of his terrible legislation.

GEORGIA YOUNG REPUBLICANS VOTE RIGHT

An outspoken Goldwater supporter has been elected chairman of the Georgia Federation of Young Republican Clubs. Meeting in Atlanta on May 11, the YR convention chose Allen Jones over a self-styled "moderate" opponent.

Mr. Jones told The Challenger that he believes all of Georgia's delegates to the '64 Republican Convention will vote for Goldwater.

ARMS AND THE CITIZEN

By James S. Davis

The United States citizen has been besieged by lawmakers for a large part of two generations. Prongs of the attack have penetrated into almost every area of free choice. One bulwark showing signs of crumbling under the blows of restrictive legislation is "the right of the people to keep and bear arms" (Bill of Rights, article II).

Many states have passed laws designed to discourage--if not prohibit--dealings in firearms by the average citizen. Many more have attempted to pass such laws. Until the last session of its legislature Georgia was free from restrictive and ambiguous gun laws.

Georgia House Bill 622 had been rejected by committees of both the House and the Senate. Nevertheless, it was pushed through both legislative bodies, the Senate passing it at the end of the session when most of its members had already gone home. Then despite great protest from Georgia citizens Governor Carl Sanders signed it into law.

In its original form Bill 622 would have required anyone selling a firearm less than fifteen inches long to purchase a $25 license and post a $1000 bond. Fortunately, protests from arms enthusiasts prompted the legislators to insert a sentence exempting individuals engaged in "casual sales."

But the bill is still ambiguous and vague. It repeatedly uses the words "any person," as well as "dealer" and "pawnbroker." A big chunk of freedom balances on the word "casual." Will the Department of Public Safety make its own interpretation?

Clifford R. Martin, president of the Georgia Arms Collectors Association, wrote the following: "Our main concern is that this bill will set a precedent for more severe laws to follow. This one, in its present ambiguous form, would be very difficult to enforce and for that reason, like the 'fire cracker law,' will be subject to changes. Remember, the 'Do Gooders' will not let up. Look out in the future for clamp-downs on ammunition, permits to buy, and registration laws."

Young Americans for Freedom and other conservatives must stand ready to defend the right to possess and enjoy firearms. As always, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

EMORY AND TECH SEE YAF FILM

A Generation Awakes was shown at Emory University and Georgia Tech last month. On May 16 the Emory YAF chapter presented the half-hour sound movie about Young Americans for Freedom. The film includes highlights from the mammoth YAF rally at Madison Square Garden, documents a verbal clash between YAF members and far-left "peace" propagandists, and features speeches by Goldwater, Tower, Thurmond, Buckley, and several YAF leaders.

Newly elected officers for the Emory chapter are as follows: Peery Grant, chairman; Claude Tison, vice-chairman; Spencer Howell, treasurer; Angie Stadler, corresponding secretary; and Alan Quarterman, recording secretary. Dr. Helmut Schoeck, professor of sociology, and Dr. Ralph N. Traxler, associate professor of business administration, have recently accepted positions on the chapter advisory board.

Emory YAF set up a booth on campus where students could sign a "Goldwater for President" petition between classes. Result: 250 signatures!

On May 21 Georgia Tech YAF members sponsored the screening of A Generation Awakes and the old stand-by, Operation Abolition. The audience of seventy was addressed by State Chairman Richard Wilson and Tech Chairman Edward Sullinger.

PATRIOTS--OLD AND NEW

By Richard Wilson, Chairman, Georgia YAF

Let us go back 187 years to the darkest days of the Revolutionary War.

General Washington asks for someone to go behind enemy lines and gather information. A young man volunteers, undertakes the dangerous mission, and is captured. The enemy pronounces the usual sentence for spying--death.

Beyond all hope of rescue he stands surrounded by a jeering foe, the rope already knotted around his neck. He speaks one short sentence, and it echoes down the centuries. "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Not long ago I saw his statue in a green park in New York City. With arms pinioned and throat bared, the stone likeness captures the pride and defiance of Nathan Hale.

Three years ago a modern American had the opportunity to follow in the same [illegible] tradition. He was being tried as a spy by a Soviet court. But while the world watched and listened, the American said: "I didn't know what I was doing. . . . I know now that I was risking world peace. My superiors were responsible."

Nathan Hale could have blamed George Washington, I suppose. But he did not.

Then there were the turncoats in Korea. Were they the result of years of indifference to our American heritage and apathy toward the insidious methods of Communism?

Through the efforts of Young Americans for Freedom many of our youth are renewing their love for their country, are becoming alert to the enemies we face, and are being inspired to seek victory.

MEETING NOTICE

All YAF members living in the Atlanta area are invited to a meeting of the Atlanta chapter on Tuesday, July 9, at 7:30 p.m. in the penthouse (18th floor) of the Atlanta Federal Savings and Loan Building at 22 Marietta Street. New officers will be elected.

****

"Civil rights . . . is one of the most badly [illegible] political usage. . . . As often as not, it is simply a name for describing an activity that someone deems politically or socially desirable. A sociologist writes a paper proposing to abolish some inequity, or a politician makes a speech about it--and, behold, a new 'civil right' is born! The Supreme Court has displayed the same creative powers.

"A civil right is a right that is asserted and is therefore protected by some valid law."

Barry Goldwater,
The Conscience of a Conservative

****

HORROR STORY (It can not come true in Georgia--yet.) By Silas Moore

Once upon a time there was a man named Smith. He was employed as a shoe repairman for twenty years, and by saving regularly and living frugally he finally accumulated enough capital to open his own shoe repair shop. This he did after buying a small plot of land, erecting a building, purchasing the necessary machines and materials, and hiring three assistants.

Mr. Smith was a very devout follower of the Brand X Religion. In fact, he believed that his life would be happier if his close friends and associates were fellow believers in the Brand X Religion. Therefore, the three employees in Smith's Shoe Repair Shop were chosen because they were members of Smith's church.

Not long after the grand opening an important-looking gentleman carrying a briefcase strode into the shop. The visitor gave Mr. Smith a perfunctory handshake, flashed a brief smile, and in a detached but well-modulated voice spoke the following:

"I represent the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which was established during the last session of our state legislature to eliminate discrimination in hiring because of race, color, or creed. After receiving a complaint from Mr. Wendell Johnson we made an investigation and found that you refused to hire him simply because he was a member of the Brand Z Religion rather than a believer in the Brand X Religion. Mr. Johnson has had four years of experience in shoe repairing, whereas Mr. Ernest Mills, whom you did hire, has had no previous experience in your trade at all. Clearly, you have violated state law by practicing religious discrimination, not to mention your poor business judgment demonstrated by employing the less qualified applicant. We suggest that you replace Mr. Mills with Mr. Johnson. We remind you that if you insist on not cooperating, we are empowered to bring suit to compel your compliance. What do you say, Mr. Smith?"

The graying, middle-aged enterpriser stroked his chin and stared at the bureaucrat. "Oh, well," drawled Mr. Smith philosophically, "that's the way the Republic crumbles."

THE CHALLENGER is sent to Georgia YAF members. Others may subscribe by using this form. Mail to THE CHALLENGER, P. O. Box 225, Sandy Springs, Georgia.

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Once More—

N.Y. Times Mag. 8-11-63

by Claude Sitton

"I, the undersigned, a native-born, true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind and a believer in the tenets of the Christian religion, the maintenance of White Supremacy and the principles of a 'pure Americanism,' do most respectively [sic] apply for membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. . . ."

Almost every Saturday night this summer, somewhere in the lower South, there is a rally in vacant lot or cow pasture, city park or country field, where recruits queue up by the light of the fiery cross to sign an application like that quoted above. Just how many have done so is not known, but estimates of the total strength of the reviving Klan run from 35,000 to 60,000—a disturbing and potentially dangerous manifestation of white reaction to the Negro drive for equality. As in its heyday in the twenties, the Klan draws heavily on Southern society's left-behind status-seekers, who are attracted by the hocus-pocus and regalia of the "Invisible Empire." But for the first time in years, new Klaveliers now also include a sprinkling of men with some slight standing in their communities as farmers, artisans and shopkeepers.

artisans

However, many segregationist groups and leaders in the South, mindful of the Klan's unsavory past, want no part of it. To overcome this distaste, improve its public image and recover its old-time political influence are the Klan's chief—and yet unattained—goals. Therefore, it officially eschews violence; there have been no recent outbreaks of night riding and flogging. Rather, it espouses the ballot—register white voters to counter increasing Negro registration—and the boycott—do not patronize firms that desegregate, but buy from those that don't.

Nevertheless, the very nature of the rallies and the bluntly racist tone of the speeches draw the violence-prone and may inflame them to resort to bomb, lash and torch on their own. This is the danger—and as the Negro becomes more militant, and the last-ditch white more stubborn, it may grow.

Shown here are pictures of recent Klan rallies in Alabama and Georgia.

FIERY WARNING—Ringed by robed Klansmen, a cross burns in a field north of Tuscaloosa, Ala., to signal the beginning of an anti-integration rally. (The burning cross was the call to arms of the Scottish clans, from whom the Klan borrowed it.) This rally was held to protest the admission of two Negroes to the University of Alabama, but Klan rallies have become an almost weekly occurrence in the Deep South. They drew numerous onlookers in addition to the robed celebrants.

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR RELEASE MONDAY AMs
AUGUST 12, 1963

****
WHAT IS THE RADICAL RIGHT?
****

The following is a transcript of remarks by Senator Jacob K. Javits on "Senate Report", a television program broadcast on WNEW-TV, New York City, and WKBW-TV, Buffalo, New York, on Sunday, August 11.

* * * * *

My colleague and friend, Senator Barry Goldwater, in a statement reported in the New York Times the other day asked me to define what I meant by "the radical right." He thought it would be helpful if I did so, and I'd like to address myself to it now.

By the radical right, I'm not talking about those people who are trying to overthrow the government by force, as the Communists are, and I hope that Senator Goldwater would not be confused on that score. I'm talking about those who proceed within the Constitution, but outside what I call the mainstream of American public life.

Now who does that mean? It means, specifically, those groups who call Dwight D. Eisenhower a crypto-communist, or an associate of Communists, or as being influenced by them --- all of which the radical right does not hesitate to do. It means calling for the impeachment of Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, because the radical right doesn't agree with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Indeed, it means seeking to erect a "super court" composed of the chief justices of all state courts and putting the Supreme Court, as it were, out of business. It means not over-hauling the income tax but repealing it. And it also means similar radical moves in respect to labor, in respect to management. It means isolationism in the foreign policy of the United States. For example, the radical right has already started a dedicated campaign against any concept of a test ban treaty or anything remotely approaching it.

This is what I mean by the radical right; and it's a grave danger to our country. Many people have discussed the radical right in more detail. For example, I have here, a couple of recent books on the subject. (The Far Right, Janson and Eismann, McGraw-Hill; and The Sixth Column, Burlingame, Lippincott). There is a recent article in Look Magazine on the radical right invading the Republican Party. There have been a couple of eloquent and important speeches on this subject in the Senate made by my colleague, Senator Tom Kuchel, deputy minority leader. The highly-respected Congressional Quarterly, which digests all of our affairs in Congress has published a list of all these groups. So all this information is available on the radical right.

In addition, it is very interesting -- and perhaps Senator Goldwater has forgotten, although I don't think he has --- that a book called The Great Ideas Today, published by the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1962, featured a long debate between him and me on this very subject.

I would like to quote from that particular debate between Senator Goldwater and myself, in which I said: "The radical right is attempting to take over the conservative label -- to which it is not entitled -- by exploiting anti-communism and appealing to the normal conservatism of a large segment of our people. But the differences between the radical right and conservatism are clear. The radical right is isolationist in its approach to foreign affairs and negative in its approach to domestic policy. It stresses what it is against. It attacks civil liberties under the guise of anti-communism. It shows mistrust and lack of faith in our governmental institutions and casts suspicion on leading government officials by using the familiar technique of dogmatic and unproved charges, stubornly maintained."

Now that is what the radical right is doing in our country today -- it's very much like the "Know-Nothing" movement in the 1850's and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. And that is why people like myself condemn the radical right and we are against allowing it to infiltrate the Republican Party.

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Political Memo from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 17—63 August 26, 1963

AL BARKAN NAMED COPE DIRECTOR

Al Barkan has been named director of COPE. He succeeds the late James L. McDevitt, who died March 19. Announcement of the appointment was made by President George Meany at a meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council at Unity House, Pa.

Barkan became assistant director of COPE at the time of the AFL-CIO merger in December, 1955. He was named deputy director in February, 1957, and had served as acting director since McDevitt's death.

Barkan is a native of Bayonne, N. J., and taught high school there for four years following his graduation from the University of Chicago in 1933. In 1937, he joined the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. After World War II Navy service aboard a destroyer, he became veterans director for the CIO Community Services Committee, then executive secretary of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council.

He rejoined the Textile Workers staff in 1948 as political action director, a post he held until his appointment to COPE in late 1955.

POLL SHOWS KENNEDY WINS FRIENDS ON FOREIGN POLICY

President Kennedy can rely on his **foreign policy** and his program to build **military strength** to win votes in the 1964 elections, according to a Louis Harris poll.

Harris questioned a cross-section of voters on 20 issues, domestic and foreign. He found strong support for the President on 10 of the issues, six of them concerning foreign and military policies, including defense, the Peace Corps, space and dealing firmly with Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

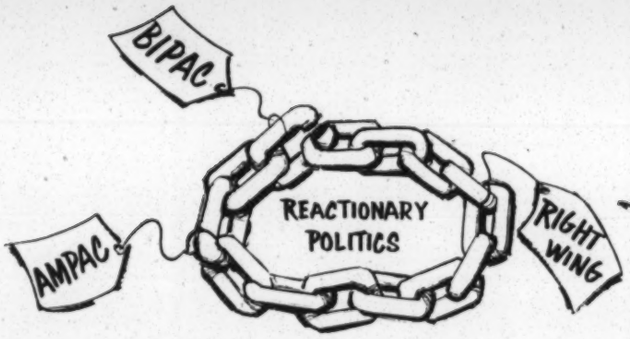
Harris found three issues working in favor of the Republicans: spending, agriculture and the slowness of Congress.

(Continued on page 2)

[8/26/63]

Harris called seven other issues "battleground issues," those which can either help or hurt the President depending on what action is taken between now and the 1964 election. **These are health insurance for the elderly, tax cut, civil rights, the economy, foreign aid, Cuba, Alliance for Progress.**

FORMATION OF BIPAC FORGES FINAL LINK IN POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF CONSERVATIVES



One more link has been forged to the chain that soon will unite into a functioning political alliance the forces of big business, the medical profession and the right wing.

The link is **BIPAC,** the Business-Industry Political Action Committee. It is the brainchild of the National Association of Manufacturers which set up a $100,000 fund to get BIPAC started. It now stands shoulder to shoulder with the **American Medical Political Action Committee** (AMPAC) and rightist groups active in politics, notably **Americans for Constitutional Action.**

All are dedicated to the same objective: **election to Congress of extreme conservatives who reject new, and would weaken or destroy established, social welfare programs.**

BIPAC was formed, according to one of its leaflets, to meet the challenge of a "steadily increasing trend toward centralization of our government and domination of the economy and the individual. . . ."

NAM members and other businessmen are being urged to pay $10 to $99 for memberships to build a BIPAC fund which can be poured into support of congressional candidates who would oppose such "domination."

That BIPAC will be ultra-conservative in its approach is indicated by its leadership, as well as its initial propaganda. Executive Director is **Laurie Battle,** former Democratic congressman from Alabama, 1947-54. As a congressman, his votes, with few exceptions, were against the interests of working people. He once campaigned on a racist platform against Sen. John Sparkman.

The BIPAC board of directors contains a number of men active in, or of financial assistance to, various right wing groups. Among them are: Clifford J. Backstrand, Armstrong Cork Co., a sponsor of **Young Americans for Freedom;** Kinsey M. Robinson, Washington Water Power Co., member of the **American Economic Foundation** and **contributor to ultra-right Harding College, Searcy, Ark.;** R. Downs Poindexter, Superior Iron Works, contributor to **Americans for Constitutional Action;** Arthur H. Motley, publisher of Parade Publications Inc., contributor to the **Intercollegiate Society of Individualists,** former president of the **U.S. Chamber of Commerce.**

TEST BAN: AFL-CIO BOOSTS IT, RIGHT WING BOMBS IT

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has hailed the nuclear test ban treaty as **"a first step towards the possible limitation or reduction of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction"** and has urged treaty ratification by the Senate. The Council said the treaty "provides mankind with an opportunity to end the danger of radioactive contamination of the atmosphere by halting those blasts which endanger health and produce genetic damage."

It further stated the treaty can strengthen American efforts **"to remove the causes of world tension, to provide a firm foundation for world peace, and to achieve disarmament** through strict international inspection and effective control."

At the same time, the Council urged "continued vigilance, national strength and greater Atlantic unity . . . and overwhelming capacity for defense."

Meanwhile, the right wing has unleashed a multi-megaton barrage against the test ban treaty, trying to frighten the country out of its wits. A full page ad in a recent edition of the Washington Post warned in bold headlines: **"National Disaster Impending! Senate Ratification of the Test Ban Treaty Will Destroy Our Country."**

The ad was sponsored by the **Manion Forum,** an outfit which habitually drops its own bombs on the labor movement. It was under the signature of Rear Adm. Chester Ward (Ret.), an old Navy hand who sails out of dry-dock regularly to deliver a salty word or two at right wing rallies.

Ward views the test ban—as do other rightists—as something subversive, "engineered by a Washington inner circle of pseudo-sophisticated, pseudo-intellectuals . . ." He ignores the fact that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, **our top military leaders,** have endorsed the treaty.

HOW BIRCHERS USE THEIR BARK TO DOG MEETINGS

John Birch Society members and leaders always cry they want the nation to return to **"good old fundamental Americanism."** Here's a story about their brand of Americanism in action.

A human rights meeting in Torrance, Calif., was just beginning when about 40 loud-mouthed hecklers disrupted it. Thereafter, every time a speaker tried to say something, he was hooted down, though the hecklers were only a small minority of the 400 present.

Identified as Birchers and **American Nazi Party** members, the pop-offs shouted accusations that sponsors of the meeting are communists. When the Birchers weren't shouting, they were coughing loudly, in unison.

One woman dressed in red, white and blue walked all over the auditorium slamming empty seats.

Police on hand, fearing a riot, ordered the meeting adjourned.

This is how the Birchers treat the fundamental American concept of free speech.

BACK TO BEATING THE BUSHES FOR MILLIONAIRES

A Republican Party magazine and newspaper advertising campaign to raise funds **has flopped,** according to the Wall Street Journal. The GOP ran appeals for $10 individual contributions in seven major publications. **Returns failed even to cover costs.**

The campaign obviously didn't live up to the fanfare that preceded it. In announcing plans for the Madison Avenue approach to fund collection last June, GOP National Committee Chairman **William Miller** had forecast ". . . there are millions of Republicans and disillusioned Democrats willing to chip in a few dollars to dislodge the (Kennedy) Administration."

Well, back to the drawing board.

12 MORE LOCALS EARN COPE HONOR AWARDS

Twelve more local unions have earned 1963 COPE Honor awards for contributing one dollar to COPE for every member. They are: **Calif.**—Richmond, CWA 9401. **Ill.**—Collinsville, Chemical 22. **Md.**—Annapolis, CWA 2107. **Mass.**—Boston, Packinghouse 672. **Mich.**—Plymouth, Papermakers 1005. **Minn.**—Cannon Falls, Brewery 174. **Neb.**—Alliance, CWA 7402; O'Neill, CWA 7403. **Ohio**—Toronto, CWA 4318. **Texas**—Austin, Chemical 226; Breckenridge, CWA 6204; Killean, CWA 6174.

AMERICA'S NO. 1 PLOT-SPOTTER SPOTS ANOTHER PLOT

Robert Welch, dictator of the John Birch Society, has advised his followers the current drive to achieve equal rights for all Americans is part of a **Communist plot to create a "Soviet Negro Republic"** in the southeast. He sees "sinister purposes masquerading as idealism" behind the civil rights drive.

Welch urged Birchers to use opposition to civil rights to advance the JBS objective of impeaching Chief Justice Earl Warren, whose leadership of the Supreme Court has been under constant right wing attack.

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Newsweek 8/26/63

• KU KLUX KLAN Regist. Pop. KKK

Button-Down Bed Sheets

"Let's be nonviolent," urged the man in the pulpit, and there was a spatter of applause from the 350 faithful gathered in the clapboard chapel in an oak grove outside Athens, Ga. In this summer of the Negro revolt, the way to win was peaceful protest—marches, sit-ins, boycotts, voter-registration campaigns, and, above all, a good public image.

"Let's be nonviolent," said Calvin Craig, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Inc., Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. "We've got to start fighting just like the niggers."

That was the twist the Klan was turning across the South this summer—and selling hard enough to stir a small ren-

Newsweek—Karl Fleming

vas heady but self-conscience

naissance. The KKK had fallen far from its glory days of the '20s, when its roster numbered 4 million and—so the legend went—there was hardly a bed sheet south of the Mason-Dixon line without eyeholes. Now, according to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's Atlanta regional office, the Klan has 40,000 to 55,000 subjects in an increasingly visible empire. But this summer, ADL said, it has enlisted 5,000 new members.

Its reputation tarnished by the flogging and lynching bees of bygone years, its racist thunder stolen by the white-collar white supremacists of the Citizens Councils, the Klan has become acutely conscious of what people might think. It hungers for respectability. It courts the press. "The purpose of this meeting is open to the public," Imperial Wizard

Robert Shelton proclaimed at the Empire's biggest recent pageant, a rally of 3,000 at Savannah, Ga. Later, Shelton—a former rubber worker from Tuscaloosa, Ala., who now travels about "Kluxing full time"—explained to NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming: "You have got to have public relations. Our program is going to be on more of an informational basis."

Tactician: The new Klan flatters the unlikely likes of Martin Luther King Jr. by imitation. Sit-ins? Singling out the Athens branch of a cafeteria chain that had desegregated in Atlanta, Craig exhorted: "... You good white folks ... just go in there and get you a glass of water and just sit." Mass marches? "If the mayor doesn't stop these niggers from marching and demonstrating in Athens, then we're going to march and demonstrate too." Biracial negotiating committees? "We want the Klan to represent the white folks ... You don't ever have anyone but those left-wing liberals and niggers. The white people have been left out."

Some members find the new look too tepid. At a recent rally at an Augusta, Ga., auto race track, one parboiled Klansman simmered through a long, droning Shelton philippic about the Kennedys and Communist "infilteration" of the civil-rights movement and egalitarian clergymen: "It behooves me to see such large masses of these ministerial associations as they sit back and draft their resolutions . . ." Halfway through, the Klansman boiled over, slipped under the wooden grandstand, and got into a fist fight with a Shelton fan. "I didn't come out here to hear him talk about all this Communist stuff," he bellyached as a Shelton aide intervened. "Why doesn't he talk about the niggers?"

Eulogy: Klan old-timers, indeed, prefer a headier oratorical brew. At the Savannah rally, red-robed Georgia Kleagle Fonnie Miles eulogized the slain NAACP leader, Medgar Evers: "A certain jig down in Mississippi got himself killed—"

"Yeah!" whooped the crowd.

"—for sticking his nose in other people's business ... Why that's just another dead nigger, and that's the only good ones there ever is—the dead ones."

Yet even Miles was a mite image-conscious. "I know some of these press people are gonna say about me being illiterate because I say nigger," he said. "I guess they think I'm self-conscience about it. But I ain't."

The top leaders *are* self-conscience. Shelton and Craig have been circuit-riding the South in mufti, enlisting new members for a $10 Klektoken (initiation fee) and $1-a-month dues. Most of all, they have tried to wash the Klan image as bright as a freshly laundered bed sheet. "The Klan," Shelton says, "is not as derogative as you might think."

Enterprise Association, Central Press, and the New York Herald Tribune News Service.

¶ Other news services and newsreels which the Wrights said used their films, pictures, or stories without identifying them as propaganda hand-outs were the Associated Press, Columbia Broadcasting System, *National Geographic* magazine, King Features Syndicate, *The New York Times,* Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, Paramount, Universal, and 20th Century Fox.

¶ The younger Wright testified he had been "bamboozled" into contributing $3,000 to *The New Leader,* for publication of a story regarded as friendly to Chiang's Nationalist regime. "I got bamboozled on this one," he explained. "*The New Leader* came to me and hit me for a little money that this would be a great thing to have and I fell for it. They did the work, not me."

¶ While representing Nationalist China, the Wright organization ghosted articles for members of Congress, including one for Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois Democrat, opposing admission of Communist China to the United Nations. (Senator Douglas said he knew the article he signed was prepared by the Wright firm but did not know the Wrights represented the Chiang Kai-shek government.)

The Wrights insisted throughout their testimony that their handouts were properly labeled to show, as required by law, that they were produced by a paid agent of a foreign government. It was the syndicates in some cases and newspapers, magazines, networks, and film exhibitors in others that refused to carry the telltale label.

Senator Fulbright deserves great credit for his patient pursuit of the facts in this long neglected field. Americans now have a somewhat clearer understanding of how propaganda bought by foreign governments is masqueraded as news—or they would have a better understanding if they could only find the Fulbright disclosures in their local paper. Several major metropolitan dailies carried parts of the story, but they were distinguished exceptions to the national rule.

Integration Pays

Proprietors of places of public accommodation in Dixie have long feared that if they admitted Negroes, Southern whites would boycott them and ruin their business. Their fear not only turns out to be largely unfounded, but it appears, at least on the basis of one study, that integration brings such enterprises more patronage than before.

Among hotels, motels, restaurants, taverns, night clubs, and other establishments serving or hiring Negroes, *The Wall Street Journal* reported after canvassing Southern cities: "Only a few report suffering any lasting economic consequences" and "a sizeable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever."

The Journal found that customers have been jamming the Wit's End, a posh Atlanta night club, one of three in town that admits Negroes. Recalling the club's decision to integrate, manager Paul Stickney said: "We were scared to death—we could just see all our white customers walking out the minute the first Negroes walked in. But things couldn't have been any smoother. We know of only one white couple who walked out because we admitted Negroes and they came back within two weeks. As far as stirring things up around here, it's been one big zero."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"All Set, Chief—Three Public Relations Agency News Stories Praising Chiang, and an Editorial Blasting Kennedy for Managing the News"

Virtually zero trouble (about one-fiftieth of one per cent difficulty) was felt by Harvey's Department Store in Nashville. Out of 60,000 customers with charge accounts, only thirteen have closed their accounts because the Tennessee store desegregated its lunch counters in 1960. "The greatest surprise I ever had was the apparent 'so what' attitude of white customers," declared store president Fred Harvey. In Raleigh, North Carolina, a restaurant owner said only eight whites have walked out since learning Negroes were served there, and "We're getting plenty of customers to replace the hard-headed ones." In Atlanta, fourteen hotels recently announced they would begin accepting Negro guests attending conventions. Within a day they had received bookings for conventions with 3,000 delegates who otherwise would have by-passed the city.

This objective exploration by *The Wall Street Journal* of what happens when Southern proprietors open their doors to Negroes stands as an excellent example of what should be common, but is all too uncommon newspaper initiative. These significant findings by the conservative *Journal* should be pondered by conservative Congressmen who fear that the Administration proposal to end discrimination in places serving the public will cause the owners financial loss. The reverse may well be true. Now, not only morality and the Constitution call for integration, but the profit motive may join in the chorus.

'Head-on Collision'

The number of Americans now unemployed exceeds the entire population of Chicago by about one million. Unless there is a massive attack on unemployment, the number of jobless within a few years will be greater than the total population of New York City, and soon after that will equal the populace of New York and Chicago combined.

The present hard core of unemployment will double during the remainder of this decade unless members of Con-

gress, and a great many other citizens who have been holding steady jobs for some time, begin paying attention to the urgent warnings sounded by Federal government spokesmen and other sources. It is true that employment has reached the record high of 70,000,000, but this is no great cause for cheers in view of these accompanying facts recently disclosed:

¶ By 1970, the nation will be able to equal its 1960 output with *twenty-two million fewer workers* than it did then. This shocker, on the extent to which automation and increased productivity are slashing the demand for manpower, was revealed by Seymour L. Wolfbein, director of the Department of Labor's Office of Manpower, in testimony before the Senate Small Business Subcommittee.

During the present decade, Wolfbein estimated, the nation's labor force will increase by thirteen millions. Adding the figures together shows that merely to hold unemployment to its present level will require adding thirty-five million more jobs by 1970 than than there were in 1960.

"We are witnessing a head-on collision," declared Wolfbein, "between advancing automation and technology and a tidal wave of manpower for whom jobs must be available." During the past few years we have been adding about 60,000 jobs a month, he said, only one-fifth of the 300,000 needed monthly to meet the goal of thirty-five million new jobs by 1970.

¶ Among the 4.8 million unemployed, the plight of the uneducated, both white and Negro, is most desperate. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz told a House Labor Subcommittee that twenty per cent of all unemployed have not finished the eighth grade. Among the unemployed Negro group alone, forty-four per cent have not completed the eighth grade. Seeking approval for a new literacy training program for the uneducated, Secretary Wirtz warned that "an even harder hard core of unemployment" is developing among "this severely disadvantaged group."

¶ On the basis of projections from figures of the Council of Economic Advisers, economists estimate that to reduce the present unemployment rate of 5.7 per cent down to four per cent, the gross national product would have to zoom up by 8.5 per cent. But GNP rose only 3.5 per cent in the past year, a sluggard's pace which explains why unemployment is higher than a year ago.

¶ Some Labor Department experts foresee a seven per cent unemployment rate within a few years. Negroes, youths, the undereducated and unskilled of all ages and races will make up the bulk of the growing ranks of unemployed. Increased racial conflict caused by greater competition for scarce jobs, higher crime rates, mounting relief rolls, and other social and dollar costs, will be but a few of the bitter fruits yielded by the rank growth of unemployment. Touching on one small detail of the grim possibilities, Secretary Wirtz pointed out that training a single worker will cost $1,000 but "If we don't train them, it will cost us $1,000 a year for each of them for the rest of our lives to carry them on our backs."

¶ While most Congressmen show little concern over the need for action to combat unemployment, some of their employed constituents have been watching the trend with anxiety. The University of Michigan Survey Research Center reported that a number of consumers now view the future with pessimism because of the persistence of unemployment. They plan to save more and spend less as a cushion against a possible layoff. Consumer spending is also likely to decline because, as *Business Week* saw it, "Consumers borrowed $7 billion last year, and just meeting the payments on a total consumer installment debt of nearly $50 billion is bound to inhibit consumer spending in the second half of 1963."

Automation, technology, the rapid rise in job-seekers caused by the population explosion, and our laggard economic growth, constitute the recruiting sergeants for the army of the unemployed. Counter action by Congress is long overdue. As a bare minimum, such action should include passage of the Administration's program with its proposals for a $10 billion tax cut, increased area redevelopment spending, the youth conservation corps, job training, and literacy training. These measures add up to a great deal less than is needed to wipe out the gap between the number of job openings and the manpower available, but they would at least constitute a modest start on which a more comprehensive program could be built.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"We're Doing 70 and He's Still There"

Propaganda, Yes; Peace, No

You may not have been aware of it, but you are helping to pay for propaganda opposing disarmament, foreign aid, the United Nations, the Peace Corps, public housing, urban renewal, school desegregation, the income tax, taxation of industry, the National Council of Churches—well, you name it; if it's a pet peeve of the Radical Right, you are supporting it.

Senator Maurine Neuberger, Oregon Democrat, pointed out recently that "you and I, unwittingly, and certainly involuntarily, as taxpayers, are indirectly financing millions of dollars of Birch-type propaganda put out by less well-known but equally vicious [tax-exempt] organizations."

Our laws, she pointed out, do not grant tax-exempt status to an organization a substantial part of whose activities is "carrying on propaganda."

"Despite this express exclusion of

propaganda organs from tax exemption," Mrs. Neuberger said, "There is increasing evidence that dozens of Right-wing groups are today masquerading as educational and religious organizations, and are flooding the country with the partisan, political propaganda of the far Right, financed by tax-free contributions from businessmen. And," continued the Senator, "whenever a businessman has tax-exempt income, somebody else is forced to pay more taxes —and that somebody else is you and I."

Among these organizations are America's Future, Inc., which specializes in attacks on desegregation, the United Nations, and labor unions, and in book-banning; the American Good Government Society, which gives awards to Americans who have contributed to good government—curiously, the recipients invariably turn out to be Southern Democrats or conservative Republicans; H. L. Hunt's various enterprises, which label everyone left of Senator Barry Goldwater "mistaken," a thinly-veiled euphemism for "Communist;" General Electric, which abuses tax-deductible advertising expense to crusade against social security, the income tax, Federal aid to education, and medicare.

In 1961, these and a score of other Right-oriented propaganda organizations took in more than $5.5 million in tax-free contributions.

"How has this been permitted to happen?" asked Mrs. Neuberger. "It is painfully clear that the tax service has simply not done the job Congress gave it: to rout out the propagandists from the bona fide educators."

Senator Clair Engle, California Democrat, recently protested "the shocking misuse and abuse of the tax laws that permit extremist groups, under the cloak of 'educational' or 'religious' activity, to enjoy the privilege of tax-exempt income."

"Contrast this," said Senator Engle, "to Internal Revenue's withdrawal of the tax-exempt privileges of a legitimate, highly respected interfaith organization known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation—an old established peace group. This privilege was revoked on the ground that peace is not a religious purpose but must be achieved through legislation alone."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"I Think He Should Have a Choice of Doctors"

The Federal tax authorities have demonstrated the application of a double standard which cannot be permitted to go unchallenged. Congressional investigation of tax exemption policies of the Internal Revenue Service would throw much needed light—and provide the way for corrective action—in a field where reform is urgently needed.

The Hollow Voice

A year or so ago we commented in these columns that "we sometimes weary of exposing the deceits and distortions" of the leadership of the American Medical Association. Our flagging spirits were revived at the time by Representative Edith Green, Oregon Democrat, who took the AMA apart for its myopic opposition to medical care for the aged, but at the same time made the hopeful observation that the spokesmen for the AMA were "unrepresentative" of its membership.

Our zest for the battle has been renewed again in the past few weeks by three Senators, each of whom recognized, as did Mrs. Green, that the voice of the AMA often does not express the views of the nation's medical doctors.

Senator Stephen M. Young, Ohio Democrat, whose acid wit and candid tongue have skinned many a sacred cow, recently excoriated the hierarchy of the AMA on the floor of the Senate for its stubborn opposition to the inclusion of medical doctors in the social security system.

"For many years," charged Senator Young, "a small group of political doctors have been running the American Medical Association in flagrant disregard of the welfare of its membership . . . Despite the clear and repeated expressions in favor of social security by approximately sixty-five per cent of physicians . . . the dictatorial House of Delegates maintains its opposition to social security . . . The powerful AMA lobby has misrepresented and is misrepresenting [the doctors] and has prevailed on the Congress to deny them this needed coverage."

Senator Young documented his charges with the results of numerous statewide polls and referenda which revealed that a substantial majority of doctors favor coming under social security.

Senator Pat McNamara, Michigan Democrat, presented evidence assembled by the Michigan Medical Society that "an overwhelming majority" of doctors in his home state wanted coverage.

"I think it is important to note," McNamara pointed out, "that doctors of medicine are the only self-employed group in the United States today who are denied the protection of social security for themselves and their families. The reason for this is very simple. The hierarchy of the AMA is opposed to social security for doctors, and we here in the Congress have been listening to the AMA lobby instead of to the physicians themselves."

Senator Ernest Gruening, Alaska Democrat, and himself a former medical doctor, recently accused the AMA of doing its own members a disservice on still another front. The AMA lobby has vigorously opposed all legislation designed to improve evaluation of drugs through the Food and Drug Administration. Yet at the same time it has "starved" its own Council on Drugs for funds and staff, with consequent delays of as long as three years in evaluating new drugs.

"Many observers feel," said Senator Gruening, "if the AMA devoted as much energy and finances to drug

Klan Burns Cross As 2,000 Watch

Racist. Bigs. KKK

By PAUL VALENTINE
and WALTER RUGABER

A 30-foot cross burned brightly Saturday night in a field at the foot of Stone Mountain as some 2,000 persons cheered a Ku Klux Klan exhortation to rid America of "communism, socialism and niggerism."

As the burlap-wrapped metal cross flamed slowly, some 80 robed klansmen stood around it in a circle, their left arms raised stiffly in salute towards it.

Many of them were masked but not in violation of Georgia's anti-mask law, since they were on privale property.

They marched down the low knoll on which the cross blazed and moved towards the speakers' platform, where a record player boomed forth marches and a dramatic reading about the American flag.

The coalition Klan organization obviously had invested more money than usual in promotional advertising. Roads to the meeting site were well marked with signs. Officials claimed Klan members from 41 states were present.

STATE PATROL troopers sealed off all roads leading into Stone Mountain Memorial Park. Detachments of a half dozen patrolmen guarded each entry and turned traffic away.

A sergeant at one post said "several hundred" troopers were stationed at the base of the mountain.

The Klan rally was held on the property of Decatur lawyer James Venable. Repeatedly during the evening of speechmaking, Mr. Venable, clothed in a red robe, told the crowd that the "so-called gestapo police" were blocking rally-bound traffic and interfering with the Klan's freedom of assembly.

During his objection to the highway patrol, voices rose from the crowd: "Let's go get them . . . Let's go to the mountain." The restive atmosphere clung throughout the evening.

A LENGTHY round of speeches opened with remarks by Mr. Venable, who said he is acting chairman of National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which he described as a unifying agency of several Klan groups across the nation.

He outlined the history of the Klan, praising its actions since the Civil War.

Speaking in a field on his own estate southwest of Stone Mountain, he told a cheering crowd the Klan is the greatest organization "on God's green earth," and added: "It is the bulwark of the white race, of the Caucasian race."

HE SAID Klan actions had effectively kept Negro, Jewish and Roman Catholic "elements" from entering the national government until President Kennedy arrived on the scene.

"Al Smith was defeated by the Klan" in the 1929 presidential election, he said.

He declared, "We haven't any grudge against the Roman Catholics if they'd stay in the field of religion and not be meddling with the white man's government."

Mr. Venable also said, "Not a nigger nor a Jew was a partner" in the writing of the Constitution and other early documents of the nation. "This is a white man's nation," he declared.

He hinted at the Klan's recent public stance of nonviolence when he said, "We have two great weapons, the boycott and the ballot box."

ANOTHER speaker was Mrs. E. L. Edwards, widow of the former imperial wizard of the Klan and an Atlanta-area resident.

More than a half dozen speakers from as many states spoke during the long evening. Among them were klansmen George Sly of Jonesboro; Raymond Anderson, grand dragon of the Tennessee Klan; Wallace Butterworth, klan member from Pennsylvania who said he now lives in DeKalb County; klansman Charlie Maddox of Savannah; Robert Hodges, a masked speaker from the South Carolina Klan; a masked and unnamed Texas klansman, and others.

Klansman Sly, discussing anti-Semitism, said, "I don't hate Jews. We have one good Jew in Atlanta—Leb." He referred to Charlie Leb, owner of a downtown restaurant which has remained segregated in the face of repeated sit-in demonstrations.

Mr. Sly also said, "This here Communist-inspired nigger movement, I don't think it's in the Bible to be here."

A Florida klansman said, "I'm 48 years old and I may not live to be 50, but when my kids put me in the ground they'll know I died like a white man."

Title to above
Klan Burns Cross as 2,000 Watch.
9-1-63
Atl Journal

Much grumbling among spectators at Venable's emphasis on anti-communism. They wanted the "nigger-nigger" talk & were restive and resentful over the anti-communist and anti-Jewish & Roman Catholic tirade.

★ ANALYSIS

KLAN WAS ACTIVE
Stone Mountain Was Site

By JOHN PENNINGTON

The KKK reveled in the limelight during the past week. With some help from Alabama, its sheeted and occasionally hooded and masked members enjoyed a little victory out at Stone Mountain.

This is to put the week's klan activities in perspective; The dragons and kaliffs, klokards and kludds and rank and file klansmen of the klaverns are better understood when viewed in context.

* * *

EXAMPLE:

Robert M. Shelton of Alabama, imperial wizard of the "invisible empire," ruler of the United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., rode into Atlanta in his two-tone Cadillac for the big meeting in a pasture out at Stone Mountain a week ago. He said, as quoted by the reputable Southern Education Reporting Service organ, the Southern School News, that the klan is building a new image, a "nonviolent and nonhate" image.

Then on the way home in their bedsheets from the Stone Mountain rumble, a group of klansmen shot up a house with Negroes inside.

At the mountain itself, the klansmen, in their quest for the new image, sought to climb Stone Mountain to hold a "religious" ceremony.

* * *

AT THE FOOT of the mountain, confronted with a handful of state officers, they pledged allegiance with a hearty rendition of "Dixie" to a waving Conferedate flag. They hooted and cursed state troppers and DeKalb officers and threw rocks at them.

On another point that has been contested: It was reported and the klan denied that there was a move there at the foot of the mountain to put their women and children out in front when confronted by the troopers. But several reporters and editors were there; they heard what was said and although this couldn't be construed as a klan policy, some among the rank and file did propose women and children first.

Those were among the klan's image-building activities of Saturday a week ago.

Now the klan is taking an active interest in the Georgia governor's race, and the strong-arm Alabama crowd is standing close by, on the Georgia side of the Chattahoochee River, with injections of Alabama-style klanism.

* * *

THE KLAN has played an important part in Alabama's last two gubernatorial races—mainly because Alabama has many more klansmen than does Georgia.

The robed night-riders supported winning candidate George Wallace in the latest race there. Mr. Wallace was on the Marvin Griffin political platform when Georgia's big campaign opened in Americus on July 7, the day the Alabama crowd was whooping it up at Stone Mountain.

During the past week the imperial wizard from Alabama was back in Georgia (at Nashville) in his two-tone Cadillac, saying who "we" are for in the Georgia governor's race.

He did not specify which candidate, saying only, "We're for the segregationists."

But at his side the No. 1 man in Georgia klaverns, Grand Dragon Calvin Craig, eliminated Sen. Carl Sanders as the klan's man, saying he (Mr. Sanders) "is in with Vandiver, the NAACP and the rest of the scalawags."

That meant the choice was Marvin Griffin.

Several months ago Imperial Wizard Shelton had a publicity man, a Philadelphian, who once performed smoothly on national radio broadcasts.

The publicity man came to Atlanta, moving into the home of a most prominent klan-linked figure in the Atlanta area and started trying to organize a massive far-right convention in Atlanta for the July 4 week of the NAACP convention in Atlanta.

That big organizational plan failed, but the emissary from Alabama still is in Georgia working in various ways with klan and similar groups.

* * *

THERE IS ONE drawback to the klan's activity in Georgia, readily obvious to observers of that group: Georgia has nowhere near as many dues-paying klansmen in the klaverns as does Alabama.

Title to above
How the Klan Builds a 'New Image'
7-15-62
Atlanta Journal

Four American Nazis Held For Giving Out Leaflets

Resist Gp—Gen.

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 17 (AP) — Four American Nazis were arrested today in downtown Pittsburgh shortly after they started handing out anti-Negro leaflets.

David France, 23 years old; Roy Frankhauser, 24; Lynn Giesy, 29; and John Patler, 25, all of Arlington, Va., were held on $100 bond each.

The sign-carrying men wore a military type uniform with swastikas.

A spokesman for Mayor Jo-

were here and that the men were arrested under a city ordinance that prohibits the displaying of signs or the handing out of literature that tends to inflame racial relations.

Pressure to Continue, 'Council' Leader Says

Resistance Grp. Misc.

Oxford, Miss., Feb. 26 (AP) — A Citizens Council leader told an Oxford unit of the organization last night that continued economic and political pressure would be applied to preserve racial segregation in Mississippi.

Robert Patterson of Greenwood, state secretary of the Citizens Council, spoke to the Lafayette County Council.

About 35 persons attended the session, including several students from the University of Mississippi.

Atl. Con. 2/27/63

Dean Picket Convicted Of Trespass

Att. Con. 4/3/63

Resistance Grp. Misc.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. (AP) — An editor of a states rights publication who picketed before a speech last week by U.S. disarmament negotiator Arthur Dean, was convicted of trespassing and given a maximum sentence here Monday night.

James K. Warner, 24, of Birmingham, associate editor of the Thunderbolt, a publication of the National States Rights Party, was sentenced to 180 days in jail or hard labor and fined $100.

Warner was arrested last Tuesday night at the University of Alabama on order of University President Dr. Frank Rose. He returned to the university against orders after he and two others picketed the appearance of Dean.

2 Are Arrested in Thefts From Parking Meters

Resistance Grps. Misc.

Two men were held Monday for investigation in connection with thefts from parking meters, police said.

They were identified as Robert Bowling, 29, of a Lombardy Way NE address and James Billy Sloan, 25, of Hapeville, both listed as employes of the National States Rights Party.

An information sheet on Bowling in the Police department identification bureau listed him as "activity supervisor" for the National States Rights Party. However, the sheet bore the notation that Bowling had refused to sign it. Sloan was listed as a typist at the National States Rights Party office.

Detective Capt. R. E. Little and Sgt. J. C. McEntire said Sloan and Bowling were apprehended Sunday night by a plant guard who said he saw the two rifling parking meters at Eighth and Spring streets.

Officers said they found Sloan's coat pocket full of change and a search of the area turned up a key for opening meters.

Little said he seized a quantity of metal discs cut into the size of a quarter together with equipment necessary for making the discs. He added the discs worked "perfectly" in coin vending machines.

Bulloch Setting Up Citizens Council

Att. Con. 9/19/63

Resist. Grps. WCC

STATESBORO — A Bulloch County Citizens Council will be organized at a meeting here Tuesday, L. E. Flake, temporary chairman, said the council's purpose will be to organize white citizens of the county to resist and defeat any attempts at racial integration or demonstrations fomented by outside agitators.

White Council To Counterpicket In Texas Capital

Att. Jour. 8/16/63

Resist Grps. WCC

DALLAS, Aug. 15 (AP) — Spokesmen for a newly formed Indignant White Citizens Council says it will send 500 "counter pickets" to Austin Aug. 28.

The announcement Wednesday swelled a growing list of demonstrators proposing to picket both the national and state capitols.

Two Negro organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Texas Council of Voters, disclosed plans earlier for "jobs and freedom" marches on Washington, D.C., and Austin.

State Righters Recruit, Seek Candidate in '64

Att. Jour. 5/23/63

Resist Grps Misc.

DAYTON, Ohio, May 23 (UPI)— The National States Rights Party (NSRP), a white supremist, anti-Semitic group, is reported to be recruiting members in preparation to getting a presidential candidate on the ballot in Ohio next year.

The candidate would be chosen at the party's 1964 convention. In 1960 the party nominated Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas.

Irving Thacker, state organizer for the NSRP which has national headquarters at Birmingham, Ala., said "we want to get on the ballot as soon as possible in Ohio. We consider Republicans and Democrats evil. However, there is a lesser evil.

"We will vote for a lesser evil until we get on the ballot."

NYT June 23 1963.

Resist Grps Misc.

WHITE GROUP HOLDS RALLY IN SAVANNAH

Special to The New York Times

SAVANNAH, Ga., June 22— Several hundred white men and women gathered this afternoon at Forsythe Park to oppose integration and Negro demonstrations.

The meeting was called by the Cavalcade of White Citizens, an organization here headed by H. S. Brooks, a former city detective.

Speaking from a truck, Mr. Brooks called on the white residents to organize a "fight for freedom."

"The people of Savannah are facing the darkest days we have seen since the Reconstruction time," he told his cheering audience.

Mr. Brooks asked his audience to boycott those merchants who have hired Negro clerks and to shun integrated lunch counters. He also urged support for the restaurants that are still segregated.

Stickers for automobile windshields bearing the legend "Kah the Kennedy Klan" were distributed and when the supply quickly ran out Mr. Brooks promised additional stickers next week.

Virginia Court Gets Charges Against 3 American Nazis

Resistance Gp—Misc.

EMPORIA, Va., July 22 (AP)—Charges against George Lincoln Rockwell and two of his American Nazi followers of conspiring to incite racial violence were certified to the Greensville County Circuit Court Monday.

The next grand jury is scheduled to convene Oct. 1.

"When I think of Nazism, said County Court Judge Ralph Slagle, I think of storm troopers, concentration camps . . ."

Mr. Rockwell, Roy James, 25, of Arlington, and Donald Wiley, 21, with conspiring to incite the white population to acts of violence and war against the colored population.

The self-styled Nazi leader and his followers were arrested here Friday night as he was speaking to a group in front of the Emporia Town Hall.

Mr. Rockwell has been on a tour speaking tour of Virginia attempting to enlist support in a march of civil rights groups on Washington Aug. 28.

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Resistance Orgs Leaders

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GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS (N. C.)

P.8C

Date: JAN 10 1963

Resistance Orgs (W

enate Aims ig Blow At igh Court

C-LUMBIA (AP) — The South Carolina Senate aimed a three-prong blow Thursday at the U. S. Supreme Court and federal encroachment on states' rights.

the blow will land de- he legislatures of two- the states approving esolutions aimed at he U.S. Constitution. tates, most of them ave already done so. ate legislatures would ition congress for the nstitutional changes. ly, South Carolina has the list of petitioners.

But the House and Senate have now passed identical resolutions and one set or the other will receive legislative approval.

CHANGES NEEDED

Sen. L. Marion Gressette of Calhoun told Senate colleagues Thursday that Constitutional changes are vitally needed to curb "a tendency on the part of the Supreme Court to legislate rather than interpret the laws of congress and the several states."

He said this "tendency is illustrated by recent Supreme Court decisions on school segregation, sedition, prayers in public schools and ownership of offshore oil lands."

One amendment would create a Court of the Union, composed of the chief justices of the 50 state supreme courts. It would hear appeals from decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Another would allow two-thirds of the state legislatures themselves to propose Constitutional amendments. Congress now has to propose Constitutional changes at the request of two-thirds of the states—and three-fourths of the state legislatures then have to ratify the changes.

THIRD AMENDMENT

The third proposed amendment would spell out the right of the individual states to determine the makeup of their legislatures. Federal courts have recently ordered reapportionment of some legislatures.

Sen. John Long of Union expressed fear that the amendments might permit the chief justices of the state supreme courts to amend the Constitution.

He said he was "heartily in sympathy with Gressette's views about the U.S. Supreme Court but was hesitant to vote for the resolutions.

Gressette assurred Long he need have no fear about the chief justices amending the Constitution.

The three resolutions were approved without dissent.

Membership Boost Sought By Group

RALEIGH, Jan. 9 (AP)—The North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, a segregationist organization affiliated with the White Citizens' Council, has launched a fund-raising campaign aimed at hiring a full-time state membership organizer.

In a letter mailed recently to its members, the organization appeals for "200 men to contribute $100 each."

The letter, signed by the Rev. James P. Dees of Statesville, president of the North Carolina group, said the Defenders are "losing ground here in North Carolina on all fronts, being brainwashed by the "internationalist-socialist stooges and liberals."

He said the group will "go ahead and put a man on the road" when $15,000 is raised.

Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

CHARTERED 1958

6333 W. BLUE MOUND RD., MILWAUKEE 13, WISCONSIN SPRING 1-0700

George A. Haberman, *President* John W. Schmitt, *Vice President* George W. Hall, *Secretary-Treasurer*

October 4, 1963.

Room
Wis. Hotel
Clerk Room
Clerk

Mr. Emory F. Via,
School for Workers,
University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed please find a copy of the proposed agenda for the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO Civil Rights conference to be held in the city of Milwaukee at the Hotel Wisconsin, on Friday and Saturday, November 1st and 2nd.

As one of the discussion leaders in the workshop on "Hate Groups", we would like to ask that you attend a get-together meeting at 7:30 P.M. on Thursday, October 31, at the Wisconsin Hotel, to meet with the moderator of your workshop and the other discussion leaders in order to discuss your workshop for the following day.

If you will check at the desk, you will find a room listed under my name that we will meet in.

I hope that you can attend this Thursday evening meeting, and, again, may I express our most sincere thanks from the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee for your agreeing to participate in this conference.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Schmitt

John W. Schmitt,
Vice President.

JWS:kp
encl.

Racist Orgs. KKK

32 Athens Students Joined, Klan Says

Thirty-two University of Georgia students joined the Ku Klux Klan at a rally in Athens after last Saturday's Georgia-Vanderbilt football game, the Klan's grand dragon said Wednesday.

Grand Dragon Calvin Craig said the Klan in Georgia is conducting an "all-out drive" to attract college students and servicemen in the state.

At Athens, Dean of Students William Tate said Wednesday night that he had no idea who the students are, but added that to be active as an organization on the university campus the Klan would have to file with a university clerk the names of members and purpose of the organization.

Dean Tate said, "I just don't believe college students would have much to do with an organization like the Klan. They would be laughed off the campus. I suggest that Mr. Craig reveal their names."

Craig had said that university students paid a fee of $10 each and were formally inducted into the Invisible Empire. The University of Georgia has an enrollment of about 10,000 students.

"If you don't believe we got those students in, I've got the applications to back me up," Dragon Craig declared.

He said the students and about 20 other prospective members were brought into the Klan after a cross-burning in the rain in a field just outside Athens.

He said Saturday's inducting brings to about 50 the number of college students in the Georgia Klan.

"The white college students are getting to be just like the niggers. They're uniting and working together," he said.

He said he believed the students enlisted in the Klan because they "don't want America to be taken over by the Communists."

Atl. Con. 7/30/63

GEORGIA NEWS ROUNDUP

Klan Isn't Welcome, Savannah Warns

Racist Orgs. KKK

SAVANNAH—Savannah Mayor Malcolm Maclean Friday advised the Ku Klux Klan that the city does not welcome any outside influence on negotiations aimed at settling the racial situation here.

Maclean also bluntly declined an invitation to speak at a Ku Klux rally here Saturday night at a downtown park.

In a telegram to Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the KKK, Maclean also spelled out to the Klan that the robed body would not be allowed to stage a march in Savannah.

"We call your attention to the fact that all marches, Negro or white, having any connection with the racial situation will be halted," Maclean wired Craig. The mayor added, "This applies equally to the Crusade for Voters (a Negro organization seeking an end to segregation) and to your organization."

said Friday. The men were not seriously injured.

Klansmen Hit Negro In Savannah

Atl. Jrnl. 7/31/63

Racist Orgs. KKK

SAVANNAH, July 30 (UPI) — Hooded Ku Klux Klansmen attacked a Negro photographer in Savannah as he was trying to get a picture of Klan Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton who was addressing a Klan rally in a public park.

About 15 Klansmen and spectators pounced on the photographer, Negro and struck him several times before the police and rangers the park moved in and escorted the Negro out of danger. Shelton used the public address system to hold the milling crowd in check.

Imperial Wizard Says Klan to Back Wallace

Atl. Jrnl. 9/22/63

Racist Orgs. K.K.K.

by FRED POWLEDGE

The Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan told an Atlanta audience Saturday night he doesn't "believe the citizenry of Tuscaloosa will stand by" without doing anything when the University of Alabama is desegregated June 10 by federal court order.

Robert Shelton, who holds the top position in the Klan in the Southeast, did not spell out what he thought residents of the college town would do. But he said, "The Ku Klux Klan stands 100 per cent behind Gov. (George) Wallace" of Alabama.

The Klan, he said, will join the governor in his announced intention to "stand in the schoolhouse door" to prevent the Negroes' entry.

MR. SHELTON spoke to about 150 persons gathered on a windy hilltop off Gun Club Road in western Atlanta. Because the rally was held within the city, the customary cross was not burned. A cross made of red light bulbs was substituted.

About 60 of the spectators were Klansmen and Klanswomen in red or white robes. Some children attended the meeting, along with some teen-age couples.

One speaker drew only light applause when he assailed Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge as a politician who is doing little "to fight the nigger bloc vote." The speaker didn't identify himself.

Mr. Shelton, of Tuscaloosa, drew the best applause when he suggested that ministers quit passing integration resolutions "and get rid of the 7,000 Communist sympathizers" in their ranks.

Although Mr. Shelton attacked Negro and white integrationists, his main theme was that of fighting communism, which he described as the all-inclusive problem in the South and the nation today.

Mr. Shelton said the Klan would participate more in the future in boycotting businesses which lower racial barriers. He said one Birmingham department store lost 5,000 accounts in one day through this means.

Ideal Union Shop

FOR CONTENT

October 8, 1963

To: Dick Humphreys, Emory Via, Darrell Smith, Saul Sorrin
From: Archie Aronin
Subject: For our meeting Thursday evening, October 31
(Wis. Conf. on Civil Rights "Hate Groups)

I would like to suggest the following items for our discussion group -

1. cost and free materials on hate groups. Please bring as many as you can of free materials for our discussion group and for the conference

2. factual studies of hate groups, indicate

3. examples of hate groups, by name and leadership

4. history of hate groups (Via?)

5. their objectives

6. their anti-labor activities

7. democracy; democracy in labor; democracy in hate groups

8. hate groups and communism: objectives

9. What is organized labor doing about it?

10. What should we do about it?

11. How serious to organized labor and to our society is this problem?

12. drafts of resolutions for the Conference on this subject

13. official positions of AFL-CIO, of Wisconsin AFL-CIO, of major Wisconsin unions (Smith?)

Please let me know what you think so that we can organize our discussion when we get together.

Archie

Ideal Union Shop

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 16, 1963

Mr. Emory Via
School of Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Paul Anthony asked me to get together some materials for you on "hate groups." Enclosed is copies of news clips (recent), some articles and "pass-out" leaflets of meetings held, and lists of magazine articles and pamphlets (of which we have only one copy in our files). If you are not able to readily obtain copies of any of these latter listings, and find that you particilarly want them, let me know and I will make copies.

If we were not so very rushed in research, I would have compiled some of this information for you; Paul, however, suggested that I send it as is because we are not certain just what you will wish to use. If you have any specific questions not adequately answered, please write and we will try to give you answers.

I think the KKK material is fairly complete, but I give you a quote from a letter written by Staige Blackford which sums up the latest information on the Klan membership:

> In January 1961, the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Moreover, my source said that while Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, he is dead certain that Rice's 1958 estimate is way off, way too high. He pointed out that the Klan has a habit of going "way overboard" in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since gone from this earth). He did say, though, that there were some indications of a slight increase in Klan strength this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, he estimated that: 1) KKKhas held its own this year in Alabama; and 2) has shown definite signs of increase in Georgia up to September and October

(but very probably falling off now since the old political order has collapsed). At any rate, whatever increase there has been this year or in the past eight years, there is no indication of the Klan rising anew. Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hard locals and state has-beens.

You are safe in saying that Klan membership has fluctuated widely in the past decade, but at the most never exceeded 50,000 and is likely to have been considerably less throughout the whole period.

Regarding the White Citizens Councils (called by various names in various states) there is some slight difference of opinion. Paul thinks there is some resurgence because of increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. Les Dunbar thinks that although they are presently making more noise, they are not really growing appreciably. They remain strong in Mississippi and may be a little stronger this year, after Oxford and the strong voter registration programs. However, note that funds from the State Sovereignty Commission have been cut and the new head of this commission is Erle Johnson, who last year rebuked the Citizens Councils (see clips). In Alabama is making a lot of shrill noise and having many meetings. But Les thinks they may be slipping there and in Louisiana and Georgia. In all other areas they have lost influence on politicians. At a recent rally in Atlanta (see clips) no state official attended.

Les thinks the most dangerous development is the kind of group Lester Maddox organized to boycot businesses which desegregate (see enclosures). Of the 35 restaurants which desegregated this spring, only 12 (and we are not sure of that number from day to day) remain desegregated after picketing and boycotts. Hotels are desegregated only to the extent of including Negroes in large conventions provided no more than 5% attend. One motel has made an exception for the SRC annual meeting. Only one small hotel will accept Negroes and dark foreign visitors at any time and without any restrictions.

I have included material on the radical right--which we consider a "hate group" too. If you wish, I can give you also a list of the radical right religious groups, leaders, and publications, which I compiled for another purpose.

Clips were not available on Mobile and Selma, so I give you this from Paul's travels: In Mobile the WCC holds weekly meetings in the city auditorium; Wallace was a recent speaker. Attendance runs up to 2,500. When Bull Conner spoke very recently, he lost the crowd completely when he told them it was all right for police to use extreme measures to "keep the peace" but if <u>they</u> did it hurt the cause and lost national sympathy and local support. He urged them to leave all violence to the police! Selma has an active WCC; some 6,500 persons attended a recent meeting when Gov. Wallace spoke.

We have one or two file copies of Paul's 1956 report on prosegregation groups; I could lend you this. I did not include it becuase I thought you would want more recent information.

Emory, I hope I am sending you what you need. If not, do not hesitate to let me know and I'll do another "search".

Regards to your wife.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosures:
list of magazine articles
list of pamphlets
copies of news clips and articles
extra copies of several things
New South: Black Muslims

For Emory Via : Recent Magazine articles
Hate Groups

1. Radical Right

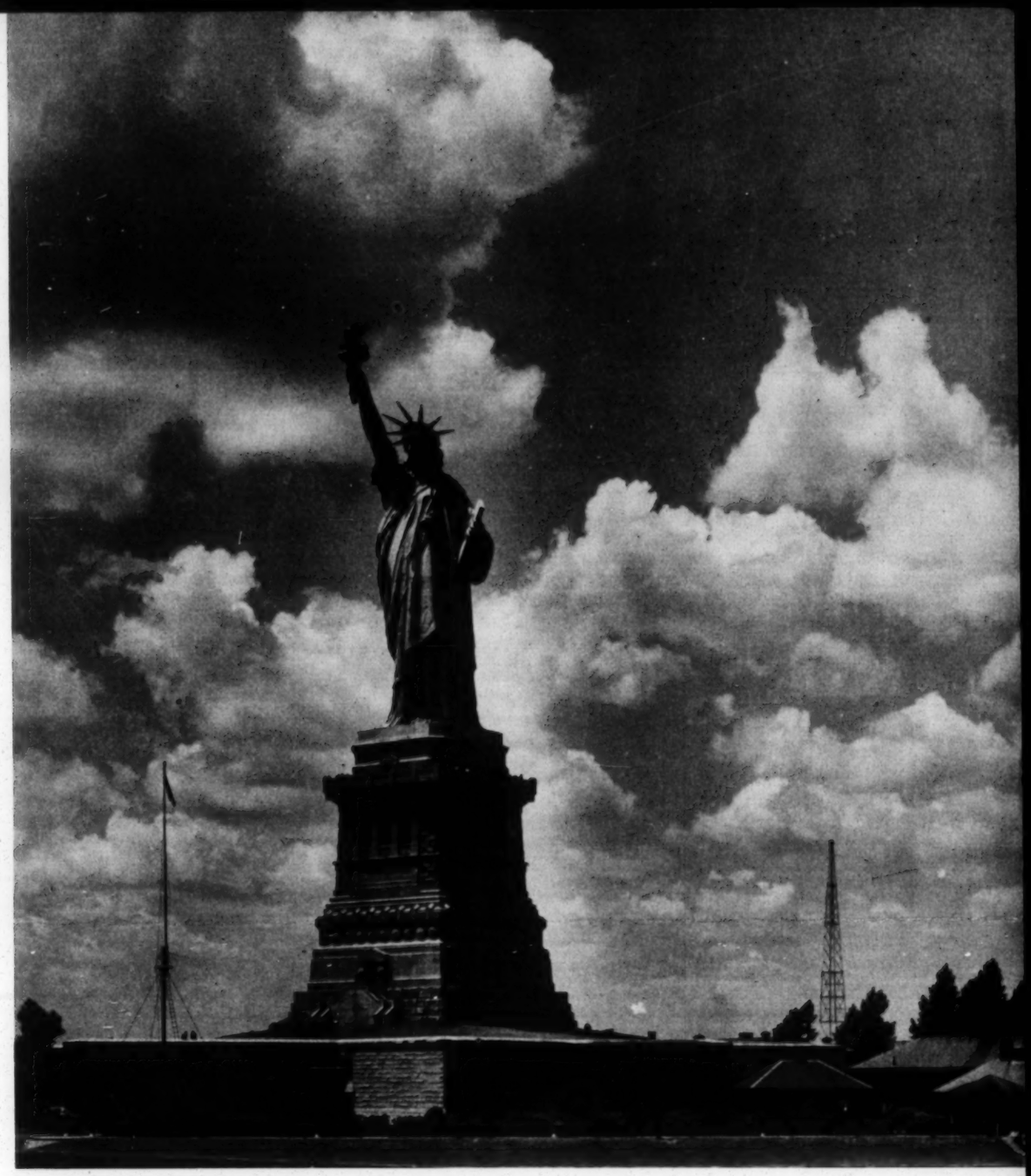
Christian Century, May 9, 1962 - "Social Sources of the Radical Right," by Robert Lee
_____ July 14, 1962 - "I Went to a Schwarz 'School'"
*_____ May 16, 1962 - "Rightest Weather Map," by Harold E. Fey
Sat. Evening Post, April 28, 1962 - "Doomsday Merchant on the Far, Far, Right," (Billy James Hargis) by Harold H. Martin
New York Times Magazine, 6-17-63, "The Threat of the Radical Right," by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
_____, 4-29-62, "The Liberals Have Helped the Radical Right," by Harvey B. Schechter.
_____, Nov. 26, 1961, "Report on the 'Rampageous Right!" by Alan Barth
_____, 12-10-63, "How Some Birchers Were Birches," by ~~Lawrence E. Metcalf~~ Thos. S. Starke (California)
Harpers, Oct. 1961, "Houston's Super Patriots," by Willie Morris
The New Republic, 9-24-63, "The New Conservatism," by Peter Vierick
_____, 3-5-62, "Seeds of Schism on the Right"
_____, 5-28-62, "The Anti-Communist Hoax," by Irving Brant (who are the right wing's real enemies?)
The Nation, 11-11-61, "The Armed Super Patriots in the Mid-west," by Peter W. Salsich Jr.
_____, 3-10-62, "Anti-Communism in the Classroom: Education or Propaganda?," Lawrence E. Metcalf.

2. Black Muslims

Christian Century, 6-5-63, "Malcolm X: Charismatic Demagogue," by Albert B. Southwick
Playboy, May 1963, "Malcolm X: interview"
Liberator, April 1963, "The Black Muslims," by August Meier
New York Times Magazine, 5-12-63, "Two Ways: Black Muslim and NAACP," by Gertrude Samuels
Saturday Evening Post, 1-26-63, "Black Merchants of Hate," by Alfred Balk and Alex Haley

Pamphlets

Am. Jewish Committee, Bigotry in Action (organized anti-Semitism) 1963.
National Conf. of Christians & Jews, Anti-Communism, The Extreme Right and the Church, by Richard Horchler
Putnam Letters, Nat'l Putnam Letters Committee, P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y. 1963. These are the Guilty; Letter to U. S. Attorney General; Letter to the President.
Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House, The UltraRight Wing Today: Problems in Containment. 1961. Mimeographed.
Facts, Nov.-Dec. 1962, Anti Defamation League, "The Case of Fred Schwarz." (I think they also have one of the John Birch Society).



Report on the 'Rampageous Right'

By ALAN BARTH

Today's tensions have led to a proliferation of 'conservative extremists.'

FRUSTRATION, which produces tantrums in babies, can lead to equally irrational fits of rage in adults. Unhappily, the contemporary world is, in many respects, a frustrating one. It is rotating not only on its axis but on all its axioms as well. It is involved in profound change — in its international power relationships, in its economic organization, in its social arrangements. And so it confronts many Americans with inevitable alterations in ways of life they cherish and with insurmountable obstacles to ways in which they want their country to move.

In foreign affairs, the United States and the Soviet Union are locked in a classic stalemate which forbids either side to work its will without limit but which affords at least a precarious assurance of continued peace. Colonialism is disappearing, new economic groupings are in process of formation among nations, new developments in weaponry have rendered traditional modes of enforcing national policy altogether obsolete. These are but the most obvious of the conditions in America's relations with the world outside which serve to frustrate American aims and ambitions.

At home, the country is undergoing a tremendous transformation in the pattern of its race relations, involving a long-delayed emancipation of Negroes; for some persons the transformation seems to mean an economic threat and a serious loss of status. In addition, the urbanization and industrialization of American life have brought demands that the Government assume new social-welfare responsibilities — in relation to schools, to slum clearance and housing, to relief of the indigent and the aged; and these are opposed by some members of the community as contrary to traditions of free enterprise and individual initiative.

THESE frustrations are experienced in an atmosphere of continuing international tension and fear. Americans have lived in a steady state of crisis ever since the Second World War. That war was hardly ended before American troops were engaged in a bloody struggle in Korea, to be followed by a prolonged period of "cold war" which produced a harrowing sense of strain and anxiety. Moreover, the terrifying possibility exists that atomic weapons may be launched against American cities at any time in a sudden, surprise attack. Concern about this possibility is exacerbated by confusing and conflicting exhortations from Washington regarding the dangers of radiation and the advantages of fallout shelters. All in all, the future seems an uncertain one. The widespread fear arising out of real and imagined perils is hardly conducive to the rule of reason.

* * *

THAT there is a great deal of frustration in the land today is made evident by a proliferation of societies, leagues, committees, councils and crusades which propose to stop the clock—or to turn its hands back to some easier, earlier time when men could move more readily and directly to achieve what they wanted. How to classify these groups politically raises a difficult problem in semantics.

They are commonly called "Rightist" — a term which connotes conservatism. But in sober truth there is nothing conservative about them. They are much more in a rage to destroy than a fervor to conserve. They tend, as Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles remarked of some of them just the other day, to be saying: "Stop the world I want to get off." Clearly, these "Rightists" have nothing in common with such conservatives as, say, Dwight D. Eisenhower or Herbert Hoover. Prof. Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University, in a most insightful essay about the "Rightists" some years ago, called them "pseudo-conservatives."

Sometimes they are referred to as the "radical Right." But the fact is that there is nothing radical about them. They offer no novel solutions to the problems that plague them; indeed, they offer no solutions at all. They are immensely discontented with things as they are and furiously impatient with almost everyone in public office who can in any way be held responsible for their frustrations. But it cannot be said that they hold any clearly stated objectives or have any specific program either in common or individually. They are fundamentally and temperamentally "aginners." And perhaps the commonest characteristic among them is anger. They can fairly been called, if nothing else, the Rampageous Right.

BUT if they defy designation under any simple political label, it is nevertheless possible to find certain lowest common denominators of philosophic outlook which may help to describe them and to set them off from the parties and factions which engage in the traditional pulling and hauling, the compromising and accommodating that are customary in the American political process. Here are some of their identifying traits:

First, they tend to see complex problems simply and to define problems in terms of "either-or" choices. For example, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, addressing a huge rally in the Hollywood Bowl in October under the sponsorship of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, said: "The only alternative to total defeat in the struggle with communism is total victory."

Whatever the merits of this formulation as rhetoric, it suffers from the logical fallacy of the excluded middle. Obviously there are a number of possible alternatives. Total annihilation is one of them. So is continued stalemate. So is some sort of temporary accommodation conferring neither victory nor defeat upon either side but providing for reciprocal concessions which might relax tensions while allowing life to go on for a while longer on the planet.

THE "either-or" solution is a formula for frustration. It pits what is unattainable against what is intolerable and precludes all rational and feasible middle courses. In international affairs it makes negotiation impossible and assures for any compromise, no matter what gains or advantages it may embrace, a taunt from the "Rightists" that it amounts to abject surrender. It is hard to escape a conclusion that the essential negativism of the "either-or" approach is designed to frustrate rather than forward any kind of agreement.

This "either-or" approach is adopted by the Right in regard to domestic as well as foreign affairs. It expresses itself in an insistence that there can be no middle ground between pure capitalism and complete communism. In Southern California, automobile bumpers abound with stickers reciting the

slogan, "Socialism is Communism." To the people who like to see things so simplistically, blurring the vital distinctions that make free choice possible, socialism is an epithet applied indiscriminately to almost any form of collective endeavor. Thus, any governmentally operated insurance program to provide medical care for the elderly is denounced as Socialist. So are Federal aid to education, Federally financed scholarships for college students and Federal support of scientific research—although there appears to be nothing particularly Socialistic about the same activities when supported by state tax revenues. Public assistance for the indigent, public housing, the Tennessee Valley Authority, even the progressive income tax are all looked upon as satanically inspired deviations from capitalism.

THOSE who support any of these programs as pragmatic ways of dealing with community needs are unsparingly defamed as Communists or as Communist stooges or Communist sympathizers. Robert Welch, organizer and leader of the John Birch Society, has coined the word "Comsymps" to elide any distinction among these categories.

In one other area the Rightist disposition to prohibit any kind of moderation deserves notice. Southern segregationists have joined hands with the professional anti-Communists, ideologically as well as politically. Almost a full century after Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of Negroes in the United States, segregationists can present only a solid wall of "massive resistance" to Negro demands for any of the fruits of emancipation.

Their standard defense for this resistance is a stubborn assertion that the Negro demands are merely a product of Communist agitation. In many parts of the Deep South today, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is regarded by ignorant whites as a Communist, or Communist-dominated, agency. The close alliance between the White Citizens Councils on the one hand and the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade on the other should not be ignored.

A SECOND common denominator of the Rightist groups is that they subscribe wholeheartedly to the conspiratorial, or devil, theory of history and tend to attribute every frustration to betrayal by traitors. It is out-of-the question for them to acknowledge honest differences of opinion or to consider the possibility that problems may arise in foreign affairs either through some skillful action by the enemy or through innocent error by conscientious, though fallible, public officials at home.

They have no uncertainty, for example, as to why "we lost China"—as though it was ever "ours" to lose. China was lost to communism, these angry Rightists assert unhesitatingly, not by the Chinese but by traitorous Americans who gave it away out of fealty to the Communist conspiracy.

HOW did the United States get into so disadvantageous a situation in Berlin—an island in a Communist sea? Softness toward communism, or worse, at Yalta or Teheran or Potsdam, the Rightists answer with easy assurance. And what more proof of the proposition can be demanded than the fact that Alger Hiss committed perjury before the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

As Professor Hofstadter has put it, "Hiss is the hostage the pseudo-conservatives hold from the New Deal generation. He is a heaven-sent gift. If he did not exist, the pseudo - conservatives would not have been able to invent him." They have made him into a prototype to explain every national misfortune from Laos to outer space.

The Communist conspiracy, to these fixed-focus interpreters, is omnipresent, and very nearly omnipotent. It permeates every American institution and intrudes its poisonous influence into every aspect of American life. They see the Communists exercising power, if not actual control, in religious organizations, especially in the National Council of Churches of Christ which appears to stand convicted of Communist inspiration, in their view, by its very tolerance and humanism.

THE Rightists insist that the Communist conspiracy has infiltrated the leadership of the country's great labor unions, the faculties of its principal universities, even the editorial offices of important newspapers. In a speech just the other day one of the most vehement of the Rightists, T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Eisenhower Administration and, subsequently, an ardent advocate of abolition of the income tax, called The New York Times "the uptown Daily Worker," adding that the nation's capital also had its "Daily Worker — The Washington Post." Tolerance of diversity is not a characteristic of the Right.

The close consanguinity between the segregationist and the anti-Communist strains in the Rightist movement is illustrated by their common attack on the Supreme Court. To the segregationists, the Court's unanimous decision in 1954 that segregated public schools violate the Constitution affords, of itself, proof positive that the Justices were subverted by communism—the all-purpose explanation for every frustration.

The anti-Communists find the same proof in Court decisions upholding the constitutional rights of persons charged with Left-Wing leanings. Robert Welch found it possible, therefore, to say quite flatly that "Communist influences are now in almost complete control of our Federal Government" and that the Supreme Court of the United States "is one of the most important agencies of communism."

THE third of the common denominators characterizing the Right-Wing groups is a deep distrust of democratic institutions and of the democratic process — a distrust, in short, of the people. The Rightists never regard *themselves* as gullible or susceptible to Communist subversion; but they appear to be convinced that all their countrymen are outright simpletons ripe for a shift of loyalty at any moment from the Capitol to the Kremlin.

Thus, copying the organization of the Communist party, Mr. Welch declared that "the John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body * * *. Democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud * * *. The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels." And, with an ominous implication that he might in the future be quite willing to seek overthrow of the Government by force and violence, he asserted that his society could not rely on "politicians, political leadership or even political action."

The anti-democratic character of the extreme Right is perhaps most plainly manifested by its pronounced preference for military over civilian leadership. A most disquieting degree of cooperation has developed between leaders of the extreme Right-Wing groups and high-ranking officers of the American armed services. It was this cooperation that elicited from Senator J. W. Fulbright last summer his celebrated memorandum to the Pentagon asserting that too many military officers were meddling in American domestic politics under the guise of anti-communism and on the pretext of indoctrinating American troops.

The military programs of indoctrination have been aimed, in point of fact, at civilians as well as at men in uniform. The public information officer at the ~~Point Mugu, Calif.~~, Naval Missile Center took it upon himself, for instance, to "indoctrinate" more than sixty groups of civilians over a five-month period. He "taught" them that the nation's schools and churches have been infiltrated by Communists, that American newspapers should not be believed because the press is pro-Communist and he attacked the Governor of California for having criticized the John Birch Society.

IN the summer of 1960 at the Glenview, Ill., Naval Air Station and in February 1961 under military sponsorship in Houston, courses were given with the collaboration of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz for civilians and military personnel, adroitly mingling anti-communism with extreme Right-Wing politics.

Senator Fulbright's memorandum and the subsequent

removal of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker from his command of the Twenty-fourth Division in Germany touched off a major national controversy regarding military programs of indoctrination which impinge on political affairs. That controversy is likely soon to be acted out dramatically in hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee. General Walker himself has now resigned from the Army —and in a letter to the Senate Committee has flung down a gauntlet which may make him the new champion of the far Right.

General Walker's letter seemed deliberately contrived to drive a wedge between civilian and military authority in the United States. Complaining bitterly about "censorship"—as though civilian officials had no business exercising control over military officers in regard to political activities—and about "the power of little men who, in the name of my country, punish loyal service to it," the General seemed to be trying to convince the country that civilians have been improperly and illegally putting a leash on the military.

He uses the term "censorship" in curious ways, speaking of "censorship of victory on the field of battle" in regard to the Korean War, "censorship of action" that led to the fall of the Chinese Nationalist Government in the Nineteen Forties and "harassment through censorship of execution" during the war in Greece.

ASSERTING that American boys enter on military service without adequate understanding of the enemy or knowledge of communism, General Walker says, "If it is now to be the case that commanders are restricted, or constrained by censorship, to certain limited areas of communication in their indoctrination of their soldiers, then the deficiency in training will go unremedied."

This is astonishing and alarming language for a professional soldier. A paragraph later, the General observes that "our defense is based on the concept of a civilian military establishment with regular Army support" and adds that "to presume a military coup by such an army is patently preposterous." So it has always been in the United States. But when one reflects upon the conduct of General Salan in France, can one feel wholly comfortable about military officers who denounce civilian leaders as corrupt and treasonable and who work hand in hand with Rightist groups which have rejected democracy?

* * *

WHAT is the strength of the extreme Right today? The number of its adherents cannot be determined with any accuracy; and, as has been observed with regard to the subversives on the extreme Left, numbers do not afford a satisfactory index to influence. A score or more of Rightist groups are now vying with one another for supremacy.

Most formidable among them in terms of membership, money and notoriety are the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti - Communist Crusade. The sheer extravagance of some of Robert Welch's utterances may have somewhat dimmed the luster of the former and diminished the breadth of its appeal. It takes a fairly strong stomach to subscribe to Mr. Welch's statement that "Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Dr. Schwarz' Christian Anti - Communist Crusade, which has said nothing quite so shocking, is now busily expanding its operations from a Southern California base to national proportions. Dr. Schwarz says that 70,000 persons contribute to his organization. In point of fact, he has had some impressive endorsements, including a hearty pat on the back from C. D. Jackson, the publisher of Life, and television sponsorship by such considerable industrial firms as the Richfield Oil Co., the Schick Safety Razor Co. and the Technicolor Corp. The Crusade seems to be well-heeled and shrewdly led.

Most frenetic of the fanatics is the group calling itself the Minutemen, whom President Kennedy derided in his Southern California speech last week. They have actually organized themselves into armed bands of civilian guerrillas—waiting, no doubt, for Der Tag.

UNDOUBTEDLY the extreme Right is going to exercise a powerful negative influence in the difficult and inevitably frustrating years immediately ahead. Its weight will be thrown against Federal aid to education, against medical care for the aged, against generosity to the indigent—the municipal authorities of Newburgh, N. Y., seem to reflect its welfare philosophy —against civil liberties in general; and in foreign affairs it will strive militantly to represent any concessions to the Russians or to the Chinese as treasonable, any consideration for this country's allies as craven and any squeamishness about extermination of the human race in an atomic holocaust as subversively sentimental.

Lacking any realistic affirmative program, however, the Right is unlikely to be able to grasp the reins of political power in the United States. Genuine conservatives devoted to the nation's traditions, values and institutions will be reluctant to identify themselves with the extremists or to make common cause with them.

THE Rightists will no doubt seek to capture control of the Republican party but they are unlikely to succeed. Their darling just now is Barry Goldwater. But the Senator will be obliged before very long to choose between the support of the Rightists and the support of real Republicans who will not care to forsake the traditions of their party for a forlorn kind of fascism.

This much can be said with assurance: the American people are not about to do away with the income tax or social security or the intelligent use of their Government for the accomplishment of public purposes; they are not about to substitute military for civilian authority; they are not about to forgo self-government for the sake of some evangelistic fuehrer. The Right may make itself a nuisance; but it will not make itself into a government. It is not a wave of the future; it is a voice of frustration and despair, a wail from an irrecoverable past.

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SEPTEMBER, 1963

TOM PAINES and UNCLE TOMS
see page 7

ASSAULT ON THE CONSTITUTION

Three proposed "States' rights" amendments could turn history back almost two hundred years.

By Sol Rabkin

CREEPING reaction has a long history as a phenomenon of American political life. It thrives when the glare of public attention is not upon it. It usually shrivels under the impact of public awareness.

Reaction will take a mighty leap forward, if a program to amend the Constitution of the United States, now creeping through state legislatures, is not halted by public understanding of its purpose. The program is reaction in the most literal sense of the word—a counterthrust to the series of basic civil rights decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in the past decade.

The Court's rulings in the racial segregation cases might not have been enough to start the program through the State legislatures, but the added push of its ruling in 1962 in *Baker v. Carr,* the Tennessee electoral reapportionment case, which struck a blow at the gerrymandering of state legislatures, was. The ruling in *Baker v. Carr* hit at the power of rural legislators who dominate State legislative bodies at the expense of city and suburban areas. Since legislators from rural counties are not likely to give up their prerogatives easily, the *Baker v. Carr* decision has forged a natural alliance between segregation-minded states and rural-dominated states.

Unhappily, the activities of State legislators and legislatures are not subject to the concentrated public attention which scrutinizes the operations of every facet of federal government. Even so important a state as New York does not keep a verbatim record of proceedings in its legislature as the Congress or the courts do. Much state legislation goes unreported by the press and unnoticed by the people. Thus, a meeting last December of a group called the Council of State Governments went almost unnoticed. But out of that meeting came three proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution, so revolutionary in their impact, that if adopted the nation would be set back not to pre-1954, the year of the school desegregation decision, but to pre-1789, the year the Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation as the basic law of the land.

Mr. Rabkin is director of ADL's national law department.

Actions of state legislatures often go unnoticed.

THESE are the proposals:

- A Constitutional amendment that would permit State legislatures to amend the Constitution without consideration by any national forum. Twelve states—Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas and Wyoming—approved the proposal. One house in each of seven other states—Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oregon and Wisconsin—has also approved.
- An amendment that would establish a "Court of the Union," composed of the chief justices of the highest court in each of fifty states, with authority to review and reverse decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. The proposal met with immediate approval by Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina and Wyoming and by one house in Mississippi, New Mexico, South Dakota and Wisconsin.
- An amendment that would reverse *Baker v. Carr* by removing all federal constitutional restrictions on how states apportion representation in their legislatures. Twelve states acted at once to approve—Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Washington and Wyoming. Utah's legislature approved the proposal but in different language; approval by Nebraska's legislature was vetoed by the governor; one house in the legislatures of Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Mississippi and Oregon gave approval.

One house of the New Jersey legislature approved all three amendments, but then rescinded its action.

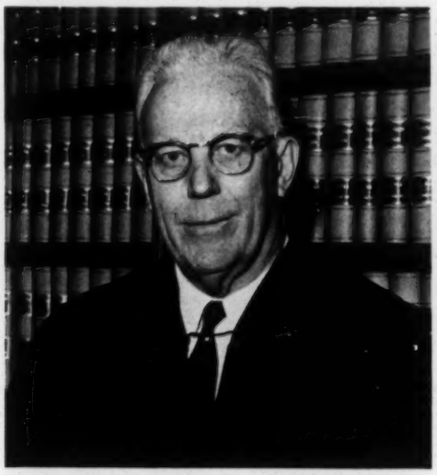
Such swift movement of the amendments through state legislatures was

made possible only by the lack of public understanding or discussion of the consequences of their enactment. The second thoughts entertained by the New Jersey legislature is a case in point; someone in New Jersey woke up to the revolutionary impact of the proposed amendments.

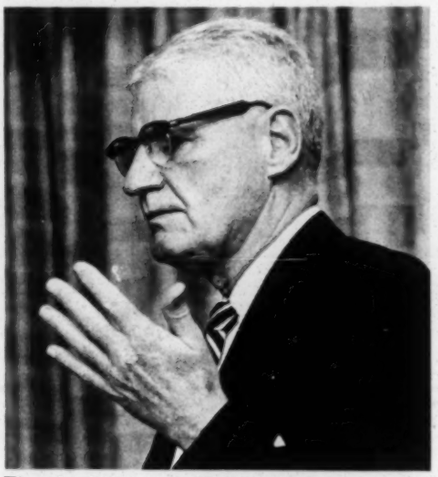
WHAT are their consequences?

The adoption of the first proposed amendment would reverse the entire course of American history, would, in fact, turn the United States back to the days when this nation consisted of a group of thirteen squabbling local sovereignties, each primarily concerned with its own narrow, sectional interests.

Giving states the power to change the Constitution smacks of the thinking inherent in the Articles of Confederation: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled."



Chief Justice Warren: "The occasion for a great national debate."



Florida Justice Caldwell: Supreme Court "swallowing up" liberty.

But this nation's founding fathers tried the Confederation and abandoned it as unworkable. They recognized that even for a United States limited to thirteen states on the Atlantic seaboard, such a structure was completely impossible. Each state considered itself an independent sovereignty and decisions of Congress became little more than recommendations. In 1789, the adoption of the present Constitution did away with the state sovereignty provision and replaced it with Article VI, which contains a supremacy clause providing that every state be bound by the Constitution and that the laws of the federal government be the supreme law of the land.

The second proposal, to establish a "Court of the Union," would make the kind of deliberation and conference which is the essence of the judgment of the U.S. Supreme Court virtually impossible. It would transfer judicial power from a court whose members are responsible to the entire nation, are appointed for life and therefore immune from any kind of immediate political pressure, to an unwieldy fifty-man court whose members are responsible to individual states, who serve for limited periods and are answerable, in terms of re-election or reappointment, to state officials or the electorate of their own state. Furthermore, their service on the "Court of the Union" would have to be a sideline to their regular jobs as state chief justices.

The third amendment, to remove constitutional restrictions on state apportionment, would not only diminish constitutional guarantees under the "equal protection clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment, but would provide sanction for states to use "apportionment" as a guise for rank racial discrimination—in contravention of the spirit and purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Adoption of this proposal would entrench existing abuses more deeply. Under-representation of urban and suburban areas and over-representation of rural areas would continue uncorrected, and without any means for correction. In addition, approval of the amendment would constitute the first diminution in American history of any constitutional guarantee of liberty, justice and equality.

ALL three proposed amendments are radical in the extreme, an out-and-out assault on the Constitution and democratic progress. The conservative forces backing them are using a device never before invoked—that of petitioning Congress to call a constitutional convention on the amendments. For this they need the approval of two-thirds (34) of the state legislatures. For a while they seemed well on their way to success until the campaign began attracting national attention—and opposition.

Last Spring, Chief Justice Earl Warren commented in a speech on the public's unawareness of the amendments. "Any serious effort to amend the Constitution of the United States," he said, "should provide the occasion for a great national debate." Since then, newspapers and other communications media began to note their swift progress in a few short months; various groups have taken a serious and critical interest; President Kennedy, at a press conference, spoke critically of the proposals; the American Bar Association has gone on record against the amendments. The most vociferous spokesman of those advocating the amendments has been Florida Supreme Court Justice Millard Caldwell, president of the Council of State Governments. The U.S. Supreme Court, he cries, is "swallowing up" the liberties of the people.

Fortunately, public awareness has not come too late. The amendments still face important tests in additional state legislatures—and the campaign to get them passed is no longer unreported and unnoticed.

Die-hards may see the amendments as their only salvation, but their scheme to turn history back almost two hundred years is doomed to failure—if state legislatures which have not yet tackled the proposals give them the short shrift they deserve.

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"A TEDIOUS, FRUSTRATING JOB . . . WITH THRILLING REWARDS"

Nineteen New York public schools prove problems of integration can be solved--when everyone cooperates.

By Lynne Ianniello

In one school there were only white students until Negro children were brought in as part of a Board of Education "open enrollment" plan. In another, though the community was white and middle class, the students were mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans from underprivileged areas. In a third, English was a foreign language to a large proportion of students and most of their parents. For New York City school authorities, situations like these represent problems, and for communities sometimes an increase in tensions.

With neighborhoods and the neighborhood school concept undergoing rapid change, the New York City public schools face the challenge of meeting such situations honestly if they are to be dealt with effectively. Some of the problems and their solutions were revealed at the end of the school year in June when Superintendent of Schools Calvin Gross presented B'nai B'rith Human Relations Awards to nineteen schools for the best projects on improving intergroup relations. The city-wide Board of Education—Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith program was planned, organized and supervised by the Anti-Defamation League.

Probably the most unique project—described by the school's administration as "a slow, tedious, frustrating job with unimaginably thrilling rewards"—took place at P. S. 69, a small elementary school in the heart of Manhattan. The Negro children, transferred to P. S. 69, arrived by bus—complaints, hostility, and rumblings of resentment arrived by telephone, letter, and personal visits.

The white parents had their grievances. The school had a registration of only 248 children. The new arrivals from the outside would crowd sanitation and other facilities. Improvements promised by the Board of Education had not even been started when the school semester began. A small, almost intimate school suddenly was crowded with "strangers."

The Negro parents, also hostile, had other concerns: their children were being transported through the maze of Manhattan traffic with no adult supervision other than the harassed bus drivers; they were returning home with tales of real or imagined insults at the hands of their white schoolmates.

The lunch period—during which the children were formerly free to leave the building—was now chaos. There were too

many children and too few "Safety Patrol" monitors—many had resigned. The school issued an order that no child could go home for lunch or eat in nearby restaurants without a note from his parents relieving the school of responsibility for his safety. The order brought almost totally segregated lunchrooms! Even neighborhood children who had always eaten in school now had their parent's permission to eat in nearby coffee shops.

The school administration decided to intervene directly. It began a "Noon Canteen," to ease friction and to make the lunch period more interesting and exciting. First to answer the calls for help were the businessmen in the area. One neighbor, Columbia Pictures, lent the school Mister McGoo films; another, the A & P, presented the school with supermarket carts, which became bookmobiles. The Board of Education installed electric outlets in the school yard so that hi-fi and microphone equipment could be utilized for shows. Children were enlisted to serve the two lunch shifts as hosts, hostesses, and "canteen aids" to set up and operate the equipment after a training period and test.

Next came auditions for the "Noon Canteen Theatre." There were skits, musical numbers, magic, jugglers—and suddenly, neighborhood children! They were running back after their away-from-school lunches; they were asking to eat lunch in school so that they too could operate the equipment or participate in the shows.

Children who had never looked at each other before became friends, teaching the Limbo dance, or magic tricks, or puppetry, or the art of juggling. There was a new atmosphere, a new sense of pride, a friendly enthusiasm that infected the parents, too.

Negro and white parents now assisted in the canteen. Neighborhood parents helped organize volunteer bus supervisors. Two Negro parents visited the school to tell what the experiment had meant to them. One said, "We never trusted you until now, but we see that you really mean to accept us and our children." The other, the father of a boy who had been a problem at the beginning of the year, said, "My boy has done more learning in this school than he ever did before." And the school knew its problems were really over when a neighborhood parent who had called the school "a jungle of bedlam" at the beginning of the year,

Continued on page 6

ANTI-SEMITISM WITHOUT JEWS

In its struggle for power, a Polish Communist faction exploits "Jewish bourgeois tendencies" in a country nearly devoid of Jews.

By Herman Singer

THE announcement on July 3 that Roman Zambrowski had resigned from the 11-man Politburo of the Polish Communist party due to ill health received little attention in the West. There had been earlier reports that Zambrowski was suffering from cancer. It was logical to conclude that he was no longer capable of performing his duties on the powerful body that is the real ruler of this Soviet-dominated country.

However, there is cause to be skeptical of the official Warsaw agency version. In recent years, Zambrowski had been the target of the "Partisan" faction within the Communist party. (It is so named because its leaders were partisans under the command of the Red Army during the German occupation of Poland.) The "Partisan" group advocates a "hard" line of neo-Stalinism; it is opposed to any relaxation of the Communist party's control of the country. Zambrowski, though no liberal, takes a more moderate position. But the differences between the "Partisans" and the group Zambrowski heads in the Communist party are not very great. Basically, he was the target of the "Partisans" because of his Jewish origin, rather than for ideological reasons. A member of the Politburo since the war, he was the only Jewish Communist left on that body.

To the "Partisans," Jewish Communists are automatically suspected of harboring "bourgeois tendencies." That is to say, the very fact that they were born Jews means they cannot be loyal to Moscow. They *must* have "international" commitments, inevitably be friendly to the capitalistic West. This in spite of the actual alienation of men like Zambrowski from their Jewish coreligionists.

HOWEVER, the deposition of Zambrowski does not necessarily portend a return to the dogmatic atmosphere of the era before the uprising of 1956, when Stalin's influence was uppermost in Poland. Nor does it mean that an anti-Semitic campaign is in the offing.

Herman Singer is associate editor of **East Europe**, a monthly published by the Free Europe Committee.

Gomulka

Zambrowski

Nowak

In the first place there are simply not enough Jews left in Poland for anti-Semitic slogans to be effective on a large scale, even within the confines of the Communist party. There are only 35,000 Jews throughout Poland, with one-third concentrated in Warsaw. (Before the war, there were some two million.)

Then again, the "Partisan" group is opposed by what, in Communist terms, might be considered a "liberal" wing. It has been the policy of Wladyslaw Gomulka, Communist party leader and real ruler of Poland, to play these two groups against one another. Most recently, his "neutrality" has favored the "Partisans" —the resignation of Zambrowski is obviously a victory for the "hard" line.

It is generally accepted that Gomulka does not share the anti-Semitic stand of the "Partisans," but he has done little to eliminate it as a tactic in the political in-fighting within Communist ranks. The "Partisans" had scored other successes, where they used anti-Semitism for political purposes, before they eliminated Zambrowski. Thus, before Christmas 1961, the Jewish journalist, Henry Holland, committed suicide, leaping out of the window of his apartment while it was being searched by the security police.

"Partisan" leaders hold dominant positions in the police apparatus. One of them, General Grzegorz Korczynski, chief of military intelligence, has a record of active anti-Semitism. Joseph Swiatlo, a Polish security officer who defected to the West in 1953, reported that Korczynski, an organizer of the Communist People's Guard in 1942, participated in the liquidation of two Jewish resistance units near Lublin during the war.

ANOTHER Communist party leader with a record of anti-Semitism is deputy premier Zenon Nowak. His tie with the "Partisans" is a continuation of his activities with the pro-Soviet Natolin group in 1956. In October of that year, when the Poles rioted against tight Communist control under Soviet domination, Nowak was one of those to call for total cooperation with Moscow in putting down the agitation. He argued that it was the Jews who were for loosening the ties with the Soviet Union—and that was reason enough to reject it! In 1956, Gomulka disregarded the advice of the Natolin Stalinist faction; in 1963, he seems

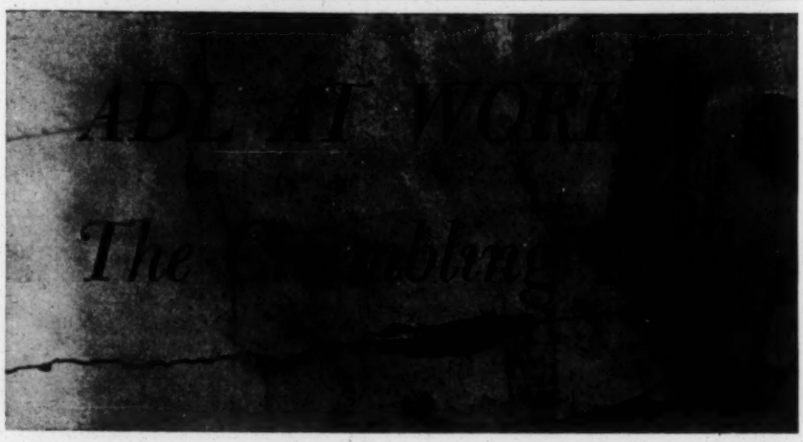
inclined to let it have its head.

Still another striking victory for the "Partisans" was the Communist party decision to close down the Crooked Circle club. Named after the street where its headquarters was situated, this was the sole open forum where Polish intellectuals could still speak freely about the world they lived in. It was the last remnant of the limited freedom of speech achieved by the Polish uprising of 1956. Like anti-Semitism a usable political club in the hands of a Politburo, the Crooked Circle Club led a precarious existence. Finally, in January 1962, its protectors lost ground, and the Crooked Club was dissolved.

The dissolution of the Crooked Club incidentally led to the shedding of light on the political uses of anti-Semitism in Poland. One of the former Club's leaders, Witold Jadlicki, a Jew, migrated to Israel. There he wrote an article for a Polish emigre monthly, *Kultura,* which created something of a sensation in Poland. Jadlicki argued that the October 1956 revolt had not been a nationalistic uprising against Soviet domination, but primarily a struggle between leading Communists. And—Jadlicki added—the Natolin faction, the predecessors of the "Partisans," had used anti-Semitism boldly and openly in their conflict with the "softer," more nationalistic Communists like Gomulka.

OFFICIALLY, anti-Semitism is outlawed in Poland. On April 19, the government sponsored a memorial meeting at the monument to the heroes of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz attended. At an earlier ceremony Politburo member Edvard Ochab presented decorations to Polish Christians who had aided Jews during the German occupation. Jews from some twenty countries were present at the commemoration. However, there were none from the Soviet Union, which was represented only by a journalist on assignment. Among those denied visas were two leaders of the Israel-Poland Friendship League, as well as a number of individual Polish Jews now resident in Israel. The limitation on foreign visitors was ascribed to the influence of the "Partisans." They were said to have gotten Moscow's consent to minimize the significance of the gathering—there was no desire to create *too much* sympathy for Jews.

Jews have almost disappeared as a community in Poland. Their influence in the Communist party and in government is negligible. They survive as a force only in the minds of those who remember the halcyon days in Poland, when anti-Semitism was a handy tool for a political faction.



It takes time and hard work, but facts, common sense and the American spirit force discrimination to give ground. ADL contributed to the results announced this month in two problem areas.

Commercial Banks

PROBLEM: In November 1961, newspapers reported ADL's "strong, almost incontrovertible evidence of religious discrimination" in New York City's eight leading commercial banks. The evidence was the result of a comprehensive ADL study of the banks' employment and promotion practices.

Of a total roster of 844 top executives in the 8 commercial banks, the study revealed, only 30—3.5 per cent—were Jewish. Of these 30, 22 were concentrated in 2 banks, 7 in a third. A fourth bank had one Jewish executive.

The League pointed out the anomaly of no Jewish executives in half of the commercial banks in a city where 25 per cent of the population is Jewish.

ACTION: These findings were presented to a special subcommittee of the House of Representatives' Committee on Education and Labor. Later, they were passed on to New York State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz.

Last month, after a series of conferences with the banks, the Attorney General announced: New York City's seven leading commercial banks (reduced from eight by merger) have agreed to employ qualified executive trainees and promote persons to executive positions "wholly without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin."

Furthermore, the banks will spell out their policy of nondiscriminatory recruitment to their own officers, department heads and personnel department employees—as well as to employment agencies and placement officials on college campuses.

The ADL, mission accomplished, hailed the announcement, and looked forward to its "vigorous and effective implementation."

Radio Station

PROBLEM: In Houston, Texas, a local FM radio station has been carrying a program called EXPRESSIONS, as a kind of forum for dissidents in the community. Listeners are invited to phone the station directly and talk about the topic of the day, or to make any general comments they wish. A weak, or indifferent moderator opened the floodgates for a flow of attacks on the President, the administration in general, the Supreme Court, certain public officials, and "moneylenders, international bankers, Zionists, integrationists, and Jews."

Most offensive as special guests were hatemongers Kenneth Goff and Gordon Winrod, who used the airwaves to spew out their venom against Jews. The moderator accepted the most violent and defamatory statements with a "Thank you for your expression."

ACTION: The ADL arranged to meet with the owner of the radio station. After expressing its concern for the rights of both the individual and the station to freedom of speech, the ADL went on to point out that the station was providing license to individuals venting hatred and bigotry.

The management acknowledged that past attacks on various religious and racial groups as well as individuals were neither fair nor in good taste. It agreed to more careful screening of callers; that free speech was no excuse for incitement.

Direct confrontation by the ADL with responsible management in a cooperative atmosphere resulted in the removal of a focal point for dissemination of anti-Jewish prejudice in Houston.

EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE

Why freedom of opportunity? A citizen complains; a governor explains.

A month after he had issued an executive order directing state agencies to prevent discrimination in public facilities, Governor Matthew E. Welsh of Indiana received a letter of protest from a small businessman. The order, he said, was an infringement of his rights.

Governor Welsh replied, courteously but firmly explaining the need to ensure freedom of opportunity for all citizens.

Dear Gov. Welsh:

I do not belong to any group or movement that are out to discredit our government in any way. I would not consider myself a leftist or rightist.

I love this country and am writing to you because I am concerned at what you and Mr. Kennedy and others like you are doing to it, and to me personally.

Why do I feel as I do?

Because I see my rights as a citizen destroyed to please a minority group. The Negroes have all the privileges for success and respect as any white if they simply want to work for it.

My government and state says I no longer have a right to live in the type of neighborhood I choose (which happens to be white).

My government and state says I no longer can send my children to an all-white school—we must integrate.

The government says we must integrate all public places.

And now you want to go one step further and admit them in establishments offering services. Which also includes me, because I am sole owner of a beauty salon.

If this isn't taking my rights away as a citizen, then what is it?

I wholeheartedly disapprove of what my state and government are doing. And I aim to stand up and be counted either by vote or by force.

I am aware of politicians who sit back and preach integration from a well-segregated neighborhood. And send their children off to private schools, tutors, and etc.

Politicians who are out for integration, are merely out to get votes.

Business men who are out for integration are merely after that almighty buck.

But what about people like me?

Now you tell me that I can not stay in business if I show discrimination.

I realize that I may be sticking my neck out by writing to you this way but I'm counting on this being a partly free country with freedom of speech and press still intact.

Mr. Welsh, I am not a nigger hater, you are so well educated, what am I to do? I am merely concerned about my rights and my family's rights.

I remain,

FREDRIC MARTAKIS

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

19 July 1963

Dear Mr. Martakis:

...It is true that government, as well as business, has extended new opportunities and rights to Negro Americans at an accelerated pace in recent years. It seems clear, however, that the majority of our citizens feel that all Americans will benefit in the long run if Negroes are given the same basic freedoms as other Americans enjoy and hold precious. These include the right to employment according to one's qualifications and interests, the right to service at any place of business licensed to serve the public, and the right to attend the school that is closest to one's home, or that has the courses one needs, or where one can get essential training and experience in getting along harmoniously with the other racial and nationality groups of the community.

Gov. Welsh

As the Negro is granted these rights which other Americans have enjoyed for years, some white persons will be inconvenienced or displeased. But the continued denial of these rights does not merely inconvenience and displease certain individuals; the denial is a deep-cutting insult to a quarter million Negro residents of this state and nearly 20 million in the United States...

...My children have been taught in classrooms with Negro students. Our family lives only a few houses from fine Negro families. My doctor and my dentist treat both white and Negro patients. The public places I patronize have Negro customers as well. I fail to see how the treating of Negroes as persons and in accordance with their individual merits or demerits interferes with any legitimate rights of myself and my family. I do see how it can help solve a problem of poverty, ignorance and crime that is tremendously costly to us all. I see also how this new policy may make the "American way of life" a good deal more acceptable to the peoples of the world who are trying to decide between democracy and communism. I believe it brings us a step closer to the religious and political principle of respecting every individual, not just those of a certain ancestry or nationality.

I hope you will come to feel that the changes that are taking place, instead of limiting your rights, actually will make them more secure.

Sincerely,

MATTHEW E. WELSH
Governor

A TEDIOUS, FRUSTRATING JOB ...WITH THRILLING REWARDS

Continued from page 3

brought in pictures she had taken at her son's party—to which three Negro classmates had been invited. "Look," she said, pointing to a picture of laughing children toasting marshmallows, "they all had such a wonderful time."

OTHER SCHOOLS with other problems were equally successful. Yorkville Vocational High School wanted to place its Negro and Puerto Rican girls in situations where they would both work with and demonstrate their worth to members of different ethnic groups. They did it through the school's Junior Red Cross organization.

Some of the girls worked as volunteer aids in neighborhood playgrounds; commercial students did clerical work in hospitals, clinics and similar centers. Nursing students gave volunteer assistance in nine city hospitals, helping patients and nurses. Others set up a nonprofit neighborhood nursery school providing for 25 children of pre-school age.

IN MANY New York City schools language is a problem for both students and parents. At George Washington High School, in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan, a Foreign Student Organization was organized by volunteer "Big Brothers"—foreign students here long enough to have mastered English but who also spoke another language such as Spanish, Greek, Italian. Giving up lunch periods and staying after school, the "Big Brothers" acted as tutors—in some cases translating math problems into Spanish to help students not yet at ease with English. They served as interpreters between teachers and students. They aided foreign students with planning their high school program and obtaining credit for subjects taken abroad. They interested them in the Student Government Organization to hasten assimilation through clubs, teams, and social events.

Several schools translated typical report card terms into Spanish, so that parents who were newcomers to the country could understand teachers' comments.

For a Manhattan elementary school, a former student assembled a simultaneous translating device so Spanish-speaking mothers and fathers could understand what was being said at Parents Association meetings.

Each of the winning schools in the ADL project received a plaque, and books and audio-visual material of their choice. More significantly all concerned—schools, students and parents—learned through doing that good human relations can be a normal and natural way of life.

TOM PAINES and UNCLE TOMS

One of the most thoughtful comments on the current situation in race relations appeared as an editorial in the Christian Century, the leading undenominational Protestant periodical. We are pleased to present it to ADL *Bulletin readers, as well worth reflection.*

THE CURRENT racial revolution in the United States, like every other revolution, needs its Tom Paines—resolute, contentious, obsessed leaders whose fixed idea and single-minded purpose make them indifferent to precedent and propriety, impervious to threats to their person and independent of those dilemmas and paradoxes which in more prudent and deliberative men paralyze action. Nothing short of such a spirit and nothing less than such a focused determination can seriously challenge the deeply imbedded racial patterns in the United States, shake members of both races out of their lethargic moderateness and in this generation bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life. A tragic and shameful history in which the white man alternately promises and postpones equal status to the Negro now makes revolutionary leadership indispensable for the solution of the Negro's problems and the satisfying of his grievances. And, once more, there are Tom Paines, Negro and white, who are equal to "the times that try men's souls." Wholly committed to one goal—justice for the Negro—they break cherished images, defy immoral legalities, slash the red tape of genteel parliaments, alarm and embarrass their friends and sometimes in ways which to other men appear absurd demand for Negroes elemental human and civil rights. To say No to their goal or to deny to them the exercise of their method is to misread the nature of the revolution and to repudiate the future.

IT IS ALSO a historical fact that the Tom Paines who make revolutions possible are seldom able to make the benefits of their revolutions permanent. And the ironic fact is that the very talents which make them superlative revolutionaries are the same ones which disqualify them for the building of new institutions on the ruins of the old. The true revolutionary has or soon develops an autocratic spirit. He insists that everyone adopt not only his ends but also his means. By demanding that others adopt his methods as well as his goals, that their zeal be as unruly as his own, he alienates the men who must put the pieces back together when the revolution ends. Moreover, the single-mindedness of the revolutionist, however well it may equip him for revolution, is not the stuff out of which communities are built. By fixing his whole being on one objective the revolutionary simplifies and sharpens the thrust of his own life. He does so, however, only by sacrificing other values which may be equal to his own but which his obsession precludes.

Life is relatively simple for the Negro and white Tom Paines who believe that racial justice is not only the most crucial issue in American society—as others would grant—but is indeed the only issue. Life is not so simple for those Americans—Negro and white—who view the racial struggle as the most important issue in a whole cluster of issues. To be at once committed to racial justice in all its ramifications and to peaceful protest against every kind of injustice and to an American community which offers more than mere peaceful coexistence between the races . . . —this is not easy, and the men and women who are so committed deserve better treatment than they sometimes receive from the Tom Paines who with them seek a common goal.

IT IS PURE bigotry to say, as some engaged in the racial struggle now do, that if one is not a Tom Paine in the racial battle he is necessarily an Uncle Tom. In addition to the tokenism, the gradualism, the groveling subservience of the white and Negro Uncle Toms on one end of the social spectrum and the white-hot rebellion of white and Negro Tom Paines on the other there are racial attitudes varying from depraved prejudice and ruthless discrimination to genuine commitment to a totally integrated society. Many Americans of both races who are not revolutionaries and who will not use revolutionary methods are nonetheless devoted to the Negro's cause—a devotion attested to by the fact that they sacrificed money, position, prestige and personal comfort to that cause long before it was respectable to do so. To reject such people as Uncle Toms because they will not support some particular technique in the racial protest, to let extremists set the pace and demand that everybody march to it or be humiliated, is to corrupt the revolution and postpone indefinitely the building of that new America which the revolution could make possible.

Who in the booing crowd has done as much as James Meredith to symbolize in personal courage and resolution the battle of a lone Negro against white politicians, white courts, white customs and white laws? Then why humiliate him and break his heart because he refuses to chant in approved terms what the crowd wants to hear? Who in the madding Harlem crowd has done as much as Martin Luther King, Jr., to lift the American Negro's hope for freedom and justice? Then why smear his car with stinking eggs because he . . . will not . . . resort to violence in the pursuit of justice? Bigotry remains bigotry however much it changes its color, and bigotry is particularly tempting to the absolutist, white or Negro.

The racial struggle needs Tom Paines who irritatingly stir and drive the people, fomenting and stimulating the necessary revolution, but it also needs Washingtons and Jeffersons who with sound judgment and the long view put a nation together. It needs Garrisons who stubbornly and everlastingly exasperate the people until they act for justice, but it also needs Lincolns who "with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right . . . bind up the nation's wounds." We need both . . . simultaneously.

Cambridge, Md.: A prayer demonstration on the courthouse lawn to protest segregation.

THIS MONTH

SEPTEMBER

Washington Exhibit

VISITORS to Washington, D.C., this fall are advised to drop in on the Klutznick Exhibit Hall at the B'nai B'rith Building (1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.). In observance of ADL's 50th anniversary, a special exhibit, "The Story of Human Rights in America," is on display. It contains, among other items, a collection of notable documents highlighting the development of the ideas of human rights, brotherhood, and equality. The bogus *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are there, as well as ADL's expose of the *Protocols* and Henry Ford's letter retracting the anti-Semitic charges in his *Dearborn Independent*. An impressive montage shows the wealth and variety of ADL's handsome library of popular and academic publications on human relations and intergroup relations.

This can be a worthwhile and informative visit.

ADL "Education for Democracy"

TV Spots

IN the face of widespread national demonstrations pressing for immediate equality of opportunity for Negroes, President Kennedy made a radio appeal, June 11, for a public country-wide discussion of the civil rights problem in the spirit of justice, conscience, and fair play. The ADL has responded by cooperating with the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches and the National Council of Catholic Men to sponsor a public service TV and radio spot announcement series on civil rights produced by Time-Life, Inc. Dore Schary, ADL national chairman, is featured as one of the speakers in the series. The spots are available free from Time-Life, Rockefeller Center, N.Y.C.

Legacy

SIX years ago, Boston industrialist Joseph Kaplan, long an ADL stalwart, set up a special fund in association with the Anti-Defamation League called the Joseph Kaplan Project in Intergroup Education. Its principal purpose: to found the One Nation Library of pamphlets devoted to human relations and designed for the secondary school level.

Author of one of the first pamphlets in the fine series was another Massachusetts man, winner of a Pulitzer Prize in biography and at that time the junior senator from his state: Title: "A Nation of Immigrants"—a thoughtful plea for the liberalization of this country's restrictive immigration law and for the elimination of the national origins quota system.

Kaplan

This month that junior senator, now the President of the United States, called on Congress to pass new legislation that would place the country's needs for skilled manpower above prejudice rationalized in false theories of racial superiority written into the present law. In his message to Congress President Kennedy quoted from his own work of five years ago. The President duly noted his authorship of "A Nation of Immigrants" and his long-term interest in the problem.

In its edition of August 4th the New York Times Magazine published an excerpt from the ADL pamphlet as an article by Mr. Kennedy. Publication of "A Nation of Immigrants" in book form is scheduled for this Fall by Harper and Row.

Joseph Kaplan who died more than a year ago would have been pleased by these fruits of his investment in human relations through the ADL . . .

Final note: President Kennedy asked Senator Philip M. Hart of Michigan to introduce the new immigration legislation in the Senate. The Senator had earlier introduced a reform bill of his own. His article describing it appeared in the June 1963 issue of the ADL Bulletin.

DO YOU CARE . . .

profoundly about human rights, not just for yourself but for your children and theirs?

. . . Do you care about the struggle in many arenas—the fight for better education and understanding among all Americans, the fight against anti-Semitism and the haters?

. . . If you care, find out how you can help — now and tomorrow. Write to:

ADL LEGACY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Benemerenti

BENEMERENTI means "well-deserving" in Latin. It is also the name of the medal that Myer N. Sobiloff of Fall River, Massachusetts, a member of the ADL New England regional board, has received—a legacy from the late Pope John XXXIII. The award was instituted by Pope Gregory VI as a means of recognizing distinguished service to the community. Mr. Sobiloff has contributed much of his time and money to the betterment and development of Fall River—and in particular, its industrial resurgence. Pictured below is Mr. Sobiloff receiving the papal award from Most Rev. James L. Connolly, Bishop of Fall River.

Program Notes

RACE and segregation are the subjects of three important ADL publications just published, the first two together with the Southern Regional Council.

Nine years after the Supreme Court decided that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional, 99.6 per cent of Negro students in eleven Southern states are still attending all-Negro schools. This is one of the melancholy statistics Professor J. Kenneth Morland of Randolph-Macon Women's College cites in "Token Desegregation and Beyond." He notes some 380 laws passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. As a consequence, less than one-half of one per cent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are now attending desegregated schools.

Professor Morland attributes this tokenism to "fear of integration." That the fear is unwarranted is evident from *Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study*, by Dr. Robert Coles. Dr. Coles' intensive study—the first of its kind—shows that white and Negro children in desegregated schools suffer "no medical or psychiatric damage," and "no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

Finally, four distinguished social scientists writing on *Race and Intelligence* explode the myth of racial factors as determining intelligence. Scientific evidence bears out the ADL thesis that, given the chance, Negro children will do as well as white children in desegregated schools. Professor Melvin Tumin of Princeton is the editor of this pamphlet.

The three pamphlets are available through the League.

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How They React
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The Hard Way
(Page 7)

FORECAST FOR '64: PARTLY CLOUDY

Judging by the recent past, anti-Semitism and the smear will again be used in political campaigns.

By Bruce L. Felknor

One year from now America will be in the midst of its quadrennial phenomenon, a major election year. In the October madness that will descend on the land, American voters will be asked to choose a President, the governors of most states, a third of the Senate and all the representatives in the 89th Congress.

In too many cases, voters also will be asked to defeat some men because they are Jews, and to defeat still others because they are (falsely) alleged to be anti-Semitic. And, if experience is a reliable guide, in some cases Jews will be urged to vote against other Jews because they are not *good* Jews.

In such a welter of irrelevancy, what can the responsible citizen, concerned both with the quality of government and the quality of the campaigns that elect government, do?

For the hard-of-hearing, one answer is relatively simple: turn down the volume on the hearing aid. For others, selective listening is essential. The operating rule adopted by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee for evaluating electioneering is two-pronged: truth and relevance. Often it takes a bit of research to discover the truth; common sense, with a few moments for reflection and analysis, usually can pin-point relevance.

In most Presidential years, the overtones of the national contest drown out purely local issues, both valid and false. Such was the case in 1960. The spurious issue of Kennedy's religion took much of the play away from many congressional and state campaigns otherwise likely to have been dirty classics.

However, in 1960 religion in the Presidential campaign did complicate some state races where Catholics were candidates. Analogous problems, unfortunately, may arise next year. But let us examine, in the order listed above, some of the stormier indications for 1964.

First, there is straight-out anti-Semitism. The potential Presidential candidacy of Barry Goldwater could rally the bigots as dramatically as the Kennedy candidacy did in 1960. Anti-Semites are undeterred by logic; they are prepared to hate on a basis of religion, ethnic background, name and even change of name; it is not necessary for their target even to be Jewish or partly Jewish, as witness some of the scurrility directed at Eisenhower early in 1952, suggesting that the General was a part of what the lunatics like to call the "Jew-Marxist conspiracy."

Senator Goldwater was raised as an Episcopalian but his grandfather was Jewish. This is more than enough for the anti-Semite.

A principal worry of the Kennedy forces immediately after the 1960 Democratic Convention was that Nixon would subtly raise the religious question over and over by saying, in effect, "The fact that Senator Kennedy is a Roman Catholic is not an issue between us," thus underlining the Senator's faith to anyone who did not know it. (Actually, Nixon handled the matter with great integrity; when the question was raised he would dismiss it curtly and simply, "Religion has no place in this campaign.") But this, of course, did not deter rabid anti-Catholics from a fantastic outpouring of hate.

A comparable spectre now hovers over Goldwater's backers. It is the fear that the Democrats (or simply political anti-Semites) will use every opportunity to feed prejudice by seeming to disclaim it

Familiar Road

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Mr. Felknor is executive director of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, a nonpartisan, citizens organization.

Nixon, Stratton, Levitt and Goldwater: All victimized by innuendo.

with expressions like, "It doesn't matter that Goldwater is a Jew."

Several such episodes have come to public attention already, one hinging on a success story related in one Congressman's newsletter. Comparing the immigrant careers of "Big Mike Goldwater," the Senator's grandfather, and of Patrick Kennedy, the President's grandfather, the letter suggested that "an itinerant Jewish merchant's grandson" could become a Presidential candidate only, in Harry Golden's phrase, in America.

The prospective Goldwater candidacy has ironic overtones, some funny, some not. Harry Golden is credited with having observed wryly that he might have known that the first Jew to become a Presidential hopeful would be an Episcopalian. To Senator Goldwater himself is attributed a story—probably apocryphal—about his being turned away by a restricted country club. "But I'm only half Jewish," he is supposed to have said. "Can I play nine holes?"

THE matter of Goldwater's Jewishness will of course be fanned by full-time anti-Semites before the GOP nomination is decided. Although San Francisco is not usually regarded as a habitat of the species, placard-bearing nuts will be parading around the Cow Palace next July, handing out crudely printed tracts and screeds in streets and hotel lobbies, and defacing banners and posters. Pre-convention maneuvering and primary campaigns are where some haters try hardest. For obvious reasons, the tactic is most common in local and Congressional primary and general elections.

It is virtually certain that 1964 will see some sly and some vicious attempts to attribute anti-Semitism falsely to men whose public and private lives have shown no trace of it. Former Vice President Nixon was dogged by such efforts, mostly stemming from a real estate deed with a restrictive covenant in its printed form, a clause Nixon knew to be without legal force and therefore meaningless. New York City's bitter mayoralty primary in 1961 produced an episode of reverse smearing in which an unauthorized supporter of one candidate, Arthur Levitt, apparently planted a leaflet supposedly issued by the Wagner forces calling for the election of Wagner to avoid being faced with a "choice between a Levitt and a Lefkowitz."

IN THE 1962 maneuvering in New York State for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination a classic example of unfounded accusation of anti-Semitism occurred. One contender for the designation was a Schenectady Congressman, Samuel Stratton. Anonymous anti-Stratton people resurrected a clipping from a college newspaper of twenty-six years ago in which Stratton, then an undergraduate at the University of Rochester, commented, at the school paper's request, on a trip to Germany. In the summer following his junior year, Stratton, then nineteen, had made a six-day bicycle and youth hostel jaunt through the Rhineland. He was generally impressed with the economic and material gains Germany had made in the early Hitler years.*

Midway in the article, after describing his first impressions, Stratton gave voice to misgivings. "Behind the gala show lie sinister forebodings, perhaps of war," he wrote. "What today may look so nice and shiny may some day become very ugly."

Near the end of the article, Stratton placed a paragraph that would come back to haunt him: "Anti-Semitism is one of the less attractive aspects of the administration. Violent persecution is rare; instead the feeling expresses itself in strong undercurrents of opinion among the people, which probably bring just as great pressure to bear. It would be foolish to attempt to justify such action. One can understand it, however, and can appreciate how it might spread to the extent it has."

THE AFFAIR did not cause any sort of flurry at the school. Stratton's piece appeared on October 2, 1936. A week later a German exchange student in an interview told the paper the facts about Germany were being distorted, and in passing sought to justify the practice of "repressing a minority."

The following week, October 16, a Jewish student at the University wrote a bitter letter refuting "the shining logic of Stratton, Soyez (the German student) & Co." Of fifteen paragraphs, he devoted fourteen to Soyez, saving one to demolish Stratton with a distorted quotation: "To Stratton 'anti-Semitism is less attractive . . . but one can understand and appreciate it.' Weasel words!" The critic thus implied that Stratton had expressed approbation and understanding of anti-Semitism, whereas in fact he had indicated neither justification nor approbation but did say one could understand the phenomenon and appreciate how it might spread in Germany.

So far as a careful perusal of the files of the paper for the balance of the school year reveals, the Jewish student's letter was the end of the controversy about Stratton's attitude—until twenty-six years

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* William L. Shirer notes in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* that oppression of Jews had been temporarily halted in this summer of 1936 and signs evidencing discrimination had been quietly removed from shopwindows in preparation for visitors to the summer Olympics.

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A View From Abroad:

THE LONG HOT SUMMER

A French family watches the March on Washington via Telstar

The European view of our racial problems was getting better. Then came the fateful Sunday...

By Morton Puner

—PARIS

THE PREDICTION made early in the season was for a long, hot summer in American race relations—the fight carried into the streets with, possibly, riots and violence. But, from abroad at least, it seemed that planning for a great and successful March on Washington at the end of August, gave an outlet for some of the steam—and anger—of the drive.

The subject of America's treatment of its Negroes crops up all the time in political discussions with Europeans. The discussions tell a lot about the ideas and values that separate nations. —"Wasn't the Affaire Meredith terribly embarrassing to you?" asked the Parisian, an old friend of the United States. "And how could American college students be so bigoted as to join in the demonstration to keep a Negro out of a university?"

—"You're a nation of hypocrites," said the Portuguese lawyer. "Kennedy with his anti-colonial policy trying to win support of the new African nations. Look how you treat your own Negroes. Portugal has been happily multi-racial for years—no prejudice here. Look how much we're doing for our African provinces now. But you have to understand that black men are simply not ready for self-government."

—"Don't talk about press censorship under Franco," said the newspaper editor in Madrid. "Look at the dangerous nonsense your southern newspaper editors have to write in support of states rights and segregation of the races. They can't believe what they're saying. But they don't dare say anything else."

—And the British political leader: "Oh, we've always been far more civilized than you in our treatment of the darker skinned people."

So it goes. The conversations veer to the edge of anger born of national self-interest and pride. And close to the spirit of one of the oldest of anti-Soviet jokes still current. An Intourist guide was showing an American visitor through the Moscow subway system. They went down into a station where the guide described the art all about them: so many paintings of Marx and Lenin, so many mosaics, so many marble steps. The American asked: "But where are the trains?" Without answering, the guide led him upstairs, to the next station, and the same description of art, mosaics, and marble. They visited five stations and each time the American asked: "But where are the trains?" The Russian guide finally turned on the American and snapped: "And what about the Negroes in the South?"

THE VOICE of America long ago decided how to answer that question. It talks to the world about the Negroes in the South—and North—with frankness and honesty. In sum, the position is that yes, the racial situation in the United States is unfortunate and a tragic heritage from the past; that the weight of federal authority and most Americans is on the side of equal opportunity; that much progress is being made, at an ever greater rate; that the things happening today, no matter how bad they seem, are themselves evidence of progress and the birth of real freedom—and there is no birth without pain.

It is a true story but a difficult one to make stick. How do you tell Europeans that America's racial problems are unique only in shape but not in essence; that it was Europeans—and Africans too—who engaged in the slave trade that contributed to America's racial attitudes today; that England had its Notting Hill Gate riots and countless other expressions of anti-Negro prejudice, particularly since the post-war influx of West Indians; that the Portuguese attitude on race is benighted by the standards of an American liberal; that no people or nation is beyond reproach and the need to scapegoat appears to be universal; that Americans are trying hard and the American Negro is about to come into his birthright—as a free American.

The magnitude and meaning of today's American social revolution appear to be dimly understood here by people who have their own notions about the United States. Fifteen years ago, when the American Negro had an infinitely more hopeless situation, there was little discussion abroad of America's civil rights problems. Yet it is today that one hears the equation between Hitler's treatment of Jews

Continued on page 8

HOW SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AFFECTS CHILDREN

A psychiatrist finds that Southern youngsters of both races, despite all tensions, are able to learn a variety of lessons well--without emotional injury.

By Robert Coles

"It was rough at times, but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little and we got to know them too."—Negro boy in desegregated school in Atlanta.

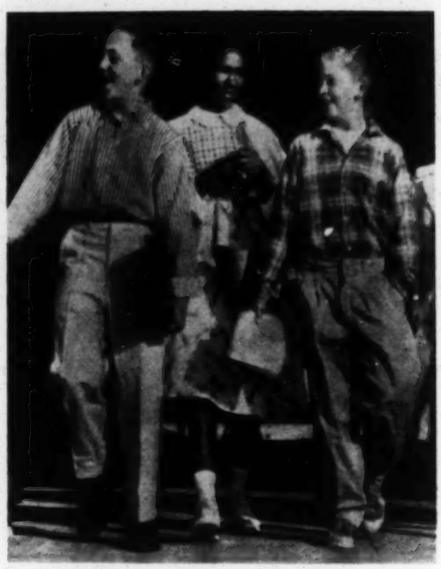
EVER SINCE the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954 that separate educational systems for white and Negro students were unconstitutional, the schools in the South, their teachers and students, exposed to the bright light of public opinion, have all been under tremendous psychological pressure.

How has this tension affected the feelings and attitudes of individual children and teachers? Have they been able to learn and teach effectively—or has the furor surrounding desegregation had damaging and permanent effects?

Our psychiatric study seeking to find answers to these questions took two years, from 1961 to 1963. It dealt primarily with six- and seven-year-old elementary school students in New Orleans, and adolescents of 16 and 17 in Atlanta. The major finding: *Young children of both races were able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse,* given initial good health and a functioning school system.

FOR the Negro children, attendance at white schools in the South was stressful but not incapacitating. The best proof: they were promoted and graduated. This, despite the fact that some of them, walking through angry crowds outside the school, encountered silent reproach or noisy jeers inside.

This is excerpted from *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study,* by Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta. The pamphlet is published by ADL and the Southern Regional Council (50¢).



Desegregation at work in elementary and secondary schools in the South.

What kept these Negro students going? In the first place, they and their families were highly motivated, determined and willing to endure pain for goals which were important to them. Then, they were honored and respected in their own community, and given considerable attention and support. Lastly, ostracism and epithets were not new to these children—entering a desegregated school was hard, but it offered them hopes and opportunities they had never had before. So they were less vulnerable to suffering than one might have expected.

The younger children, in New Orleans, played with white children, naturally, and with no hindrance from them. At the height of tension in that city, the few white children and the Negro children went through streets of abuse, but had no trouble with one another in the school itself. In Atlanta, there was less ease and spontaneity for the older, high school children—partly because of fear or hatred, and partly because of the awkward silence natural to all adolescents. But in high schools children are in class most of the time, and this restricted opportunities for embarrassment or worse.

LIKE the Negro children, the white children in the desegregated southern schools suffered no medical or psychiatric damage, no breakdown in ability to work, study, and get along with friends.

Even under the worst situations outside, the children in the schools managed well together. Those white children who remained in the desegregated Frantz school in New Orleans thoroughly en-

joyed the increased attention of their teachers, the excitement around them. They often urged their more timid or (justifiably) frightened parents to keep them in school. In 1961 one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz school told a little colored girl that she would not play with her because her mother had forbidden this—and then, a few minutes later, did just that.

What the white child sensed and felt depended on the particular Negro child in the room, the particular white child, and how he saw the particular Negro child, and, most important, on what actually happened in the room between the Negro child and his white classmates.

THE school in Atlanta is instructive on this score: Here, where social and economic conditions were poorest, with people worried about jobs, income, security of home and place in society, two Negro girls went through a year of continued silence, isolation, occasional insult of word and even deed. When one of them, Martha, was ready to graduate she felt that she had no friends at all, and could really talk to one, although all year she had reported that many of her classmates would talk to her furtively in cloak rooms or empty corridors. At the same time, white children reported Martha's difficult times, and their own fears of talking with her, despite their impulses of sympathy, curiosity, or friendliness.

On the last day of school, Martha was approached by over 15 classmates who asked her whether they might autograph her yearbook. She was afraid, as the first child asked, because she felt that the autograph might be a means of attack and insult rather than an expression of good will. But Martha offered her book, and several of the comments speak for themselves:

One girl wrote:

> Martha, I admire your great courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way.

A boy wrote:

> Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you had finished that little talk in English, in my eyes you were "nine feet tall."

"That little talk in English" . . . Martha had been badly heckled by a few students; the majority sat by, nervous and anxious. Sensing this, the English teacher simply asked Martha, suddenly, and with no advance notice, to tell the class how she felt about her several months' "stay" at the school. Martha did, in her quiet, plain and simple manner, and she was heard.

Continued on page 6

THIS MONTH

OCTOBER

Golden Anniversary

THE ADL Appeal launches the fall phase of its campaign for $3,940,000 this month with a Golden Anniversary Dinner honoring Sol Cantor. Mr. Cantor, who heads Interstate Department Stores, one of the nation's biggest and best-known chains, will be cited for "strengthening and expanding the American heritage of freedom." The dinner is set for October 23rd, at the New York Hilton Hotel. Joseph L. Eckhouse, dinner chairman, predicted "a heart-warming turnout of ADL's friends, supporters, and allies." Mr. Eckhouse is vice president and director of the Grand Union Company, and executive head of Grandway Department Stores.

Cantor

Good Response

THERE were angry outbursts when New York State's Regents' Prayer for public schools was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in the summer of 1962. The Regents' Prayer decision was attacked by some clergymen, newspapers, congressmen—all on the grounds that it represented some kind of threat to religion.

An ADL survey of reaction to the Court's latest decision prohibiting Bible reading and recital of the Lord's Prayer in the public schools indicates a heartening change in public response. The survey concluded that reactions were mostly calm, reasoned, and considerably more moderate in 1963. The biggest shift in the press took place in the Midwest, where almost three out of four newspapers polled supported the Court decision this year—last year's ruling was opposed two to one. And the Justice Department received only one-tenth as many letters of protest in 1963.

Among religious leaders, Catholics were less disturbed, more divided in their opposition to the Supreme Court's latest decision. Protestant leadership generally agreed with the Court, citing the National Council of Churches' statement that "teaching for religious commitment is a responsibility of the home and the community of faith (such as church or synagogue) rather than the public schools."

Jewish reaction to the new decision, as in 1962, was almost unanimously favorable. It was viewed as "a reaffirmation of the principle of separation of church and state."

Congressmen who reacted negatively were more restrained than in 1962. More than half of the nation's school districts were affected by the Bible reading and Lord's Prayer ban; most announced their decision to comply.

The ADL filed briefs amicus with the Supreme Court in both the 1963 and 1962 cases.

Sunday Opening

THE New York City Council this month passed a Fair Sabbath law, permitting small, family-operated businesses to remain open on Sunday if the proprietor observes another day as the Sabbath.

Passage of this law represents a victory for the position of the ADL and other human rights organizations. Sunday closing laws places Saturday Sabbath observers—including Orthodox Jews—at an economic disadvantage, since they must remain closed two days a week. The ADL has consistently argued that Sunday closing laws in force in many states thus violate the free exercise of religion clauses of the First Amendment.

The New York State legislature had this year passed an act enabling New York City alone to pass such an ordinance. The rest of the state remains bound by the New York State Sunday closing law—until the state legislature takes further action.

Janowska Road

THIS is a month of achievement for Leon Wells. His latest invention, an audio-visual record player that could put color film libraries into the average American home, will be introduced to the nation. That's his gift for the future. This month will also see publication of his record of the past, *The Janowska Road*—an autobiography of a teen-age Jewish boy under the Nazis. He was Leon Welickzer of Lvov, Poland, when the Germans came marching in. By the time he was twenty he had lived through internment in the Janowska concentration camp, assigned to its Death Brigade. Somehow he kept alive—to become one of the most impressive witnesses to testify at Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem. *The Janowska Road* is published by Macmillan.

Wells

Civil Rights Gains

DESPITE the tragedy of the current racial situation, 1963 has been a productive year for significant civil rights legislation on the part of individual states. A report prepared by ADL's Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes of the American Jewish Committee said that the adoption of extended fair housing laws in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York was the most important and far-reaching development in a series of actions taken in 1963 by states and municipalities in combatting discrimination in housing, public accommodations, employment and education.

Among other new legislation: California became the eleventh state to enact a fair housing law covering private housing. Maryland and South Dakota, and two cities, Louisville, Kentucky and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, enacted laws prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations. (Twenty-eight other states already have such laws.) And Michigan became the first state to adopt a constitutional provision establishing a permanent Civil Rights Commission.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Continued from page 5

ONE problem always facing a city's school officials is to select the age group of Negro students first to be introduced into the formerly all-white schools. Most educators would agree that from the viewpoint of teaching alone, it is obviously better to start with the first grades. At five, children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout. They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents, but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their "childhood." Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society.

In the earlier grades, moreover, there are less fixed disparities of educational achievement than in higher grades, even though capacities will vary from the first moment of the first grade of school.

By high school, children have learned not only the new facts of reading and writing, but hope or despair, effort or sloth. By 14 so very *much* has happened. In those last few years of school there is little time or inclination for easy reversals of long-standing patterns.

DO CHANGES occur in the attitudes of white and Negro children as they go to school together? As days became weeks and weeks months, we saw the changes taking place. A firmly segregationist boy cannot but notice the difference between two Negro classmates, their separate manner, minds, attire. A Negro girl no longer sees, as she put it, "just white," but many separate individuals.

Teachers will meet many new situations, requiring careful thought and not a little introspection. "How can I be fair to them all, the Negroes and whites both?" We have heard teacher after teacher in the South ask this question. Glib answers are fast spoken, but useless. There are no rules except those already known: that classrooms are for learning; that each child is an individual, but at school, is mainly a pupil (or hopefully, a student); and that what is important is that this role, this opportunity be guarded in order to flourish.

HERE is a brief moment in Atlanta: "I think I bend over backwards to be fair with the nigra students, and sometimes I think they're getting away with too much." We told this sensitive, earnest lady that what Negro students wanted and deserved was a fair chance, not a new form of protected separation. She realized that perhaps she felt guilty about their past, or even still felt anxious to keep them "separate" in her mind and behavior. A year later she remarked: "When I forgot about skin, or mostly did, and treated them as children who either knew their grammar or didn't, it became better. I remember the first time I raised my voice at the nigra girl. . . . I knew then I'd solved a lot of my problems in teaching with nigras in my class."

THOSE children whose feelings are exceptionally strong about desegregation are, really, a special and rather small group. Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or parent, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners.

Any observer of child behavior knows how flexible children can be, how much they can grow and learn, given even far from optimal conditions. If we in America, in the South, deny our own plasticity and sensitivity, our own responsive capacities, we remove ourselves from our very nature as human beings. This, in truth, is a form of segregation. It is not merely undesirable, but, in a country such as ours, deadly.

AMERICAN TINTYPE

Simon Wolf: Pioneer Fighter for Human Rights

THE YOUNG LAWYER was furious, hurt, indignant. It was December 1862; just the year before, he had tried to enlist in the Union Army and had been rejected because of poor eyesight. He moved to Washington, D. C., and set up an office there—as a loyal citizen, he wanted to practice where he could be of most help to the Federal government.

And now to have his co-religionists, the Jewish citizens of the United States, publicly and officially maligned in this way! Simon Wolf reread the newspaper story: Order No. 11, issued by an assistant adjutant general at the behest of Major General Ulysses S. Grant, expelled all Jews from his department in the Southwest.

Wolf understood the background of this order. The military authorities were generally much annoyed by the traders who, under government sanction, followed the army to buy up cotton. Grant thought they were all dishonest. They were "a curse to the army." But why had he singled out Jewish traders for expulsion?

The order was unjust, and Simon Wolf was not one to suffer injustice. He was only twenty-six, and a newcomer to Washington, but he went straight to President Lincoln. Shortly thereafter, in January 1863, at Lincoln's instructions, General Halleck, then chief general of the Union Army, had Order 11 rescinded.

THUS BEGAN the notable public career of the German-born Jew who was to become "the spokesman of the Jews in the United States." Simon Wolf was not vindictive; afterwards, he accepted and publicized Grant's explanation that he himself had not issued the order. Wolf, who knew Grant intimately, may well have influenced his declaration in 1868 of the classic American credo: "I have no prejudice against sect or race, but want each individual to be judged by his own merit."

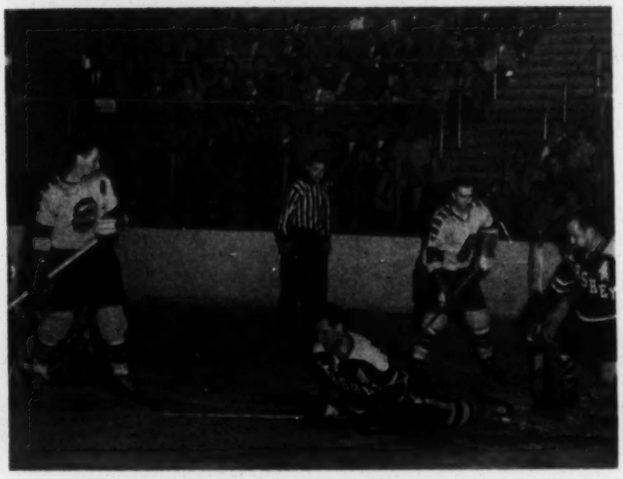
Wolf's career is closely linked with the early history of B'nai B'rith, celebrating its 120th anniversary this year. In 1870 Wolf took the lead in persuading Grant to appoint Benjamin F. Peixotto as U. S. consul to Bucharest, in an attempt to relieve the situation of the Jews of Rumania—they had been subjected to legal discrimination and mob violence for several years. Peixotto was a former grand master of B'nai B'rith; Wolf was B'nai B'rith's Washington representative. (He was to become B'nai B'rith's president in 1904-05.) This mission was unique in the history of American diplomacy. United States funds being unavailable, the consulate was supported chiefly by the B'nai B'rith, and Peixotto served without remuneration.

In 1871, at Simon Wolf's request, President Grant called a special cabinet meeting to consider a ukase expelling the Jews of Bessarabia. The U. S. Minister to St. Petersburg was instructed to protest. He did so, and the expulsion order was rescinded. In 1902 the note of John Hay, American secretary of state, denouncing Rumania for violating the Treaty of Berlin with respect to the Jews, was due, in part, to Wolf's efforts. So, too, were President Woodrow Wilson's plans for protecting the Jews of Rumania in the Treaty of Versailles.

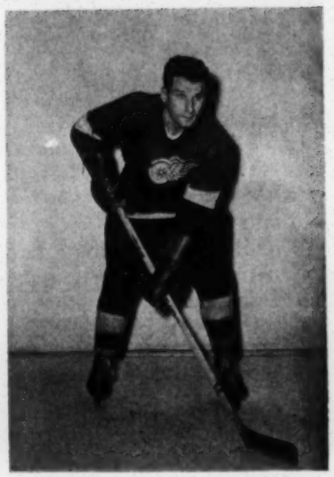
In fact, from 1870 to 1923, no subject arose affecting the interest of American Jews in which Simon Wolf was not active.

IN 1918 Simon Wolf published a fascinating autobiography, *Presidents I Have Known from 1860-1918*. In it he told a typical story about his appointment as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia in 1869 (he served until 1878). Wolf had at first been uncertain about accepting the post. But when he heard that some people were objecting to him simply because he was a Jew, he asked for the appointment, and received it. He was the first Jew to hold the important post of consul general in U. S. diplomatic service—he served in Egypt in that capacity in 1881.

Diplomat, counselor, B'nai B'rith leader for almost half of B'nai B'rith's 120 years, Simon Wolf always remained true to the American credo enunciated by President Grant: "I have no prejudice against sect or race, but want each individual to be judged by his own merit."



Zeidel hits the ice for the Hershey Bears.



"A GOOD TOUGH PLAYER"

Larry Zeidel, the only Jew in professional hockey, made it the hard way.

By Stan Fischler

Larry Zeidel unconsciously rubbed his finger along a scar sitting atop his eyebrow. He owns a scar for every one of the 20 years he marauded through organized hockey.

"When you're the only Jew in this bloody game," said the 35-year-old Montreal native, "you have to prove you can take the rough stuff more than the average player."

Since body contact is legal in hockey, opponents have been "running" at Zeidel with impunity since he first laced on a pair of skates. More often than not, Larry ran back at them with an abandon that left an indelible mark on his superstructure. Conservative estimates place his wounds (major variety) at a fractured skull, two concussions, torn ligaments in both knees, a nose broken about a dozen times, and a collection of miscellaneous wounds worth more than 300 stitches.

"Hockey is a game of survival of the fittest," explained Zeidel, who plays defense for the Hershey, Pa., Bears in the American Hockey League, second most important hockey league in the world. "Being a Jew I learned the ground rules for surviving earlier than most kids and it's helped me out ever since."

Larry, 5-11, 185 pounds, was raised in the rough Park Extension area of Montreal. The Zeidels were the only Jewish family in the neighborhood, a fact that literally was punched home to him at the age of five. "I got my first taste of anti-Semitism when I started school," he recalled. "The kids knew I was a Jew. They'd gang up on me. First it was one gang, then another."

Zeidel credits the neighborhood jungle for his reputation as one of the roughest skaters in the history of hockey. "A psychiatrist could have fun with me," he continued. "He'd say I got that tough on account of having to fight for my rights as a Jew. It makes sense when you think of it.

"I figured if I beat up the leader of the class gang I'd be in good shape. I kept doing this through public school and, pretty soon, I got a reputation and they left me alone. When I got into hockey I thought I'd use the same technique. I'd go for the bullies who'd try to run me outa the game and let them have it."

Zeidel's strategy worked in minor amateur hockey and proved successful when he turned pro with the Quebec Aces at the age of 20. By this time the fans had become as much a problem as opposition players. "In some of the towns like Valleyfield and Sherbrooke, the crowd would ride me," he said.

"What about the players?" he was asked.

"They might call me a 'Goddamn Jew' in a fit of anger," Zeidel explained.

Often, such taunts produced catastrophic results. During the 1952-53 season, while playing for Edmonton in the Western League, Zeidel and Jack Evans, an equally rugged defenseman for Saskatoon, clashed at center ice. Each broke his stick over the other's head; then they went on to engage in a bloody jousting exhibition that is regarded as one of the goriest in hockey history.

Zeidel's aggressiveness and ability—he has been one of the most proficient defensemen in pro hockey—won him contracts with the Detroit Red Wings and Chicago Black Hawks of the top-flight National Hockey League. After 92 games in the majors, he was sent to the minor pro leagues, where he has since excelled.

His career contrasts with that of Hymie Buller, another Jew who retired from hockey in the fifties at the prime of his career.

Buller was the antithesis of Zeidel. Slow to anger, Buller often did not counterattack when opponents molested him. Once this became general knowledge in hockey circles, more and more players attacked Buller, his efficiency decreased, and, many believe, his exit was prematurely accelerated. Zeidel considers that Buller failed because he didn't hit back.

"If Buller had belted those guys when they belted him, he'd have been a real star for years," Larry explained. "He had a lot of finesse, a lot of ability, but he always acted like a gentleman. You can't do that in this game. He shouldn't have taken all the rough stuff they gave him. I know I wouldn't have."

"What about the crowds needling you?"

"I don't hear them any more. I concentrate so much on the game I'm not conscious of what they yell in the stands. I look at it this way—anyone who shouts at me for being a Jew has got to be sick in the head. I figure he needs more help than I do. So, I don't pay any attention to them unless they do me bodily harm."

Usually, it's Zeidel who does the hurting. His aggressiveness led Hershey to

Continued on page 8

Mr. Fischler is a sports writer for the New York Journal-American.

FORECAST FOR '64

Continued from page 2

later. Then his 1962 campaign for the gubernatorial nomination found key sections of its support sagging as delegates from various parts of the state saw and heard about Stratton's sophomoric venture into international affairs.

Whether Stratton would have won the nomination but for the episode is at most debatable. But the implication that he was anti-Semitic and had been so since his youth hurt him badly. It should be noted that when Stratton was mayor of Schenectady, in 1958, he was named "Man of the Year" by the Jewish War Veterans, and was cited by B'nai B'rith for his successful efforts to hold a mayor's conference somewhere else than at the place scheduled—a discriminatory private club.

WHILE the more common campaign tactics involving anti-Semitism are efforts to rally an anti-Jewish vote, and to revolt men of good will by accusing a candidate of being anti-Semitic, occasionally there occur attempts to generate a "Jewish vote." Now and then a campaigner persuades the president of a congregation to write a letter of endorsement on synagogue stationery which is then reproduced in an effort to persuade voters that he is a better friend of the Jews than his opponent. This occurred in a New York assembly race in 1962 and, unless human nature undergoes a miraculous transformation, not for the last time.

Occasionally the biennial descent into the gutter still tempts some candidates, and their vastly more over-enthusiastic amateur supporters. Come October of even-numbered years, this results in spectacles which are at once ludicrous and depressing. In Long Island, last fall a Congressional candidate, himself Jewish, sought to dethrone his Jewish opponent, the incumbent Congressman. The hopeful bent every effort to cast his opponent in the role of a cynical opportunist who sought to use his religous affiliations to political advantage. One ill-advised supporter of the Congressman, while plastering posters on fences, store fronts and utility poles, stuck one on a Sukkoth booth for good measure.

The contender, who had already accused his opponent of suborning rabbis and congregation presidents to sing his praises as a devout Jew worthy of reelection, then began to berate him simultaneously as a desecrator of places of worship.

The incumbent won, the challenger lost. But, as is so often the case when dignity and common sense are forgotten until Election Day, the people lost something, too.

VIEW FROM ABROAD

Continued from page 3

and U. S. treatment of Negroes. Or hears a French intellectual—anti-Communist—tell an audience that "I wouldn't visit the United States because I couldn't stand to see the mistreatment of Negroes."

THE MARCH on Washington on August 28 was by far the biggest story of the week in the European press. Europeans also saw it on television via Telstar, saw the 200,000 people solemnly assembled, heard the speeches of Martin Luther King and others. The press treatment in various countries expressed some of the different concepts held by different nations—and some of the prejudices too. The West German press treated it soberly without much editorial comment—there is no point in Germans belaboring the United States for racism. Criticism of American racial problems has been muted in the Russian press in the last few months; treatment of the March on Washington was restrained too. The popular French press appeared to highlight the presence of such celebrities as Burt Lancaster, Charlton Heston, and Marlon Brando—missing a good part of the real drama of the March. And two of Great Britain's biggest circulation newspapers missed it completely in their headlines.

But still, on balance, the United States was ahead. The long hot summer was coming to an end and the biggest news in race relations had been the peaceful, mighty March on Washington.

Then came Sunday, September 15, and the shattering news of the killing of four Negro girls in a Birmingham church. The story spread as quickly as it had in the United States—only here there was neither the love nor understanding nor rationalization that Americans draw upon to explain themselves. The long hot summer had turned into complete disaster for the American image abroad. The combination—children murdered, on a Sunday morning, in church—made it an act of sheer savagery. This time there was no patience for sophisticated answer to the question: "What about the Negroes in the South?" Or to the angrier question, "You, American, what *are* you?"

GOOD PLAYER

Continued from page 7

playoff victories in the American League Calder Cup series with Baltimore last April. "Zeidel hit our stars so often they became timid," said Aldo Guidolin, coach of the Baltimore Clippers. "He was the guy responsible for putting us out of the series."

OUT of the arena Larry gives the impression of being the successful businessman. He regularly reads "Barrons" and the "Wall Street Journal," and works for a real estate firm in Harrisburg, Pa.

"My parents wanted me to go to college like my older brother, Sol," he says. "But I got so fascinated with hockey I couldn't see doing anything else. I guess my folks were disappointed at the time, but I've made the family proud of me with my hockey record."

His record is impressive. Larry was a member of the Stanley Cup (world) champion Detroit Red Wings and played on several championship teams in the Western and American Leagues, where he achieved All-Star recognition as well as the respect of players and coaches.

"In a sense Larry has had a tougher time than Jackie Robinson did when he broke into pro baseball," one well-known hockey expert explained.

"Robinson was the trail-blazer, but once he made it, hundreds of Negro ball players followed, and a Negro no longer is a curio in the sport. But Zeidel has been the only Jew in hockey for years. He has been a marked man with nobody else around to help him. He had to fight all by himself to establish a reputation and earn the respect of his friends and foes.

"With players clobbering him game after game, he had a much more difficult time than Robinson playing the relatively milder game of baseball."

But Larry proved himself so expertly he no longer bears the label of "the only Jew in hockey."

"They just know me as a pretty good tough player," Zeidel explained. "And that's the way it should be."

SUPPORT THE 1963 ADL APPEAL

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[See EFV notes verso]

WISCONSIN STATE AFL-CIO

SECOND BIENNIAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Wisconsin Hotel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Friday and Saturday, November 1-2, 1963

FRIDAY
Nov. 1

8:30-9:30 a.m. REGISTRATION - Mezzanine

GENERAL SESSION - Ballroom
Peter Zagrodnick, Chairman, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, presiding.

INVOCATION - Rev. G. Aubrey Young

WELCOME - Mr. George A. Haberman, President Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

GREETINGS - Hon. Henry W. Maier, Mayor of Milwaukee

GREETINGS - Hon. John W. Reynolds, Governor of Wisconsin

→ ADDRESS - Hon. Fred Harvey Harrington, President of the University of Wisconsin

INSTRUCTIONS - Mr. Peter Zagrodnick

12:00 LUNCHEON - Circus Room

→ GUEST SPEAKER - Mr. James Farmer, National Director of CORE

Output 175-190

FRIDAY
1:30-4:00 P.M. WORKSHOP SECTIONS

#1. STRENGTHENING WISCONSIN CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

MODERATOR: Mr. Ralph Koenig, Director of Citizenship and Education, Region X, UAW, Milwaukee

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

Mr. George W. Hall, Secretary-Treasurer, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

Assemblyman Michael Barron, Milwaukee

Rev. G. Aubrey Young, Director, Governor's Commission on Human Rights

Mr. Mathias F. Schimenz, Chairman, Industrial Commission

#2. HATE GROUPS

MODERATOR: Mr. Aaron Aronin, Field Director, Jewish Labor Committee, Chicago.

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

Mr. Richard Humphreys, Education and Research Director, Allied Industrial Workers of America

Mr. Emory F. Via, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin

Bill Abbott
~~Mr. Darrell Smith, Area COPE Director, AFL-CIO~~

Mr. Saul Sorrin, Executive Director, Milwaukee Jewish Council, Regional Office of Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith

#3. LOCAL UNION PROGRAMS

MODERATOR: Mr. Russell R. Lasley, Vice President, United Packinghouse, Food & Allied Workers, AFL-CIO

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

Mr. William H. Oliver, Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, UAW

Mr. Stanley J. Gregory, Administrative Assistant Region X, UAW

Mr. Harry Green, Sr., Business Agent, Loc. 65, Roofers

Mr. Francis C. Shane, Executive Secretary, Committee on Civil Rights, United Steelworkers of America

Mr. Milton Pyzik, Chairman Milwaukee County Labor Council Civil Rights Committee

#4. MINORITY GROUPS

MODERATOR: Mr. Hilton E. Hanna, Executive Assistant, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America

DISCUSSION LEADERS:

Mr. Tom Miglautsch, Member of Governor's Commission on Human Rights

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklin J. Kennedy

Mr. William F. Connolly, Bruce Publishing Co.

Mr. John W. Schmitt, Vice President, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

SATURDAY
NOV. 2

9:30-11:45 a.m. WORKSHOP REPORTS AND DISCUSSION - Ballroom

PANEL CHAIRMAN - Mr. Boris Shishkin, Director Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

12:15-1:45 p.m. LUNCHEON - Circus Room

CHAIRMAN: John W. Schmitt

GUEST SPEAKER: Hon. Myron L. Gordon, Justice State Supreme Court

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Radical Rt vs. Hate Groups —

Relation to Public Policy —

Success of Rad. Rt. related to C.P. Threat —

Unions
Elections (Berg.)
Coll. Barg.
Political Participation
Southern Organizing as
integrat to nat'l labor standards
& to

Soc. Sec.
N.L.R.B.
Trade Income Tax

Fed Aid to
Housing —
V.A.
F.H.A.

Resolutions: Acquire materials —
Watch dog Committee
Special Committee - state wide
Inform locals

Political Memo *from* COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 24-63 December 2, 1963

John F. Kennedy

A leader has been lost, and the competence of words withers before the searing tragedy of events.

Let it be said, simply: There has been a death, a tragic death, in the family of man.

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secy.-Treas.

JOHNSON URGES PASSAGE OF JFK PROGRAMS; EMPHASIZES CIVIL RIGHTS AND TAX SLASH

President Lyndon B. Johnson, addressing a joint session of Congress, has called on the Congress to **complete the work begun by the late President John F. Kennedy** and on Americans to **"put an end to the teaching and preaching of hate and evil and violence."**

The President emphasized the two major bills that his predecessor had urged in recent months, civil rights and a tax cut. He said: "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the **earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought.** We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights," Johnson said. "We have talked for 100 years or more . . . it is time now to write the next chapter—**and to write it in books of law."**

He called for passage of the bill to **"eliminate every trace of discrimination and oppression based upon race or color."**

Johnson asked, too, early approval of the tax bill, "a bill designed to increase our national income, our federal revenues, and our insurance against recession." He said the bill **"means more security for those now working and more jobs for those now without them."**

"This is no time for delay," President Johnson stated, and he urged "strong, forward-looking action" on aid to education "to help bring the light of learning to every home and hamlet in America"; youth employment, foreign aid, medical care for the elderly.

For his part, Johnson promised, **"This nation will keep its commitments from South Vietnam to West Berlin.** We will be unceasing in the search for peace; resourceful in our pursuit of areas of agreement even with those with whom we differ . . ."

He said he would continue this government's "unswerving support of the United Nations" and our "honorable and determined execution of our commitments to our allies." He vowed maintenance of military strength "second to none," expansion of foreign trade, continued programs of mutual assistance in Asia and Africa and continued support of the Alliance for Progress.

In the aftermath of President Kennedy's tragic death, President Johnson said, "The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and respect one another."

"Let us turn away," he urged, "from the fanatics of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream."

"Let us here highly resolve," he said in closing, **"that John Fitzgerald Kennedy did not live—or die—in vain."**

LEGACY

In his three years in office, the late President Kennedy created for millions of Americans a shining legacy of progress illuminated by his deep concern for the welfare and security of his fellow citizens and the people of the world. These are some of the monuments to his memory:

A **nuclear test ban,** a step back from the abyss of war and toward the goal of peace; a **manpower retraining program** to help the jobless learn new skills; **aid to depressed areas** to attack chronic unemployment; giant steps toward the achievement of **equal rights for all Americans; increased compensation for the unemployed;** increased **social security benefits** for the elderly; increased **minimum wage;** new programs in **mental health;** aid to **medical school construction** and **scholarship** help for doctors-to-be; the **Peace Corps;** the **Alliance for Progress; housing; equal pay for women.**

SILENT REBUKE TO EXTREMISTS

Words that were never uttered remain now as a silent rebuke to the extremists, far right and far left, who in recent years have poisoned the American political dialogue. The following paragraphs are excerpts from the speech President John F. Kennedy was to deliver in Dallas, Texas, but which was never made:

"In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of **learning and reason**—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible **will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions** to every world problem.

"There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Those voices are inevitable.

"But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching **doctrines wholly unrelated to reality,** wholly unsuited to the sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory and that peace is a sign of weakness.

"We cannot hope that everyone will 'talk sense to the American people.' **But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense."**

ROY REUTHER TO LEAD 1964 REGISTER-AND-VOTE DRIVE

Roy Reuther will direct the 1964 AFL-CIO register-and-vote campaign, President George Meany has announced. Reuther, who led similar drives in 1960 and 1962, is administrative assistant to the president of the United Auto Workers and heads the UAW citizenship department. He will be on leave of absence throughout the 1964 drive and will work within COPE.

In addition to mobilizing manpower, the drive will focus on **reform of state and local laws which limit registration.** These include poll taxes, discriminatory literacy tests, unreasonably limited hours for registration, unfair residency requirements. The campaign also will seek changes in permanent registration laws to prevent unnecessary dropping of voters from the poll lists.

WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secy.-Treas.

COPE AWARDS EARNED BY 64 UNIONS

COPE awards were presented at the AFL-CIO convention to **64 national unions** which met their full quota for the COPE voluntary dollar drive. Eighteen of the unions have a perfect record of meeting their quota eight years in a row, since the AFL-CIO merger. They are:

Asbestos Workers, Brewery Workers, Communications Workers, Elevator Constructors, Glass and Ceramic Workers, Glass Bottle Blowers, Flint Glass Workers, Lathers, National Maritime Union, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Photo Engravers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, American Radio Association, Rubber Workers, Theatrical Stage Employes, Stereotypers, Textile Workers Union of America, and the Typographical Union.

Other winners were: **Seven-year awards**—Horse Shoers, Papermakers and Paperworkers, Plasterers, Steelworkers. **Six-year**—Distillery Workers, Hatters, Plate Printers. **Five-year**—Auto Workers, Laundry and Dry Cleaning, Marine and Shipbuilding, Roofers, Tobacco Workers, Transport Workers. **Four-year**—Operating Engineers, Hosiery Workers, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store, Siderographers, Broadcast Employes and Technicians.

Three-year—Chemical Workers, Newspaper Guild, Packinghouse Workers, Sleeping Car Porters, Upholsterers. **Two-year**—Coopers, Furniture Workers, Window Glass Cutters, Insurance Workers, Mechanics Educational Society, Plumbers, Retail Clerks, Seafarers, United Shoe Workers, United Stone and Allied Products Workers, Street and Electric Railway Employes. **One-year**—Bricklayers, Brick and Clay Workers, Clothing Workers, Commercial Telegraphers, Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Jewelry Workers, Leather Workers, Marine Engineers, Sheet Metal Workers, Transport Service Employes, Utility Workers, Meat Cutters.

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL-CIO

political memo from COPE

GEORGE MEANY, *Chairman* WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer* AL BARKAN, *National Director*

NO. 2 — 64 JANUARY 27, 1964

GOP Sets Sights on Record Spending for '64 Campaign

The Republican Party is gearing up for its *biggest money-raising effort yet*. It plans to raise a record $12.1 million to finance its national headquarters activities for the 1964 elections. This is up $1 million from 1960 and exceeds by $2.1 million planned Democratic Party requirements.

According to a report in the Washington Star, GOP fund-raisers hope to collect $3.5 million from a 22-city closed-circuit TV $100 a plate dinner January 29 when the drive for dollars begins. Brief speeches by party leaders and contenders for the presidential nomination will be carried to diners. Speakers will be former President Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Sen. Barry Goldwater, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Gov. William Scranton, Gov. George Romney, Sen. Thruston Morton and GOP National Chairman Rep. William Miller. A similar affair is planned for July following the GOP nominating convention.

Another $1.7 million will be sought from $1,000 contributors, and $2.5 million is projected from $10 contributors. State and local dinners, direct mail and other fund-raising approaches are aimed at collecting the balance, to add up to $12.1 million.

Right Wing

Rightists Push Anti-Civil Rights Drive

Dixiecrats in Congress are bolstered in their fight against passage of civil rights legislation *by prominent right-wing leaders,* who have formed the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc., a lobbying organization. Its offices are right across from the Capitol.

Director of the committee is John J. Synon, former assistant director of *Americans for Constitutional Action* and a regular participant in political action conferences conducted by the rightist *Human Events.*

Secretary-treasurer is John Satterfield of Mississippi, segregationist leader, former president of the American Bar Association. He was once president of the *Circuit Riders,* which among other things, publishes lists of clergymen of all faiths, and of educators and editors it suspects of being subversive—*a blacklist.* Circuit Riders also has advertised in the John Birch Society magazine, "American Opinion."

President of the committee is William Loeb, publisher of the reactionary Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader, a major supporter of Sen. Joe McCarthy in the latter's hey-day. Loeb was on the national policy committee of the extremist *For America,* a member of the *Congress of Freedom* and an advisory board member of *Young Americans for Freedom.*

Of the $22,000 reported spent by the group in one quarter of 1963, $20,000 was provided by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, which operates on public funds. In other words, Mississippi taxpayers' money—Negro taxpayers as well as white—is being used to underwrite the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms.

Medical Care, Anyone?

Since the third quarter of 1962, daily service charge in hospitals has *soared 6.6 percent* and the cost of hospital insurance by three percent, according to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Overall medical care prices have hit a record high of 117.2 (1957-1959 is base period of 100 percent), and hospital costs alone are 139.6, up nearly 40 percent from the base period. These orbiting costs hit hardest America's millions of elderly, but the American Medical Association continues to insist there's no need for President Johnson's proposed health care program under social security.

Public Backs LBJ Goals

Swift congressional action on a tax cut, civil rights and health care for the elderly, sought by President Johnson, has *widespread public support.* According to the Gallup Poll, these three issues top the list of "musts" among Americans. Aid to education and an attack on the unemployment problem also rate high on the list.

HEAR, HEAR!

Columnist Bill Gold, discussing super-patriot demagogues in the Washington Post: *"The need in these times is for big men, not big mouths."*

The Strange Case of AMPAC's Slipped Disc

The picture (below right) is a reproduction of a flyer printed by the American Medical Political Action Committee, political arm of the American Medical Association. The flyer has been distributed to some 2,600 persons, mostly doctors, throughout the nation, accompanied by a record which purports to be an actual recording of a meeting of Allegheny County (Pa.) COPE. AMPAC claims the voice on the record is that of Paul Normile, Director of District 16, United Steelworkers. **The record portrays Normile using threats and coercion to collect COPE dollars. Normile says the record is a fraud.** He has sued the AMA, which has assumed responsibility for AMPAC, for libel and invasion of privacy. The case is now being tried in U.S. District Court in Washington. Normile is prepared to prove "beyond reasonable doubt" that the voice on the record isn't his, with supporting evidence by an expert on linguistics.

Originally, AMA President Edward Annis insisted he knew the record was authentic and claimed he welcomed the suit. Later, however, he said his statement had been based on the belief the AMA "and the people with whom they work . . . would never do anything like this."

Subsequently, **AMPAC ordered all its state chairmen to stop distributing the record,** to recall any that had been distributed and to have circulation and playing of the record stopped.

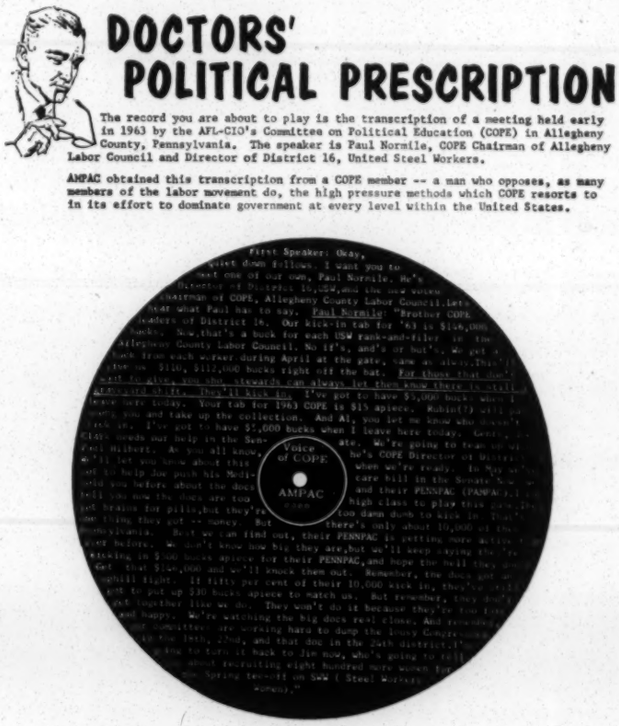
The record originated in cloak-and-dagger circumstances in Pennsylvania. Walter Hughes, executive director of the state AMPAC affiliate, says in early 1962 a man he knew only as "Irv" presented himself as a disgruntled union member who would provide material for doctors in their fight against health care for the elderly under social security.

More than a year later, in March, 1963, "Irv" advised Hughes he had the material, and said Hughes would be contacted by a third party. The third party turned out to be a man who called himself "Cousin." He told Hughes of a tape recording he would sell for $20. Hughes bought it, and it was this tape that became the record AMPAC distributed. **Hughes admitted he could not authenticate the tape, but AMPAC officials went ahead and reproduced it anyway and began distribution.** About half of the 5,200 records AMPAC had pressed were sent out before Normile's suit was entered.

AFL-CIO President George Meany has labelled the AMPAC record **"an absolute fraud"** and Steelworkers President David McDonald called it "an electronic fabrication." McDonald pointed out the voice on the record, its inflections and choice of words **were not Normile's.** He cited other discrepancies in the record: The speaker on the record addresses those attending the meeting as "COPE leaders," **yet there are no COPE leaders in USW,** since the union has retained the title "Polictical Action Committee" (PAC) for the organization that seeks voluntary political contributions within the union.

Another example McDonald cited is the record's use of the term "shop steward," **a phrase not used in the Steelworkers Union,** which has "grievance committeemen" instead. Also, the speaker on the record refers to 146,000 USW members in Allegheny County. **The actual number is about 90,000.**

Stern criticism of the AMPAC record has come from Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), who said: "If this most powerful and best-financed lobby in the country . . . is resorting to such tactics, **I think that Congress has an obligation to investigate."** He charged "obvious disparities between the record and fact" show the record **"is a badly done forgery."**



DOCTORS' POLITICAL PRESCRIPTION

The record you are about to play is the transcription of a meeting held early in 1963 by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The speaker is Paul Normile, COPE Chairman of Allegheny Labor Council and Director of District 16, United Steel Workers.

AMPAC obtained this transcription from a COPE member -- a man who opposes, as many members of the labor movement do, the high pressure methods which COPE resorts to in its effort to dominate government at every level within the United States.

Voice of COPE

AMPAC

Having heard the record we think you'll agree that membership in AMPAC and your own state's medical political action committee is essential to the maintenance of freely practiced medicine under a system of constitutional government.

Sincerely,
DONALD E. WOOD, M.D. Chairman
Board of Directors, AMPAC

COPE Memo 1/27/64

Insurance Heads Back Health Care

Two private insurance company executives have testified that health care for the elderly under social security, rather than harm the insurance business, *would actually help it.* At House Ways and Means Committee hearings, Frank Blackford of Miami, former life insurance company president, testified the social security approach to health care "provides an answer with which the insurance industry not only can live, but at the same time would enable it to do *an even better job.*"

Murray Lincoln, president of Nationwide Insurance, told the committee the proposed health care bill would give private insurance companies a better chance to "offer attractive supplementary plans." He said: "I am concerned about the poor, but I am also concerned about the responsible middle-class citizen who has a haunting fear that an **expensive illness will wipe out a lifetime accumulation of savings,** threaten the ownership of a home or make him submit to the humiliation of a means test."

Nixon Grabs Strong Lead In GOP, Harris Poll Finds

Richard Nixon, defeated for the presidency in 1960 and for governor of California in 1962, *holds a commanding lead* over other potential Republican presidential nominees, the Louis Harris poll contends. On the basis of a poll of the GOP rank and file, Harris says Nixon is the first choice of 43 percent. Sen. Barry Goldwater ranked second with 23 percent and New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller third with 22 percent.

Birchers Spend $2 Million A Year

The rightist John Birch Society spent $2 million last year peddling its line of discord and suspicion. JBS fuhrer Robert Welch revealed most of the expense was for printed material pouring out of the society's Belmont, Mass., headquarters. Latest JBS promotion: Stickers to be glued on envelopes, saying "Communism Killed Kennedy."

A Question of Morals

U.S. Chamber of Commerce president Edward Neilan made headlines recently, charging federal loans to areas hard hit by long-term unemployment are "immoral subsidies." Yet, reveals Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Texas), Neilan's Delaware bank enjoys what amounts to a *federal subsidy of $590,000.* This comes from $17 million deposited in the bank by the federal government, money on which the bank need pay no interest.

Patman points out, unlike the federal money deposited in Neilan's bank, area redevelopment loans, which help create jobs for the unemployed, are not interest-free but *must be repaid with full interest* to the Treasury.

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LBJ Lays Facts on Line in Frontal Attack on Poverty

President Johnson and his Council of Economic Advisers have laid on the line the facts about poverty in the United States and have called for a coordinated *"frontal assault"* by federal, state, local and private forces to eliminate its roots and consequences. In his economic report to the Congress, the President said America's high standard of living is a *"hollow achievement"* to the one-fifth of our citizens who live "without hope" in poverty. He said 35 million Americans exist on per capita income of only $590, compared with the national average of $1,900.

Backing up the President's demands for a war on poverty, the Council of Economic Advisers urged a change in the entire national attitude toward the problem. "We must *open our eyes and minds* to the poverty in our midst," it said. The poor "inhabit a world scarcely recognizable, and rarely recognized, by the majority of their fellow Americans . . . isolated from the mainstream of American life . . . a world where Americans are literally concerned with *day-to-day survival*—a roof over their heads, where the next meal is coming from."

The Council report continued, "It is a world where a minor illness becomes a major tragedy, where pride and privacy must be sacrificed to get help, where honesty can become a luxury and ambition a myth.

"Worst of all, the poverty of the fathers is visited upon the children." In line with this, much of the President's attack on poverty centers on education.

Statistically, the Council reported 47 percent of the poor live in the South, 25 percent in the North Central region, 17 percent in the Northeast and 11 percent in the West. In addition, it pointed out:

- Nearly one-half of all non-white Americans live in poverty.
- More than 40 percent of all farm families are poor.
- More than 11 million children are raised in poverty.

Three Locals Win '64 Cope Honor Awards

Three local unions already have won COPE 1964 honor awards for contributing one dollar per member to the COPE voluntary dollar drive. They are OCAW Local 5-243, St. Louis; CWA Local 4372, Portsmouth, Ohio (this is the third year in a row Local 4372 has been first in CWA to reach 100 percent); OCAW Local 2-653, Riverton, Wyo.

Forty-four locals have reached the 100 percent mark for 1963: **Ala.**—Brewton, Pulp, Sulphite 941. **Calif.**—San Leandro, Chemical 733; So. San Francisco, Packinghouse 263. **Colo.**—Leadville, Fire Fighters 869; Longmont, Printing Pressmen 614. **Conn.**—New Haven, Brewery 37. **Wash., D. C.**—Street & Electric 689-A. **Fla.**—Jacksonville, Papermakers 636; Nichols, Chemical 36; St. Petersburg, Stereotypers 171. **Ga.**—East Point, Chemical 367; Griffin, CWA 3215; Valdosta, Packinghouse 429. **Ill.**—Chicago, Chemical 671; Taylorville, Allied Wrkrs. 898. **Ind.**—Jeffersonville, Chemical 728; Muncie, Papermakers 1044; South Bend, CWA 5802. **Ka.**—Kansas City, Packinghouse 36. **La.**—Mathews, Packinghouse 1420. **Mass.**—Fitchburg, Upholsterers 322; Housatonic, Papermakers 584; Worcester, Elevator Constructors 47. **Mich.**—Hazel Park, Horseshoers 19; Marshall, Papermakers 1022; Muskegon, Papermakers 813; Papermakers 1020; Plymouth, Papermakers 1001. **Minn.**—Brainerd, Papermakers 164; St. Paul, Brewery 97. **Miss.**—Vicksburg, CWA 3518. **N.J.**—Atlantic City, IATSE 310; IATSE 77; Newark, Packinghouse 747. **N.Y.**—Mineola, Packinghouse 456; Rochester, IATSE 25. **N.C.**—Winston-Salem, IATSE 635. **Ohio**—Springfield, CWA 4326. **Okla.**—Tulsa, Packinghouse 637. **Pa.**—Butler, IATSE 342; Devon, Papermakers 333; Philadelphia, IATSE 752. **Tex.**—Houston, Insurance Wrkrs. 24. **Va.**—Norfolk, Street & Electric 1177.

Two locals recently hit 100 per cent for 1962; **Minn.**—Winona, Packinghouse 305. **Va.**—Norfolk, Street & Electric 1177.

EDUCATION—Key to attack on poverty

GROUP RESEARCH REPORT

Vol. 3, No. 5 March 16, 1964

Opponents of Urban Renewal get together

A protest meeting at Rockford, Ill., against the urban renewal program of the federal government has flung into the national press an issue which has been worked for several years by the organized right wing. Reporters discovered a few days before the meeting—held March 6, under auspices of the Rockford Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers Association—that letters of invitation included signatures of three leaders of the John Birch Society—T. Coleman Andrews, Wm. J. Grede, and Robert Love.

The press was also stimulated by the fact that the idea for the meeting ostensibly came from a group of nine members of Congress. In spite of public disclosure—or because of it—eight of the Congressmen attended and delivered prepared speeches in a well-coordinated attack on urban renewal and general encroachment by the federal government. They were: John Dowdy (D-Tex.), Bruce Alger (R-Tex.), John Kyl (R-Iowa), George Huddleston, Jr. (D-Ala.), John Anderson (R-Ill.), William Widnall (R-N.J.), Frank T. Bow (R-Ohio), and Thomas Curtis (R-Mo.).

Some of these are very powerful where urban renewal is involved. Only a few weeks earlier Congressman Dowdy, who is Chairman of a Subcommittee investigating urban renewal, had an article in the *Reader's Digest* entitled "The Mounting Scandal of Urban Renewal," which friends of UR alleged was ghost-written for him by S. Howard Evans, the urban renewal specialist at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Both Evans and Dowdy have denied any ghost-writing, but at least one of the Congressmen who went to Rockford (Curtis) told the Washington *Post* that his introduction to the meeting was through Evans.

A sidelight of the Rockford meeting was a speech by William G. Barr, Executive Secretary of the Washington-based National Parking Association and candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress from an Illinois district. In the audience was one of his group's members, D. F. Antonelli, Jr., described by the *Post* as "a dominant landholder" in a District of Columbia project before it was set up for urban renewal. Dowdy noted Antonelli's presence as he told a "horror story" about the project.

Among the midwest businessmen who signed the call for the meeting along with the three Birch leaders were several who have contributed to right-wing activities. For example, John Burkhart, President of the College Life Insurance Co. of Indianapolis, contributed $100 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; was president of the

Foundation for Voluntary Welfare, a subsidiary of the William Volker Fund which supports conservative academic projects; was a sponsor of Fred Schwarz's School of Anti-Communism at Indianapolis last fall; and contributed $100 to the Americans for Constitutional Action. Another participant, James Rogers, has been an instructor at The Freedom School, the ultra-right training ground near Colorado Springs.

Urban Renewal is an old target

Like other objects of extremist attack, such as the Supreme Court or the United Nations, urban renewal can also be criticized legitimately from all political directions. For instance, the use of the power of eminent domain to clear poor people out of slums is an exposed nerve which can be rubbed by social workers, property owners, dispossessed minorities, city planners, politicians and many others. The right-wingers have been rubbing it for several years, chiefly in the form of resistance against Federal encroachment. Here are some of the hard-core opponents of UR:

—*Human Events,* which published an attractive 16-page special supplement last April called "The Case Against Urban Renewal." Titles of articles included "Corruption Unlimited" and "Bulldozers and Boondoggles" (by Congressman Alger). In addition, the newspaper has almost made anti-UR articles a regular feature.

—Dan Smoot has devoted several entire issues of his *Report* to the subject, using titles such as "Urban Renewal and A Soviet America."

—The John Birch Society, which printed an article by Prof. Revilo P. Oliver last fall that included this statement: "Every observer of criminal activities must admire the neatness with which urban renewal simultaneously accomplishes its four objectives. . . . "

—Daughters of the American Revolution, which has distributed anti-UR material, some of it reprinted from Willis E. Stone, the chief advocate of repealing the Federal income tax through the "Liberty Amendment."

—Kent and Phoebe Courtney, publishers of *The Independent American* and numerous pamphlets, one of which says of UR: "Significantly, the abolition of the right to own private property is one of the goals set forth in the Communist Manifesto."

—We, The People!, which devoted part of a program last year to attacks on UR, one by Dr. Hugh Ramsey, who is active in numerous far-right groups and is a Birch endorser.

—The Congress of Freedom, a Nebraska-based group on the far-right who were among the earliest critics of urban renewal.

—H. L. Hunt's Life Line, which has devoted several broadcasts to UR.

—The Foundation for Economic Education, a conservative organization which publishes *The Freeman,* from which *Reader's Digest* reprinted an article in 1961 entitled "The Fallacy of Urban Renewal."

News of organizations

Young Americans for Freedom, the pro-Goldwater group, has started publishing *Report on the Left,* a newsletter by William Schulz, who has been an officer of YAF, member of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, reporter for *Human Events,* and aide to commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Dr. Fred Schwarz's **Christian Anti-Communism Crusade** is featuring a tape recording of Lee Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, made during Oswald's debate in New Orleans with Castro opponents. And Billy James Hargis, head of **Christian Crusade,** is touring with Carolos Bringuier, who debated Oswald.

The 20th Century Reformation Hour, run by Rev. Carl McIntire, is mailing pleas signed by his son, Carl Thomas, to pressure Congress into over-riding the Supreme Court's prayer decisions. The son signs for International Christian Youth and says contributions are tax deductible.

The **National States Rights Party,** meeting at Louisville, nominated arch-segregationist John Kasper as its Presidential candidate but politely ejected George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, because "he calls his group a national socialist party" and "anybody who is a socialist is also a leftist."

Thurman J. McCormick, Executive Director of the **Association for Freedom of Choice,** which led a drive in Kansas City, Mo., to force a public accommodations ordinance to a vote, admits he is a member of the John Birch Society. He says such proposals come from the Communists.

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists is the latest group to join the "Hall of Free Enterprise" building project at the New York World Fair, started by the **American Economic Foundation.** ISI continues to attract speakers from the right wing of the academic world to its numerous campus seminars.

Human Events, which has officially remained aloof from the Birch argument, is getting more ads from companies run by Birch leaders. Recent examples: Grede Foundries (William Grede), Rock Island Oil & Refining Co. (Fred C. Koch) and Spindale Mills (A. G. Heinsohn). The weekly is also featuring appeals for funds headed by a committee which includes many Birch stalwarts.

The **Black Muslims** have been split by the announcement of Malcolm X, a top leader of the Negro group, that he is forming a black nationalist organization aimed toward more political action and protest.

Manion Forum, Inc., which had failed for 8 years to file annual reports required by Indiana law (p. 81, 1963), has complied with the order to do so—at least to some extent. Reports have now been furnished for the years 1956-59. However, it is contended that since 1959 the radio program-newsletter have been operated through the Manion Forum Trust, instead of the corporate entity, and that the Trust is not required to file reports. The

reports filed showed a steady growth in budget from $150,000 in 1956 to over $385,000 in 1959. While official figures for more recent years are not available, an article a year ago in *The Progressive* said the Forum's expenses "cannot run less than $600,000 a year by the most conservative estimate."

Eisenhower comments on Birch charges

General Eisenhower's attitude toward the pro-Birch activity of his former Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, has come to light in the form of a letter to Congressman Ralph Harding (D-Idaho), who criticized Benson late last year.

In the letter, published without permission, Eisenhower expressed gratitude for Harding's speech and said: "Your honest and unselfish effort to set the record straight is something that warms my heart." Harding had reproached Benson, a fellow Mormon, for refusing "to defend that courageous President" who had "defended him through 8 stormy years."

POLITICAL NOTES: Americans for Constitutional Action has published a special 20-page supplement to its "ACA-Index" asserting that President Lyndon Johnson "compiled one of the most 'liberal' voting records in the Congress during his last six-year term as a United States Senator." . . . The advertising firm selected by the Goldwater for President Committee—Fuller & Smith & Ross—was previously a volunteer agency for Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge . . . when Joseph Martin, Jr., resigned as Republican National Committeeman for California to work for Rockefeller, he said he had a desire to prevent the GOP in that state from "becoming a mere branch of the John Birch Society" . . . retired Navy Captain William R. Anderson, who resigned as Vice President of Freedoms Foundation to help set up a "domestic peace corps," is running for Congress in Tennessee . . . Congressional candidates from Maryland include two right-wingers, John H. Hiser and Brent Bozell. . . . Donald Jackson, former member of the House Un-American Activities Committee and now head of the Anti-Communist Voters League, is running in the GOP primary for Senator from California.

Group Research Report is published semi-monthly by Group Research, Inc., Room 422 1404 New York Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Labor Fights The Enemies of Democracy

"Now, in regard to these extremists . . . They have justified their existence by the existence of the other fellow . . . The John Birchers try to justify their existence by pointing to the Communists; the Communists point to the John Birchers and the other right-wing groups in order to justify their own existence. They have a similarity of operation. They use smear and slander tactics . . . Organized labor, as represented by the AFL-CIO, rejects with equal fervor the John Birchers and the Communists as being equally repulsive to democracy and the ideals of democracy."

George Meany, *President*, AFL-CIO

The Enemies of Democracy

"Freedom and democracy are not mere words. The very strength of their meaning compels them to be living symbols against which the forces of tyranny must dedicate their every thought and action.

"Because of the overriding interest held by members of the American labor movement in the preservation of our free society and our democratic institutions, these few words are put down. They indicate not merely the policy of the AFL-CIO but also the direction of our attack upon those who seek to destroy us as a nation, as citizens, and as free trade unionists."

—George Meany

American Labor Fights for Freedom Against All Enemies of Democracy

Extract from an Address by President George Meany to the Conference on Extremism, Los Angeles, April 19, 1963

We are living in an age of phenomenal progress in science and technology. There has been a profound transformation in world power relationships. Recent years have seen a great awakening of many peoples and their achievement of national independence. Everywhere, we witness a growing determination on the part of great masses of people to share in the material and cultural benefits made possible by modern science. These revolutionary developments must be viewed in the light of the epochal conflict between freedom and dictatorship. The outcome of this conflict will decide whether these profound changes will advance, retard, or possibly destroy human freedom and well-being.

In this crucial era, American trade unions are active in the promotion of responsible citizenship. We are not mere onlookers. We are not neutral—either at home or abroad—in the struggle between the forces of progress and the ranks of reaction. Labor has a greater stake in the preservation and promotion of freedom than any other section of our national community. Without democracy, there can be no free trade unions; without free trade unions, democracy cannot last long. The Fascist, Nazi, Communist and Falangist—totalitarian regimes—have taught us that where free trade unions are outlawed and destroyed, there freedom is extinguished not only for the working people but for entire nations.

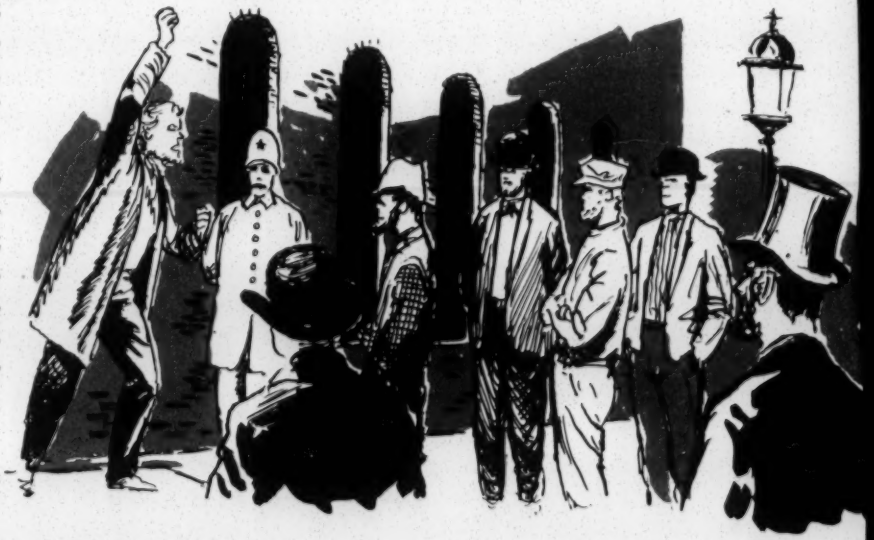
From its earliest days, organized labor in our country realized what was at stake *for all the people,* not only for the workers, in the struggle

between democracy and despotism. The first resolution on foreign affairs adopted by the A. F. of L. Convention in 1896, championed national independence and democracy for Cuba and the Cuban people. A half century ago American labor protested against our government entering into an extradition treaty with Czarist Russia. Samuel Gompers considered the proposed treaty an insult to our country, because as a freedom-loving nation we could never *trust the honor and good faith* of a despotic regime which persecuted people for their religious beliefs and political ideals.

The ranks of organized labor grew through vigorous battle for greater democracy and better conditions at home. Thus strengthened, our interest and participation in the struggles between democracy and despotism abroad grew. The humanitarian character of our movement and the multinational origin of the American people and our early organizations provided fertile soil for this interest and activity.

Experience over the years has taught us certain valuable lessons.

We have learned that our country must have a progressive social and healthy economic fabric at home in order to overcome the domestic and foreign enemies of our democratic way of life. American democracy can never be fully secure at home,



nor can it defeat the totalitarian enemy from without, as long as race discrimination, massive unemployment, and poverty plague millions of our citizens and weaken the foundations of our free way of life.

We have learned that dictators on the Right (Fascists, Nazis, Falangists) and the dictators on the so-called Left (Communists of every fashion or faction) make the trade unions their *first* target for domination and destruction.

We have learned also, without question, the utter futility of trying to appease any dictator.

We have learned that as citizens and as workers we must play a vital role in helping our country develop an effective democratic foreign policy for advancing freedom, human well-being.

We have learned that in our shrinking modern world we must work energetically to help build an international free trade union movement embracing the workers of every race and region. Only through such a labor movement can we protect and promote decent labor standards and human rights in Africa and Asia and Latin America, as well as in Europe and North America.

It is the rise of Hitler which greatly accelerated and expanded American labor's participation in international trade union relations and world affairs. The 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor, held the year Hitler came into power, scathingly denounced the Nazis for their barbarous persecution of the Jewish population. We denounced with equal force Hitler's destruction of the trade unions and other democratic institutions in Germany. We lost no time in rallying moral, political and material support not only for the trade unionists but also for all other victims of the Nazi and Fascist terror regimes.

We worked tirelessly for an Allied victory over the Axis powers in World War II. We are proud beyond words of our contribution to this victory. But, throughout the war years, American labor never lost sight of the fact that the Soviet regime, momentarily allied with the democracies, was

totalitarian and hostile to individual dignity and human freedom. We realized that the post-war years would be stormy and trying. The 1944 A. F. of L. Convention resolution, providing for the establishment of the Free Trade Union Committee, stated in part: "The coming years will be grave and solemn. At this critical period in the world's history—now that we are on the verge of a victory of arms—we must also fight with determination for a victory of ideas. Free trade unions by their very nature are the implacable enemies of dictatorship and injustice."

After the war ended, Moscow sought to exploit, for its own sinister ends, the vast goodwill it had gained during the war as a reluctant ally of the western democracies. It launched a major offensive to capture control of the trade unions and use them to prevent or paralyze the economic reconstruction and the political consolidation of the European democracies. The Soviet rulers set up the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in order to further their overriding aim of world conquest and communist transformation.

Today, the free world recognizes the tremendous service rendered to democracy by the A. F. of L. when it refused to associate with the W.F.T.U. and succeeded in exposing and breaking up this fifth column of the Communists.

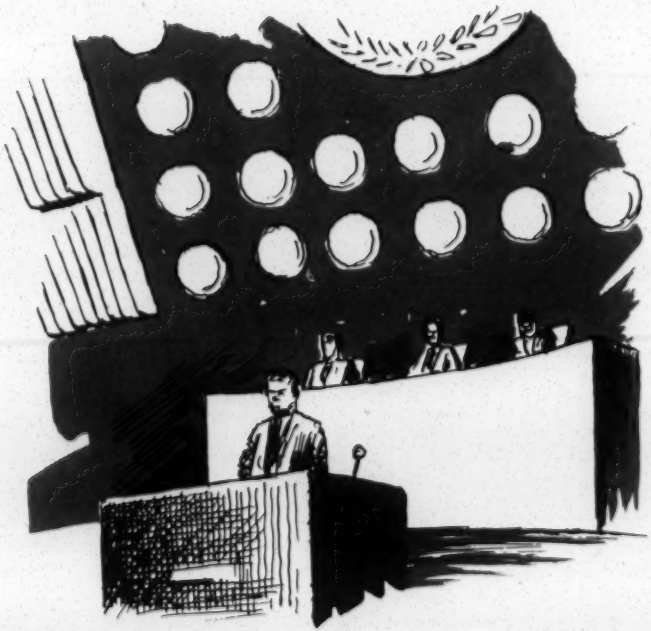
American labor heartily supported the Marshall Plan. We rallied the European free trade union movement to defeat the Moscow-directed campaign against the rebuilding of the western democracies. American labor worked tirelessly to help our free trade union colleagues (especially in Western Germany, France, and Italy) defeat the Communist drive to capture their organizations after years of Nazi-Fascist terror. Fortunately for the cause of democracy, our fight was fully successful among the Western German and Berlin workers. Were it not for American labor help, the Communists would today have complete control of the trade unions in France and Italy.

Had the Communists been able to capture the entire free trade union movement of these countries, French and Italian democracy would be much weaker — if in existence at all. It is doubtful whether there would today be a healthy and strong democratic Federal German Republic, if American labor had not helped their trade union colleagues in Germany.

Today, American labor and the free trade unions of other lands, with a membership of 56,000,000 are joined within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Through this free world labor body and our own channels, American labor aids the promotion of free trade unionism particularly in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Likewise, the Alliance for Progress program has no stronger supporter than the AFL-CIO.

We have supported the UN from its very inception. In the drafting of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, American labor played a vital part. It was upon the initiative of the A. F. of L. that the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor was established jointly by the UN and the ILO. In 1953, this Commission made a devastating indictment of



the Soviet Union and an unequivocal condemnation of its slave labor system.

American labor's contribution towards working out the UN policy against forced repatriation of prisoners at the close of the Korean War won the warmest commendation of the United Nations leaders in the field.

American labor realizes fully the overwhelming importance of the conflicts between democracy and dictatorship. That is why it is sometimes shocking to realize the fuzzy thinking of some of our so-called liberals who look upon the Communists as misguided liberals—liberals who have gone wrong.

Surely they must know that months after Stalin's death, the Soviet Union, under Khrushchev, crushed the East German revolt, in June of 1953. They must know that in 1956—3½ years after Stalin's death — the Soviet dictatorship drowned the Hungarian democratic revolution in blood. Can it be that they never heard of Khrushchev's threat to use his rockets for blowing Britain and other free countries off the face of the

earth? It is strange that this so-called liberal sector does not have a word to say about Khrushchev's part in the building of the Wall of Shame in Berlin.

Surely these people cannot really believe that Khrushchev served the cause of peace when he stealthily shipped his rockets and then denied having placed them in Cuba? Even Stalin was never this reckless!

The right wing and the left wing have one common purpose. They want to destroy the democratic way of life that we enjoy here in the United States. They want to subjugate the individual to some kind of state machinery. They want to deny completely the dignity and freedom of each individual human being.

They want to impose a dictatorship of the right or the left. Well, the first victims of these dictatorships have always been workers. This must be so because you cannot dictate the affairs of any country unless you control the means of production. It just wouldn't make sense to try to dictate the affairs of any country unless you had control of the means of production.

So, in the final analysis, it doesn't make a great deal of difference to the worker whether the dictatorship has a right-wing label on it or a left-wing label on it. The result from his point of view is the same. Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Khrushchev, all of them, destroyed the trade union movement and brought the workers into subjugation. So, the type of dictatorship doesn't make any difference to the trade unions. We know that we can't live under a dictatorship. We know that we can't carry on our trade union philosophy under a dictatorship.

Now, in regard to these extremists—I am delighted that this conference is calling attention to them. There is something about these extremists that somewhere along the line they meet, temporarily perhaps, because of the fact that they have a common objective, because of the fact that they see in one another a like mind with like ideas. This was true in Germany prior to the advent of

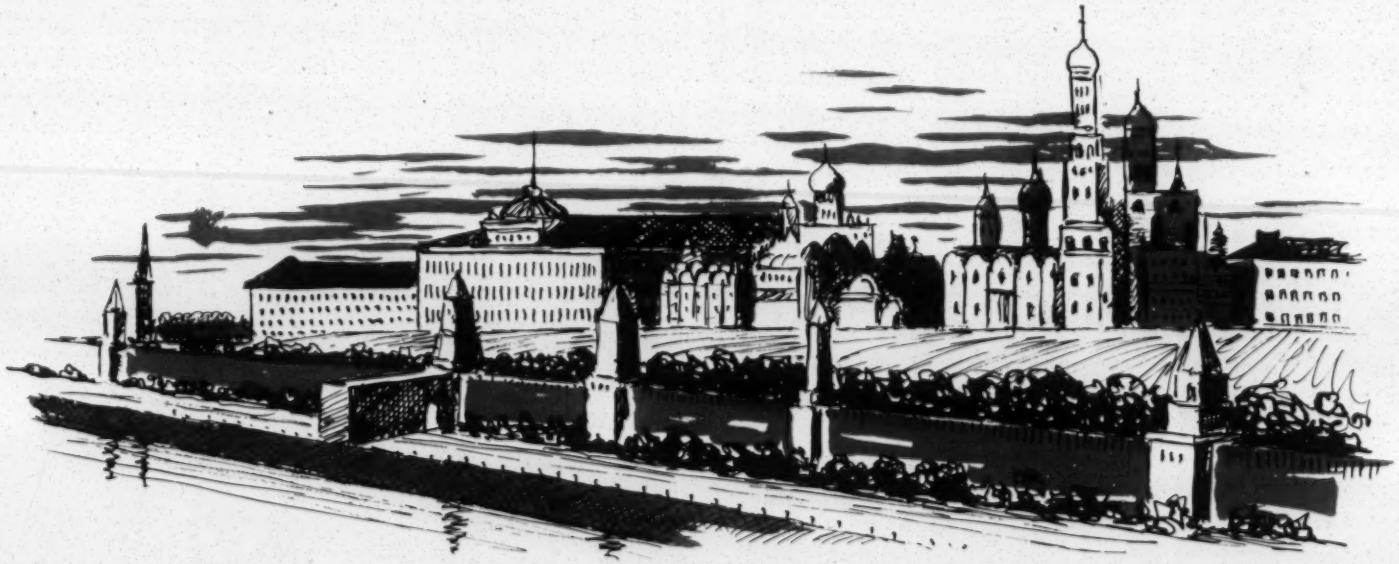
Hitler. Perhaps it is not very well known, but the German Communist party, quite active in that day, teamed up with Hitler in the elections that were held prior to 1933. This was done with the common idea of defeating the Social Democrats, in other words, the people who believed in democracy, the people who believed in—let's call it—middle-of-the-road philosophy. They joined up, one with another, to defeat the Social Democrats.

Here we find also that they have justified their existence by the existence of the other fellow. In other words, the John Birchers try to justify their existence by pointing to the Communists; the Communists point to the John Birchers and the other right-wing groups in order to justify their own existence.

They have a similarity of operation. They use smear and slander tactics. Just as an example of

this: back in the early days of 1940, the Jewish Socialist leaders of Poland, who created an obstacle for the Communists in control, were tried, denounced and executed as Nazi spies. Of course they were actually anything but Nazi spies, they were just as opposed to Hitler and the Nazis as anyone could possibly be, but it suited the momentary convenience of the Communists to accuse them of being Nazi spies.

Here we see the John Birchers throwing accusations all over the place. It was only a couple of years ago they accused President Eisenhower of being a Communist and a tool of the Communists. Secretary Rusk and many, many other prominent



people have been accused similarly. So, the extremists use the same tactics.

Organized labor, as represented by the AFL-CIO, rejects with equal fervor the John Birchers and the Communists as being equally repulsive to democracy and the ideals of democracy.

Now, having said this, let me make it clear that while we believe they are equally detestable, that they are equally repulsive from our point of view as defenders of democracy, it would be rather foolhardy at this stage, to equate them as a threat to our way of life. This would be very foolish. The John Birchers and the right-wing extremists by whatever name are a nuisance, and they have money and they are going to continue to campaign; they are going to continue to find people who are willing to put their money into a group they think might destroy or render the trade union movement impotent, and which will try to stop all liberal, forward progress. But, they are not *the* menace at the present moment that the Communists are. The real menace—the real danger to our way of life at the present time—is the menace that is posed by the Soviet Union and its determination to spread the idea of Communism to the entire world.

This is the fountainhead of Communist power—the Soviet Union. And let us not underestimate this power. Remember, they have, under subjugation in Eastern Europe, in the satellite countries and in the Soviet Union, 300 million people. Add to that 700 million more under Communist control in China and then realize the military might of the Soviet Union. The power that it has developed in the field of rockets, the technological progress that it has made and finally, don't let us underestimate the Soviet Union; it's no longer the country with a tremendous high percentage of illiterates. This country is now using education as they use everything else—as part of their plan for world conquest.

This is their plan and when you look at it you say, "Why?". Why do they want to dominate the rest of the entire world? They have successfully

imposed their Communist system on the Soviet Union, they have complete control of the people—there is no question about that.

The Commissars and the heads of the party now live in grand style in the palaces of the grand dukes of Russian royalty. And why is it that they want to extend Communism beyond their borders, why do they want to extend it to the rest of the world?

There is no secure future for Communism so long as freedom exists anywhere in the world. They know from experience that freedom is contagious, that in the hearts and breasts of all humans, no matter how long freedom is denied, there is always this inherent desire to be free. And the Soviets know that they cannot maintain their system if their people are exposed to democracy and to freedom.

Therefore, this is a relentless campaign to spread Communism throughout the entire world. It is not a sign of confidence on the part of the Soviets, to me it is a sign of weakness, a sign that they do not have confidence in their system. They are afraid to let it compete with the democratic free way of life. This is why we must look at their propaganda, try to measure it for what it really is. Take their propaganda of peaceful coexistence. They do not mean peaceful coexistence, because it is in direct contradiction to their philosophy which they have had from the early days of Lenin, through Stalin and Khrushchev; their philosophy is that it is not possible for Communism to coexist with the so-called free society.

If they really meant anything by this idea of peaceful coexistence, they had a wonderful opportunity in November 1956, to demonstrate this to the world.

Poor little Hungary decided they wanted to govern themselves, that they had had enough of the Communist Party governing them with the backing of the Soviet Union. So, they made a move and sought to develop a government under which they could govern themselves. And, for a few days, it looked like they might be successful.

Now, the Soviets, under a flag of truce, made a deal with them and then mowed them down with tanks—thousands of tanks. Thousands of people were destroyed, tens of thousands sent to Siberia.

Why were the Communists afraid to coexist with a free Hungary? Surely Hungary was no military threat to them. No economic threat to them. No threat to them in any possible way. The only reason they could not permit coexistence with Hungary was and is that they cannot afford to expose their own people to freedom on the borders of the Soviet Union; this, they felt, would be the stepping stone not only to the loss of Hungary as a satellite but quite rapidly the loss of many, many other satellites who were only waiting for similar opportunities.

The sum total of it was that they could not allow their own people to have a contact with freedom because if they did they might like it and they might have some ideas about the Soviet rulers and the Communist fraud.

The answer to Communism is democracy. The answer to Fascism is democracy. More democracy. Make the democratic system work, make it work better, provide full employment for America's people, wipe out the shame of racial discrimination, provide better educational facilities for our children, provide better homes for the people of America. This is the answer to Communism and the extremists of the right wing, and this is the answer that the American trade union movement is going to pursue. We know and the people of the free world see that we need not have any fear of the extremists' subversion providing we understand it and oppose it intelligently and resolutely. We must fight it and defeat it for what it is—the most dangerous enemy of human dignity, decency and freedom and of world peace.

American labor will continue in the forefront of this fight against all enemies of freedom, right or left. We will fight them because of our revulsion to what they stand for; we will fight all enemies of freedom because we cherish the great values of democracy which they seek to destroy.

Labor Fights The Enemies of Democracy

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

PUBLICATION NO. 134
MARCH 1964

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COPE
AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN national director
815 16TH STREET, N.W. ★ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 ★ PHONE 393-0220

May 20, 1964

Mr. Robert Ozanne, Director
The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Mr. Ozanne:

Your letter of May 12 to the Union Label Dept. has been referred to this office. COPE printed the enclosed map and distributed it at our recent series of area conferences.

Unfortunately, weo do not now have it in quantity. However, it shouldn't be hard to reproduce.

I hope this is helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Albert

Ben Albert, Director
Public Relations

BA:kc
oeiu #2
afl-cio

AFL-CIO Civil Rts Dept — Rehrer

Rehrer

November 3, 1965

Mr. Al Rehrer
Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO
Civil Rights Department
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

Three things since I am afraid that our travel schedules will prevent our having a phone chat. One, could you still send me a copy of the directory the union and state and local central bodies ~~published by~~ AFL-CIO? Two, do you still have ~~the apprenticeship~~ trades list, and when can I arrange to see it? If I am not in, and it is convenient for you to come by SRC, it could be duplicated by my secretary, Jan Shortt.

Three, George had indicated that he may get together with you to go to Athens to look over the rooming situation because his schedule and mine will not mesh. Your going with him suits me fine and I could live with any agreement that the two of you make. The University of Georgia will perhaps want final word to come from me to simplify its life. To keep the University from getting caught in the middle of this and other decisions, they know from Joe and from me to get final word from me. If the two of you are not in agreement, I'll talk with you both and come to a decision. If you agree on the spot, however, simply suggest that they tentatively set aside what it is you want and that I will confirm it with them as soon as we have talked.

The program committee will meet in Washington on November 10. I would be happy to have any last words

from you prior to the meeting.

Thanks. Trust your Florida and Mississippi travels went well.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

22 December 1965

Miss Doris Gibson
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doris:

I understand from Al Kehrer that you are working on a bibliography. I do not know if he has been in touch with you about using it at the NILE Southern Staff Institute. It could be useful in two ways. One, if it is now available it could serve as a guide for materials to have on hand in the Institute library, or if it is not complete perhaps you could send us a suitable selection for our purposes. Second, it could be distributed to the participants as a bibliography.

Let me know what the possibilities are.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

January 4, 1966

Mr. Donald Slaiman
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Don:

Enclosed is a copy of the final program; I expect only minor changes. Also enclosed is a copy of a letter to George indicating a few items in each week that require attention.

You will note that I suggest that I shift you back to the morning spot rather than afternoon. We could still let you have afternoons, give Ray the Thursday evening and let him leave, and you and Walt hold forth on Friday morning. We can do what you like but I do believe it would run better to put you in the morning and Ray in the afternoon.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

NEWS DIGEST

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

for EPW — Apprentices

Week of February 28, 1966

FIRST NEGRO MEMBERS TO BE TAKEN IN
BY STEAMFITTERS UNION IN ST. LOUIS

Washington, D. C.-- St. Louis, Mo.-- Ten Negroes will be among the forty new journeyment to be taken in immediately by the Steamfitters Union Local 562, in St. Louis, it has been announced by the Union Business Manager, John Lawler.

The Negro workers will be given on-the-job training by assignment to veteran Steamfitter journeymen; attend classes at Union Hall two nights each week; and draw full journeyman pay. They will serve a six-month trial period before being made members of the International. Any drop-outs will be replaced with other Negro workers.

The apprenticeship program, it was announced, will be activated within 30 to 45 days with at least two and probably six Negroes in the first class.

Mr. Lawler noted in his announcement that this program has been under consideration for months and has no relation to the "Arch project."

The U. S. Department of Justice, at the instance of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the U. S. Department of Labor recently filed a two-pronged suit aimed at preventing and removing any racial discrimination on the part of the St. Louis AFL-CIO Construction Trades Council and five of its member locals, especially as regards the St. Louis Gateway Arch project.

# # # #

April 6, 1966

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Don:

I am very sorry that our schedules in Washington were such that we could not get some time together. I trust the next trip will work out better.

The enclosed letter and proposal to the Florida AFL-CIO indicates the kind of program we will be suggesting to a number of the state labor bodies. Al thought that you would like to see this copy. We would be most happy to have any reactions from you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

19 May 1966

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Director
Southern Office, AFL-CIO
Civil Rights Department
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Enclosed, finally, is your speech on populism. Emory and I enjoyed reading it, even though it did lead to some heated debate between us (our differences of opinion may simply be symptomatic of the over-and-under-thirty syndrome).

Thanks for letting us see it.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning

JB

June 22, 1966

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Southern Area Director
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I note that the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union District # 3 will have its council meeting at the Henry Grady Hotel July 8-10. I will not be in town during that period, but it may be that this is a meeting which you could find a way to relate to if your schedule permits.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

File

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

August 4, 1966

Memorandum from:

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

The attached clippings should be of more than average interest.

DS:cr
attachments: 3
opeiu-2-aflcio

ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Sun., July 31, 1966.

COPE Backs Holt, Brands Justice Jim As Bad for State

The Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO voted almost unanimously Saturday at Little Rock to endorse Frank Holt for governor.

Holt placed second in Tuesday's Democratic primary and will oppose Jim Johnson for the Democratic nomination in the primary runoff August 9. COPE did not endorse a candidate for governor in the July 26 primary.

COPE Saturday also endorsed Claude Carpenter over Joe Basore in the runoff for lieutenant governor. James H. Pilkinton, who ran third, had been endorsed by COPE in the first primary.

The sentiment at the meeting was more anti-Johnson than pro-Holt. There was no debate as such on the motion to support Holt, since no one spoke in Johnson's favor but several members of COPE made strong statements urging endorsement of Holt. They drew heavy applause.

Someone made a suggestion that COPE remain neutral but when the final vote came on the motion to endorse Holt, there were only three or four scattered "nays." About 220 delegates from around the state attended the meeting.

J. Bill Becker, state president of the AFL-CIO, said the decision to ask for endorsement of Holt was "the hardest decision I ever had to make. It's tough to make these decisions but sometimes in the history of the labor movement, you have to take a stand. We would be derelict in our duty if we put our head in a sand and watched this state, if this man is elected, go to hell."

Becker said the issues in the runoff were "larger than the minimum wage, larger than social security. These issues go to the core of our democratic institutions."

He said Johnson had a satisfactory labor record, perhaps better than Holt's, "but the issues are greater than just a labor record." "We've said we're citizens first and labor union members second, and it's time to demonstrate our belief in that statement," Becker said.

Becker accused Johnson of "spreading hatred" in campaign speeches around the state. "Justice Jim has gotten off on the wrong track," he said. "If he's elected we'll be set back 20 years."

J. S. (Bill) Weeks of Little Rock, president of Local 6508 of the Communications Workers of America, said there was "no other way for the labor movement to go," and it was up to the labor leaders to supply members of local unions with "some sense of direction" urging their support for Holt.

Ed Ball of Benton, sub-district director of the United Steel Workers, said that Johnson was "rabble-rousing the people of Arkansas, agitating their fears, prejudices and hatreds, so he can be elected governor."

Referring to Johnson's criticism of President Johnson's administration, Ball said, "What is this federal government that's so bad? It's the branch of government that has done the most for people like us."

Ball said Johnson was attracting the support of the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and other groups hostile to organized labor. "Those who are campaigning on state rights and socialism are attracting the support of our enemies," he said.

Says Labor Opposes Johnson's Platform

Herb Bingaman of North Little Rock, district director of the United Auto Workers, said, "Jim Johnson stands for the things we in labor are opposed to. He's for segregation and against the national administration and the federal programs. We in Arkansas are having a hard enough time as it is bringing the standard of living up."

At the close of the meeting, several other delegates urged that union members work hard to see that Holt is elected.

Johnson was one of six Democratic candidates for governor who spoke before the COPE convention last May and he told the delegates he would "love to have" the endorsement of organized labor. COPE gave him more applause than any other candidate but decided against endorsing anyone.

Remains Neutral On 4th District Race

As it had before the first primary, COPE decided Saturday not to endorse either candidate in the runoff for United States representative from the Fourth District. However, several delegates urged support for David H. Pryor of Camden and drew strong applause. Pryor is opposed by Richard S. Arnold of Texarkana.

Becker said the committee that recommended endorsements had decided that concentrating labor's efforts on the races for governor and lieutenant governor was "in the best interest of the total program," and that was why no endorsement was made in the Fourth District race.

COPE also decided against endorsing either Tom Gentry or John A. Fogleman in the runoff for the state Supreme Court, Position Six.

Joe Purcell, whom COPE endorsed for attorney general before the first primary, spoke briefly at the start of the meeting, thanking labor for its support and asking labor to "double your efforts" in his runoff with Attorney General Bruce Bennett.

COPE met at the Albert Pike Hotel.

Arkansas Gazette.

Established November 20, 1819

The Gazette Is the Oldest Newspaper West of the Mississippi

Published every day by Gazette Publishing Company, Gazette Building, Little Rock Second Class Mail Privilege authorized at Little Rock, Arkansas. Second Class postage paid at Little Rock, Arkansas.

Labor Statesmanship

At the time of the annual convention of the Arkansas AFLCIO's Committee on Public Education, in late May, we mildly chided the state labor organization for the circumstance that, while no formal endorsement was made in the governor's race, pending a close look at the kind of campaign the several candidates would make in the weeks that were to come, Jim Johnson appeared to have received the most delegate applause.

The criticism possibly was a little unfair, considering that COPE, after all, had *not* made any formal endorsement in the governor's race, and that it *had* endorsed a certified progressive, Joe Purcell, in the race for Attorney General—a three-man race where the alternatives were a great deal clearer than in the (at the time) eight-man race for the Democratic nomination for governor. The state AFLCIO leadership, at least, thought that our criticism was unfair, and said as much in an editorial in the Arkansas Union Labor Bulletin which, in the interest of fairness, we reprinted in toto.

This bit of very recent history may be necessary to a full appreciation of our statement now that COPE's firm rejection of Mr. Johnson, at its between-primaries meeting on Saturday, was labor statesmanship at its finest, as some of the language used by state AFLCIO President J. Bill Becker and officers of a number of affiliates was labor spokesmanship at its most eloquent—and, at times, at its bluntest.

Mr. Becker, for example, conceded at the outset that Mr. Johnson's record on issues affecting organized labor might be as good as that of his opponent—Frank Holt—and maybe a little better; but, he added, labor could not afford to isolate itself from the wellbeing of the community-as-a-whole in the way that a vote for Johnson would surely do:

> "We've said that we're citizens first and labor union members second, and it's time to demonstrate our belief in that statement."

Specifically, Mr. Becker went on, the issues involved in the gubernatorial runoff are "larger than the minimum wage, larger than social security. These issues go to the core of our democratic institutions * * *."

In our original editorial on the subject, we noted that our own suspicion was that Jim Johnson's heart was really with the *descamisados* (Juan Peron's "shirtless ones") of this world and against the "advantaged" classes. The unspoken stipulation then was that Mr. Johnson's heart was with the reasonably *white* descamisados of the world, and with the stipulation spoken out loud this time, the earlier description of the candidate still goes. We also remarked on the other occasion that if Mr. Johnson actually was formally called and chosen by labor (which we never for an instant really thought he would be), "he would bring to labor's service the triple-distilled venom that he has brought to other well-known causes in the past." And we concluded then:

> "The question is, how much more hatred can we here in Arkansas stand?"

This was the question that—in one form or another—was asked by Bill Becker and the other Arkansas labor leaders on Saturday.

There is, we suppose, a little of the nihilist in the most sedate of us, and there is a certain raffish attraction in the Outrageous Outsider as a type in politics.

Jim Johnson is a great deal more than that, however: He is the most dangerous radical to enter Arkansas politics in our time, and he could—given his head—bring to the class war some of the calculatedly divisive skills that he already has brought to what some of his followers clearly hope will be outright race war.

However, to argue that opposition to Mr. Johnson is confined largely to members of the threatened Arkansas Establishment (in the larger sense), one perforce must list the Committee on Political Education of the Arkansas AFLCIO as part of that establishment, which would certainly come as news to J. Bill Becker and his lieutenants.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, WEDNESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 3, 1966

Full Employment Key to Negro Woes, Bundy Asserts

Former Presidential adviser McGeorge Bundy told the Urban League National Conference here Tuesday that full employment is the best remedy for the ills besetting the Nation's Negroes.

Bundy, once adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and now president of the Ford Foundation, told some 1400 delegates in the Sheraton that "no special economic measure and no compensatory program, however large and well designed, can do as much as full employment" to alleviate Negro social and economic ills.

"On this issue, in political terms," he said, "there can be common cause among working men, farmers, young people, the bolder businessmen — and the Negro."

He said he agrees with economist James Tobin of Yale University, who has said that "only an excessive fear of inflation and an obsessive concern for the balance of payments are preventing us from running the economy at such a rate that overall unemployment averages three percent."

He added that "if we do that well, then the evidence of history argues that we can cut the average rate of Negro unemployment in half."

Bundy charged that "often we're incapable of defining what are our own bests interests, so full unemployment would be hard to get.

"However, it can be done."

Turning his attention to the problems of large Northern cities, Bundy said that "nothing would be more foolish, for both white men and Negroes, than an angry assumption that the cities of the future are problems of one color only.

"Most Negroes," he said, "understand this proposition, I think. "I am not sure that white men do."

He said if the day of "utter degeneration" ever comes for the cities, "history will mark it as the white man's fault. And the white man's companies will have to take the losses.

"For the city is like the Negro in this: It is past the point where all it needs is equal treatment; what it needs now is what the farmer needed, and got, a generation ago . . . It needs help.

Earlier in the day a Harvard economist presented the plight of the American Negro in terms of sheer numbers.

Today, said Otto Eckstein, almost half of all Negroes enter the job market without a high school education and only 15 percent of the colored youngsters go to college—as opposed to about 30 percent of the young white population.

However, continued Eckstein, "much of the responsibility for insufficient education falls on the families of the Negro children."

His statistics were appalling.

Although Negro unemployment rates parallel those of whites, there is a great disparity in their significance: nearly twice as many colored people still are unemployed as are caucasians.

Even if present trends in filling job categories continue, by 1985 the picture will be that Negroes will still mak up 23.7 percent of all laborers, 38.4 percent of domestics and 24.6 percent of all farm workers.

This as cpposed to a 1965 figure of Negroes occupying 10.6 percent of professional and technical jobs, 8.4 of clerical positions, 6 percent of sales jobs and 8.8 percent of skilled craftsmen slots.

And as a chilling word of caution, Eckstein added that "The act of quitting (school) is only the final step of a long drama of failure on the part of the school system to devise a meaningful and valuable cirriculum for the student."

He hopes the recent legislation would remedy this.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Rec'd 10/20/66

October 18, 1966

Ex Res

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Don Slaiman, Director DS
Department of Civil Rights

In response to the re-statement of principles and commitment to the cause of civil rights by national civil rights leaders appearing in the October 14th issue of the New York Times, AFL-CIO President George Meany sent the attached letter to AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph.

Also enclosed, for your information, please find a copy of the Ad as it appeared in the Times.

WGD:ppo

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Enclosures

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1966.

Crisis and commitment

No one can any longer doubt or ignore the depth of crisis which today confronts Negro Americans struggling to enjoy full and equal citizenship in their native land. The year's events have piled confusion and uncertainty on underlying racial prejudices in the majority population. The consequence has been intensified resistance to change at a time when the need for change is greatest. We consider it imperative, therefore, to make crystal clear to Americans of every origin and of every degree of commitment to justice the principles upon which the civil rights movement rests.

There is nothing new about these principles. What is new are the conditions which compel us to re-state them—not the least of which is their abandonment by some individuals and groups whose positions are nevertheless frequently interpreted as representing the civil rights movement.

I. We are committed to the attainment of racial justice by the democratic process. The force of law and its fulfillment in the courts, legislative halls and implementing agencies, the appeal to conscience, and the exercise of the rights of peaceful assembly and petition are the instrumentalities of our choice. We propose to win genuine partnership for all our people in the United States, within the framework of this nation's constitution.

II. **We repudiate any strategies of violence, reprisal or vigilantism, and we condemn both rioting and the demogoguery that feeds it,** for these are the final resort of despair, and we have not yielded to despair. Defense of one's family, home and self against attack is not an issue; it is a basic American principle and must not be perverted into a cover for aggressive violence.

III. **We are committed to integration, by which we mean an end to every barrier which segregation and other forms of discrimination have raised against the enjoyment by Negro Americans of their human and constitutional rights.** We believe that a sense of personal worth and a pride in race are vital to integration in a pluralistic society, but we believe that these are best nurtured by success in achieving equality. We reject the way of separatism, either moral or spatial.

IV. **As we are committed to the goal of integration into every aspect of the national life, we are equally committed to the common responsibility of all Americans, both white and black, for bringing integration to pass.** We not only welcome, we urge, the full cooperation of white Americans in what must be a joint endeavor if it is to prosper. It should go without saying, that, in seeking full equality for Negroes, we cannot and will not deny it to others who join our fight.

The reaffirmation of these principles must do more than simply distinguish between those who accept them and those who, for one reason or another, no longer choose to operate under them. For us, these principles are inextricably joined with obligations to which we have consistently devoted our meagre resources and our energies. We call upon the nation as a whole to assume the same obligations; its failure to do so will not only extend and perhaps complete the sabotage of our efforts, but will ultimately undermine domestic security and United States leadership in the world of nations.

It is not condoning riots to cry out against the conditions in the Negro ghettos which render some Negroes susceptible to the emotional gratification of pillage, looting and destruction. It is not condoning riots, but demanding the means to end them, that compels us to note the steady worsening of the average Negro's lot in the face of unprecedented general prosperity. It is not turning our backs on the need for education to note that the average Negro college graduate can expect a lifetime's earnings no greater than those of a white high school graduate. It is not an abdication of responsibility, but an affirmation of it, to say that society cannot perpetuate discrimination against Negroes and then blame the victims or their leaders for the outbursts of those who have been made desperate.

It is an obligation of the whole of American society to take the massive actions which alone can turn the downward tide of Negro economic status with its concomitant growth of frustration and bitterness. It is the special obligation of those who can see more clearly and feel more keenly than the rest to assume their own leadership burden and to spare no effort to bring their fellows to an equal comprehension. It is the obligation, in particular, of the mass media to moderate their obsession with sensation and conflict and to help create a climate of genuine knowledge and understanding in which perspective is restored.

The near-total absence of this perspective is reflected in the survey figures showing declines in public sentiment favoring civil rights. Has the nation forgotten, for example, that for every Negro youth who throws a brick, there are a hundred thousand suffering the same disadvantages who do not? That for every Negro who tosses a Molotov cocktail, there are a thousand fighting and dying on the battlefields of Vietnam? It is a cruel and bitter abuse to judge the worth of these larger numbers, the overwhelming preponderance of the Negro population, by the misdeeds of a few.

We cannot ignore the signs of a retreat by white America from the national commitment to racial justice. The inadequacies of enforcement of this commitment, which has been hammered out over long years of judicial, legislative and administrative pronouncement, have been a scandal; yet we have seen the United States Senate scuttling enforcement of antidiscrimination law and refusing to act on legislation to protect Negroes against racist assault. We have seen the appeal of bigotry elevated to a major political instrument, with votes being sought and won across the nation, by exploiting the so-called "white backlash." We have seen sometime friends pulling back in full retreat and yielding to the battlefield scavengers ground which could have been held if it had been fought for.

This trend can be disastrous to the nation's, as well as the Negro's, welfare if it is not checked, if our forces are not rallied and if the hard, demanding job of building lasting public support is not pressed forward now. It can be worse than disastrous for the generation of younger Americans, white as well as black, who would then indeed face a future without viable idealism. Thousands of them have been personally involved in the civil rights movement over the last few years, many in situations involving hazardous confrontations. They are needed now more than ever before, in work which, while seeming more routine and less adventurous, is in many ways harder and more vital. They can be effectively drawn to these new tasks only if they have assurance that the adult world is solidly engaged to the same purpose.

Ninety years ago, this nation permitted the democratic promise of Emancipation to wither and die before a rampant reaction which condemned the Negro to segregation, disfranchisement, peonage and death. Then, as now, the voices of temporary liberalism sounded discouragement and disillusionment with the capacity of the freedmen for full citizenship. Then, as now, the South capitalized on Northern weariness with the "race problem" and was enabled to shut off the hope of freedom. But the "race problem" remained, and today we are paying for yesterday's default.

We are determined that this history shall not repeat itself and we call upon all our countrymen, black and white, of all faiths and origins, to move with us.

DOROTHY HEIGHT *Pres. National Council of Negro Women*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO*

BAYARD RUSTIN *Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute*

ROY WILKINS *Exec. Director, Nat'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People*

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, Jr. *Exec. Director, National Urban League*

AMOS T. HALL *[illegible] Society Conference of Grand Masters, Prince Hall Masons of America*

HOBSON R. REYNOLDS *Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World*

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

October 14, 1966

Following is the text of a letter sent today by AFL-CIO President George Meany to A. Philip Randolph, vice president of the AFL-CIO:

It was with warmth and enthusiasm that I read the advertisement in the New York Times this morning, signed by yourself and your fellow leaders of the Civil Rights movement.

Please extend to each of them my warm thanks and congratulations for they have in this restatement of principles and commitments summed up, in admirable fashion, the problems, the aspirations, the needs of America in this crucial moment in history.

I know that you need no reassurance of the AFL-CIO's intentions but I would appreciate it if you would convey to your colleagues the AFL-CIO's firm and unswerving determination to achieve full equality in America in all fields -- education, employment, accommodations, housing and justice.

Your restatement of commitment to the attainment of racial justice by the democratic process, your repudiation of the strategies of violence, reprisals or vigilantism, your reaffirmation of the goals of integration commends itself to every thinking American.

There is, in America today, a so-called "white backlash." It is deplorable. It was born out of the ability of demagogues to capitalize upon rioting. It stems from unreasoning fear stimulated by the reckless cries of "black power."

It thrives on the ignorance of many citizens as to the real issues involved in equal rights controversies.

You and I agree that extremism is the antithesis of democracy and extremism by advocates of justice for America's minority population cannot be countenanced any more than extremism by advocates of white supremacy. In my book, the advocates of black supremacy and white supremacy belong in the same camp and the American trade union movement opposes both equally.

I know we are also in agreement that the problems faced by the civil rights movement cannot be resolved in an economic vacuum. As the AFL-CIO has repeatedly said, equal opportunity in employment is meaningless unless there is full opportunity; equal housing is impossible until we eliminate the slums and build the homes America needs for all its population -- black or white; equal education is impossible

-more-

until America puts its money where its mouth is and builds the kind of schools and supplies them with enough well-paid teachers to do the job of providing good education for every one of our children.

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to building the kind of America which will supply the answers to all of these problems. Our goal is to provide the schools, provide the jobs, provide the homes, provide the health care and provide the understanding that it is poverty and ignorance and despair that are the real root causes of all of America's domestic problems.

The AFL-CIO will not retreat from its commitment to the cause of civil rights any more than it would retreat from its commitment to abolish poverty, illness, suffering, and want in this nation.

You and I agree, I know, that a vital first step to the achievement of our goal must be a massive turnout of every registered voter on November 8, voting for those who back our program, voting in opposition to those who would delay or destroy it. We know both the friends and the enemies of the civil rights movement and of the labor movement in the Congress of the United States.

In the crucial elections of 1966, it behooves both the civil rights movement and the labor movement to support our friends and defeat our enemies. Those who counsel a boycott of the polls this year are either deliberately or mistakenly aiding only the enemies of both civil rights and the labor movements, and are playing into the hands of the demagogues who would use the white backlash to halt social progress in America.

No one could honestly pretend that the road to the achievement of full civil rights for all will be an easy one but it is a road America must traverse for it leads to a goal we must achieve.

In the achievement of that goal, the labor movement marches side by side with the leaders of the civil rights movement, like yourself, who joined in today's restatement of the policies and commitments of the civil rights movement.

Let me reiterate the AFL-CIO's position: We reject out of hand the concept that there can be any first-class or second-class citizenship in the United States. In our country there can be only one class -- citizen -- the highest and most meaningful title in a democracy.

-30-

Rel to

OE Paper

October 31, 1966

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 -16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

I plan to be in Miami for your Southern Advisory Committee Meeting and to spend at least Monday with The Labor School.

Would there be a place in your crowded agenda (last count I heard was 22 items) for a few matters from my program? Hesitate not to say no.

I would like to have announced three types of programs to which SRC could give substantial support in terms of money, planning and administration. These are: (1) Joint Labor Leader-Civil Rights Leader, off-the-record conferences (state-wide or for an area); (2) One to five day institutes for local leaders and/or staff on Civil Rights, Race Relations or the Changing South coupled with basic union courses, if needed; and (3) "Speaker Training" programs for selective union leaders to expose them to the facts, techniques and the human understandings useful in talking about civil rights in local union situations.

I would also welcome a discussion about kinds of printed materials which might be useful for educational programs or more general distribution.

Feel free, of course, to decide how best to work such things in to your busy schedule or to throw them out altogether. It may well be that you will be discussing similar matters in any case, and certainly there is no need to duplicate such considerations with an SRC label on them.

The NILE Southern Union Staff Training Institute Report, revised, is now in Joe's hands.

Thanks for your helpful comments. I look forward to seeing you in Miami.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

cc Al Kehrer

AFL-CIO
Civil Rights
65-66

November 22, 1966

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

Thanks for the excellent good news in your phone call of the other day. You will hear from Paul as soon as he returns to the office. We greatly appreciate your assistance.

I am planning to distribute the November Federationist to a combination of SRC mailing lists. First, it will go to the New South subscribers which will include a fair cross-section of southern liberals concerned with racial relations. Beyond this the mailing will go to SRC's board members, to key media representatives, a large number of libraries, a sizable group of student newspapers and student council presidents, to a general group of academics who have shown interest in our concerns, and to a fair selection of regional inter-group relations representatives.

We look forward to receiving the copies for distribution.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

TELEGRAM

To: Mrs. W. Jackson
Natchez, Mississippi

It was with a deep sense of sorrow and regret that the Executive Officers of the United Rubber Workers International Union learned of the disaster suffered by you and your family. This unnecessary and unfortunate event should impress every god-fearing person of the evils of discrimination, hatred, bigotry and prejudice.

The United Rubber Workers will exert every possible effort to bring those responsible for this cowardly act to justice.

We extend to you and your family our deep and sincere sympathy in your hour of bereavement.

Signed/ Peter Bommarito

/jg
3/3/67

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: Our brother, our member and fellow employee, Wharlest Jackson, met his death on February 27, 1967, at the apparent cowardly, vicious, dangerous and ugly hand of violence; and

WHEREAS: This cowardly, foolish, and useless act has rightfully caused much concern and indignation in this city and state and has broken the hearts of our good people here and everywhere; and

WHEREAS: Local 303 URCLPWA, AFL-CIO desires to assure its members, its friends, the family of the deceased, the city of Natchez and state of Mississippi, and working men and women everywhere that this union condemns, abhors and does not condone any acts of violence, the violation of law, and the destruction of human life; and

WHEREAS: It has always been the policy of this Union to strive for better wages, working conditions, hours of employment for its members, and for better improved economic conditions here and everywhere and to condemn exploitation and destruction of human life; and

Whereas: This Union under the law has no control over the hiring of employees at Armstrong Rubber Company and under the Mississippi, so called, "Right to Work Law" cannot require that any employee of the Armstrong Rubber Company become a member of this Union; and

Whereas: This Union points with pride to its service to the employees of Armstrong Rubber Company since its beginning in 1945, inasmuch, as that it has had a part in providing for its members, and employees at Armstrong Rubber Company not only the best wages, hours, and working conditions in the state of Mississippi, but the same compares favorably with any where in the United States of America; and

Whereas; This union has the sincerest desire to co-operate with all law enforcement agencies in the investigation and apprehension of the guilty party or parties involved in this despicable crime; and

Whereas; That this Union go on record as stating that no one has been denied any job under the collective bargaining agreement; and

Whereas; That this Union go on record that no one will be denied any job under the collective bargaining agreement; and

Whereas; that this Union go on record that there is no differential between jobs because of Race, Color, Religion, sex or National Origin; and

Resolved; That this Union go on record as offering all of its resources, co-operation and facilities in the speedy solution of this crime so that the guilty party or parties shall face the Bar of Justice : and be it further

Resolved: That the members of this Union, their families, its friends and the People of Natchez, Miss, use all of their best efforts to prevent the destruction of valuable things that this Union has worked so hard to build and preserve for the enjoyment of its members and the Community as a whole.

Resolved; That this resolution be inscribed upon the Minutes of this Union as a Memorial to Wharlest Jackson and that his family be furnished a copy of the same.

Thus Resolved. This First Day of March, A. D., 1967.

Executive Board, LOCAL 303, URCLPWA,AFL-CIO

Mississippi
FORMERLY: MISSISSIPPI LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO
133 SOUTH LAMAR STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201
XXXXXXXXXXXXX
PHONE 948-0517

March 2, 1967

Statement by Claude Ramsay, President

For Immediate Release:

Yesterday afternoon, Local 303 of the United Rubber Workers Union at Natchez, Mississippi, adopted a resolution condemning the recent assassination of one of its members; Wharlest Jackson had been a member of the local forseveral years and had been active in the affairs of the local union.

In addition to calling upon all governing authorities to solve this heinous crime, the local offered its cooperation to the fullest extent. The resolution pointed out that the members of Local 303 enjoy the highest wages of any industry in the state, and that a contract provision provides that no discrimination be practiced because of race, religion or national origin.

The Mississippi AFL-CIO commends local 303 for taking this forthright action. In addition to supporting the resolution of the local union, the Mississippi AFL-CIO offers its condolences to the members of the bereaved family. The perpetrators of this dasterdly crime must be brought to the bar of justice. Until and unless this is done, no one will be free in Mississippi be he white or Negro.

from the
MA 3-5370

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1967

AFL-CIO President George Meany today wired the AFL-CIO's expression of "sorrow and horror" on the murder of Wharlest Jackson in Natchez, Missippi, to the Regional Director of the NAACP, Mrs. Ruby Hurley.

At the same time, Meany sent a copy of his wire to Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark expressing the AFL-CIO's expectation that the Department of Justice would "investigate this atrocious act, arrest the guilty and prosecute them to the full extent of the law."

The text of Meany's wire to Mrs. Hurley follows:

The AFL-CIO joins with its affiliate, the United Rubber Workers, in expressing its sorrow and horror at the murder of Wharlest Jackson. We expect the Department of Justice to investigate this atrocious act, arrest the guilty and prosecute them to the full extent of the law. The AFL-CIO will continue its fight for stronger federal legislation against crimes like this and we will not rest until discrimination and prejudice are driven from every place in America. I am sending a copy of this telegram to Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

-30-

January 24, 1967

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Department of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

Enclosed are copies of twenty-responses to the mailing of the November Federationist. Also included are excerpts from a number of other responses to that mailing.

You will note the enclosed memos which went out with my mailings. One went with the general mailing and the other to our labor list.

We have received orders for about 500 extra copies which have already been filled. Besides the orders contained in the copies of the letters which are enclosed there were orders from the State Councils on Human Relations in Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Georgia. The mailing went to the SRC Board, Foundations, Intergroup Agencies, Libraries, the SRC Research List, Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents and the New South mailing list.

I have been pleasantly surprised by the number of responses and their quality. I think it was a good joint effort. I believe that it was Al Kehrer who originated the idea but of course in any reporting of special distributions of the magazine SRC would be happy to receive a mention.

Thanks for your cooperation and quick response in getting the magazine to us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

January 26, 1967

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Division
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street,.N.W.
Washington, D. C

Dear Don:

I note that the rather elaborate Machinist Non-Partisan League program scheduled for next week will include some spokesmen from minority group organizations. I would be interested in who they are and in having some reading as to the kind of impact they made on the group.

What else would you do with your time?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 17, 1967

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Director
Southern Office
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Division
40 Marietta St.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I don't think this is worth much or shows anything of value. It isn't even a very high grade mathematical manipulation.

Though I am not conversant with the real economic meaning of "imported value", it seems to have little meaning here.

P. 178, 2nd paragraph from bottom, first sentence nearly destroys any case they might build. I thank them for their candor, and again on p. 180, middle paragraph.

So we now know that right to work states are economically worse off than non-right to work states. And what else is new?

The attempt here is more sophisticated, therefore more misleading, than the labor movements own propaganda regarding rights to work and its economic impact.

I don't think it helps to get the cart before the horse in the matter of causation and it seems to me clear that a whole range of factors lead to the economic condition the states find themselves in and in turn they and other factors lead to right to work.

Thanks,

March 29, 1967

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Division
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Don:

I trust you got the five copies of the "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit". I appreciate Al's interest in bringing it to your attention and your response to it. I hope that in some places we will be able to get a cooperative program between unions and human relations councils or other civil rights groups.

I understand that you may be interested in revising the kit in some particulars and putting it out as a AFL-CIO publication. I see no obstacle to this although I would like to know what is contemplated. My guess is some of the items might be used with minor changes and it could be worth your while to consider having them printed here using the plates which are already available. For instance, I feel certain that the illustrated pamphlet, "More Money for You?", could have the script changed on individual pages and substitute the AFL-CIO imprint so that it could be obtained at a bulk rate price.

Our own interest here extends primarily to spreading what we consider a good idea, to use up one thousand copies of the kit, and to dispose of 10,000 copies of the illustrated pamphlet. Of course, we would like to minimize our loss.

Since my promotional material is already out, I would expect to receive some orders prior to the AFL-CIO having anything available. When you know when the AFL-CIO material will be ready I would start referring the union orders which come to me to the appropriate AFL-CIO department. However, I would much prefer to use up my own stock first.

Let me know what develops.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

cc: Mr. Al Kehrer

May 2, 1967

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

A letter from Betty Miller (AFSCME) a couple of weeks ago indicated that you had not seen the pamphlet "Know Your Rights". Although it was prepared by the Georgia ACLU and the Georgia Council on Human Relations we gave them some assistance in the project and both V.E.P. and the Labor Program bought copies for distribution. The Labor Program has distributed around 3000 at this point.

I am enclosing a copy for you. It can still be obtained through the Georgia ACLU but our own supplies have been exhausted.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

May 25, 1967

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Don:

One small idea. I had about five hundred copies of the November "Federationist" left over from our earlier distribution. I sent a copy to each of three university labor education programs and suggested that I could supply them with one or two hundred for their summer sessions. The response was favorable. If you or Publications have an abundance of copies you might want to try some ~~othe~~ other schools with summer programs.

I hope to be in Washington on the 31st. If you are in I trust I will get a chance to see you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

November 4, 1968

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Division
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

This is just a note to catch you up on the conference sponsored by the local Urban League's LEAP program along with the Building Trades Council and Department of Labor. It is scheduled now for December 6, 1968. You may recall that I had spoken with you about the possibility of getting Haggerty to make the main presentation. The Urban League subsequently was in touch with Haggerty, and, I believe with an assist through your office, he agreed to send McSorley. Ray Marshall will also be on the program. Several workshop sessions round out the conference.

If my schedule holds, I will be in Washington November 23 and 24 for a portion of the AFT 189 meetings.

Tomorrow will tell us a great deal. The best of luck to us all.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

AFL-CIO Civil Rights

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE PROGRAM 11, SERIES 9

FOR RELEASE: A.M. PAPERS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1969

Although politics may be the main thrust of the organized labor-black community coalition in the immediate future, "decent jobs at decent pay" for all workers remains the long-range goal, the AFL-CIO's Director of Civil Rights declared today.

"This is not a power game played in order to divide up the spoils," said Donald Slaiman, but to get legislation and programs to help meet the problems. But, he said, effective operation of programs takes not only "people who will pass the right legislation," but "cooperative work in the community and in the workshop" as well.

Slaiman said that the coalition had "one of the better cooperative working relationships ever in registration and getting out the vote" in the 1968 elections. He said that the percentage of the vote was "higher for COPE-endorsed candidates than it ever was in the black community." As a result of its narrow margin of victory, the new Administration has "moved to the (political) right at a very, very slow pace." Slaiman appeared on LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, a nationwide radio interview broadcast Tuesday at 7:35 p.m. (EDT), on the Mutual Broadcasting System.

The unionist said that the "overwhelming majority of the Negro community" remains interested in integration and peaceful progress, and "is not moving toward separatism and nationalism." But, he cautioned, the civil rights movement and the labor movement -- as well as the militants -- know that"just ending discrimination will not solve the problems of poverty and deprivation, nor even the problems of integration."

"Unless we break up and disperse the ghettos," he said, "we not only will have an intensified apartheid in our major cities, but we will also have a deterioration of the hubs of our total society." And if that happens, he warned, "not only will the Negro youth be lost, but the country will be lost."

Slaiman said that integration of apprenticeship programs is a "very rapidly improving picture," noting that since 1960, the level of black apprentices in registered apprenticeships has nearly tripled. That, he said, is a "more rapid increase on minority participation and a higher absolute percentage than in almost any well-paid part of the labor force throughout the country."

Reporters questioning Slaiman were Frank Swoboda, Washington correspondent for United Press International, and Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated.

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(Text of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is available at Public Relations Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., room 405)

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE
Mutual Broadcasting System

PROGRAM 11, SERIES 9
Tuesday, July 8, 1969

SUBJECT : Labor -- Black Community Coalition

GUEST : Donald Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO

REPORTERS: Frank Swoboda, labor correspondent, United Press International
Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated

MODERATOR: Frank Harden

HARDEN: LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE. Welcome to another edition of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL-CIO. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE brings together leading AFL-CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.

The long-standing coalition between organized labor and the black community has been a key factor in molding much of the nation's social and economic progress in recent decades. Here to question Mr. Slaiman about the factors leading to the formation of that coalition, how it functions today and what role he thinks it will play in the years ahead, are Frank Swoboda, labor correspondent for United Press International, and Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated. Your moderator, Frank Harden.

And now, Mr. Conn, I believe you have the first question?

CONN: Thank you, Mr. Harden.

Mr. Slaiman, perhaps the civil rights movement has been pushed off the front pages in recent years by the rush of militant events around the country, but, is there a civil rights movement in operation?

SLAIMAN: Very definitely. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is still the largest mass organization.

It has more than 1,500 branches.

It has the chief civil rights lobbyist in the country, Clarence Mitchell.

And, it has on-going influence that doesn't always hit the front pages of the newspapers and television news, because it's not news unless it's dramatic and negative, these days.

CONN: Would you say that the NAACP is the single most influential organization pushing for civil rights today?

SLAIMAN: Yes. Without question.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, what has been the effect of the black militant movement on the NAACP and on the whole national effort?

SLAIMAN: Well, I think there is a very mixed effect.

The rise of militancy, especially in the very early days of the direct action movement, did a lot of shaking up -- thawed some glaciers.

In more recent times, the effect tends to be more negative, divisive and confusing. These days, unless you identify the speaker, you sometimes can't tell which side he is on. This can be very harmful.

In addition, some of the militant activity has intensified the backlash of people who were already moving toward accepting integration.

However, the fact that there is a good deal of obvious discontent -- that there are obvious problems that people are reacting to -- is not all negative, because complacency is also a big danger.

CONN: Mr. Slaiman, as Mr. Harden noted, there is this working relationship between the civil rights movement and the AFL-CIO. What are you doing in this working relationship?

SLAIMAN: Well, look at the last election -- the last Presidential election -- 1968. It appeared for a while that the old coalition was disintegrating. The liberals -- many of them -- were off in the one-issue area. Many blacks were getting publicity by saying, don't vote -- it doesn't make any difference -- go fishing -- or vote for some splinter candidate like Dick Gregory or Eldridge Cleaver. Yet, we probably had one of the better cooperative working relationships ever in registration and getting out the vote, through the A. Philip Randolph Institute's activities with Negro trade unionists, with the NAACP and other civil rights groups.

The precentage of the vote -- in spite of all the agitation and in spite of all the negative publicity -- was as high or higher for COPE-endorsed candidates than it ever was in the black community. The result was, against great odds, we almost won the election with that old coalition of Negroes, and Mexican-Americans, and old people, and youth, and labor, and liberals.

We almost put together a winning combination.

CONN: Are some examples of this coalition in some of these mayoral races? I'm thinking of how close Bradley came to winning in Los Angeles -- something like 46 or 47 percent of the votes And there was Charles Evers' victory in Mississippi -- Mayor Stokes' in Cleveland -- Mayor Hatcher's in Gary, Indiana. Are these all products of the coalition?

SLAIMAN: They are not exactly alike.

Bradley is the clearest example of what you are talking about, Mr. Conn. There was a liberal -- Negro -- Mexican-American -- labor coalition, with some enlightened businessmen and other people of good will voting far stronger for Bradley than they did a few earlier on the fair housing referendum -- far, far higher.

So, although Bradley didn't win, there is no doubt that with only a very small percentage of the vote being Negro -- some 17 or 19 percent--

Bradley got a big percentage of the white vote.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, you said that the coalition worked so well in the 1968 election that it almost won. But, it didn't win. As a result, we have a new Administration. What has been the impact of this Administration on the civil rights movement?

SLAIMAN: Well, although we didn't win, we almost won. For that reason, the Administration has moved to the right at a very, very slow pace. In fact, the biggest criticism one can have is, it doesn't move at all-- not that it has moved so sharply to the right. Although it has made some hesitant steps here and there to accommodate Senator Strom Thurmond, (R-S.C), he has never really arrived. That is, the pressure of public opinion, the coalition and the fact that the country really didn't move sharply to the right, has maintained, if not a sharp move forward, at least some forward momentum toward implementing civil rights laws as well as maintaining them.

SWOBODA: Do you think the labor-black coalition can keep this pressure going for the next four years?

SLAIMAN: Well, I can't predict that we will be totally successful, but I think we will keep the pressure going.

Clarence Mitchell said at the recent AFL-CIO Community Services Conference, that we should "welcome the support and cooperation of church groups, and business associations, and other constructive organizations. However we must never forget that we -- that is, labor and the civil rights community -- are the foundation upon which the house of freedom is built. If we crumble and fall apart, the whole structure may well collapse."

So, while I can't predict success, I can agree with Mr. Mitchell, that if we don't at least partially succeed, freedom in this country will be jeopardized.

CONN: Mr. Slaiman, I think there is a question on a lot of peoples' minds as to exactly what direction most of the black population is directing itself. Is it directing itself to the established approach of fighting discrimination -- working for peaceful integrated communities? Or, is the great bulk of the Negro population moving toward separatism, black nationalism, and black militance?

SLAIMAN: Well I would say that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community is not moving toward separatism and nationalism. I would say that most are still interested in integration and peaceful progress.

But, the problem is a little more complicated than just maintaining a push toward integration and ending discrimination.

Not only the militants who are frustrated realize that this isn't enough. The civil rights movement, as well as the labor movement, is also aware that just ending discrimination will not solve the problems of poverty and deprivation, nor even the problems of integration.

As Bayard Rustin said, just after the Civil Rights Bill was signed that unless the Negroes in coalition with labor and other groups, move toward solving the basic economic and educational problems of this country -- on the political scene, primarily -- we would enter a period of frustration and turmoil.

And I think he was right.

The problem of reaching the goals of the integration movement -- that is, equality, not only on paper, but in reality -- is much more complex than just eliminating discrimination. To the degree that we do not see results of progress -- where we see an intensification of housing problems in the ghettos -- we see the high rate of unemployment among Negro youth even after we have a federal Fair Employment Practices law -- this frustration leads to the troubles -- the riots -- the tendency towards separatism. But, it also means that unless we solve these basic problems, we aren't doing what we thought we would be doing when we started down the civil rights path.

CONN: Well, what you are saying then, is that unless the Negro youth finds a job -- finds a place in the community -- and has some hope of being able to raise a family -- has a home and is able to live the type of life that most all of us what to live -- that unless he has some hope of doing this, we are going to lose him as part of the basic American community.

SLAIMAN: I would say so. But, even more important than that. Unless we break up and disperse the ghettos, we not only will have an intensified apartheid in our major cities, we will also have a deterioration of the hubs of our total society.

We are an increasingly urban civilization. If that urbanized civilization -- that is, its centers -- are nothing but deteriorating segregated ghettos, it's not only the Negro youth who will be lost, but the country will be lost.

I think that we have as big a problem with white middle-class youth in our colleges as we have with Negro youth in the ghettos, if not bigger.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, you talk about the main thrust being politics. Is this what you see as the main thrust of the labor-black coalition in the immediate future -- the work of the political system to bring about these changes? Or, are there other programs -- other involvements?

SLAIMAN: The main thrust starts with politics, but that is not an end in itself.

This is not a power game played in order to divide up the spoils -- divide up jobs.

The purpose of politics is to get programs and legislation that will do something about the problems.

In the area of jobs, our first priority is the O'Hara Bill, to assure that the government will be the employer of last resort -- that people who can work, even if they don't have the education, will get decent jobs at decent pay, as a starter.

Of course, just passing legislation is not the solution -- this isn't the early New Deal. We have to put the programs into operation at the grass-roots level -- at the local level --

at the state level. This requires not only a coalition to elect people who will pass the right legislation, but it also takes cooperative work in the community and in the workshop, seeing to it that the good laws that are passed attain the goals for which they were intended.

CONN: Mr. Slaiman, if there is one thing that the labor movement knows, it is jobs. Of course, that is crucial in this whole picture. What, specifically, is the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions doing now to bring about equal opportunity for jobs among all people?

SLAIMAN: Well, there are several areas. They are all important.

One is legislation, both on the anti-discrimination front and on the job-creation front.

Two, programs to implement these laws. Here again, we have an on-going program to involve our affiliates in ending discrimination within their own locals and resolve complaints on a constructive basis.

We also have the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, which is putting manpower specialists to work at the local level in a number of programs. They are cooperating with those companies that are hiring the hard-core unemployed, and developing buddy systems to see that our locals cooperate and that our members don't backlash to the hiring of what are generally under-qualified minority group workers.

This is a new program, Mr. Conn. We already have recruited a national staff and 50 field staff -- that is, in 50 major cities there are now Human Resources Development Institute field representatives working with the central bodies, with the National Alliance of Businessmen, and with local unions, helping them develop buddy systems. In the future, these men and women will be working with other manpower programs, many of them union-instituted manpower programs -- in construction and other industries.

Beyond what the employers do, the unions are developing their own manpower programs to up-grade the skills, as well as find job opportunities for minority-group youth and for older workers.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, I don't think there is any doubt about the attitude and actions of the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement at the top. What about the rank-and-file? How is the acceptance of these programs at that level?

SLAIMAN: Well, when you say the rank-and-file, you are talking about 14 million people. There is no monolithic rank-and-file.

We have every range of opinion within our membership. You really have to talk about how various levels of the labor movement are reacting to various programs.

If you start politically, we find that there was an alarming percentage -- not as big as many people thought -- but to us an alarming percentage of our rank-and-file reacting to Wallace's siren calls. By election time, we had reduced that percentage quite significantly. Our rank-and-file, I would say overwhelmingly -- 60% to 70% -- supports the candidates and the general programs of the labor movement. But, that other 30 to 35 percent is a large group to work on. As you go up the ranks of our leadership, you get a higher and higher percentage identifying with the objectives of the national labor movement. But it is not monolithic -- it is just a higher percentage.

So, when we talk of implementing a program, or educating our people about a program, we start from the position that we have to increase support for the labor movement's objectives. Sometimes we have to be strenuous, otherwise, it can seriously damage our impact. At other times, we just keep doing it to make progress.

We are never in a position to be complacent -- sure that everything is going to turn out alright, because our members are wonderful people.

They are human beings -- they are American citizens -- they need to know the issues -- they need some leadership -- and they need an opportunity to participate with and become part of leadership in the community.

CONN: Mr. Slaiman, there have been some very confusing statistics abroad in recent years as to the amount of integration in apprenticeship training programs. Many people try to use this as a barometer of how much, particularly the crafts, are integrating. From the information you have, what is the picture?

SLAIMAN: It is a very rapidly improving picture.

In 1960, the statistics showed that of registered apprenticeships, slightly more than two percent were non-white. As of the end of 1968, the figure had risen to 7.2 percent -- that's about triple.

Another figure that the Labor Department released shows that in the first half of 1968, 9.4 percent of the entrants were non-white. That means that although we haven't reached an average of the percentage of the population in this most difficult skilled-level -- where there was, in many of the programs, very little minority participation -- we have seen a more rapid increase in minority participation and a higher absolute percentage than in almost any well-paid part of the labor force throughout the country.

Now, this isn't the end of the road. We still have a long way to go.

But, if people want to measure the labor movement's intentions and results by looking at apprenticeships, I think the record in the last few years has been excellent.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, do you think the economic realities of such programs as Model Cities will speed this even further?

SLAIMAN: If the money that has been talked about is invested and we can get the follow-up on the kind of solid programs that the

construction unions have endorsed in principle, I think it will.

But, there are a couple of "if's."

So far, very little actual money is going into construction programs in Model Cities. We have only the pilot programs in which to show results.

SWOBODA: Do you hold out any hope that you will get that money?

SLAIMAN: That is a political problem -- with an Administration that holds the strings and a public attitude that affects what they do.

CONN: Mr. Slaiman, is a key part of this apprenticeship training pre-apprenticeships for those who just can't measure up to the what it takes to enter an apprenticeship -- prior training to enable them to meet the standards?

SLAIMAN: Yes. There is a need for compensatory preparation to make up for education gaps and access gaps.

CONN: And this has accounted for the difference?

SLAIMAN: I think that in large measure, it has. Yes.

HARDEN: Thank you, gentlemen, Today's LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE guest was Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights. Representing the press were Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated, and Frank Swoboda, labor correspondent for United Press International. This is your moderator, Frank Harden, inviting you to listen again next week. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is a public affairs production of the AFL-CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Broadcasting System.

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September 2, 1969

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are several items which may be of interest to you.

The booklet on A. Philip Randolph's 80th birthday dinner contains attractive photographs and memorable speeches praising the career of the labor and civil rights leader.

The key manpower arm of the AFL-CIO, the Human Resources Development Institute, is active in developing job and training programs for the disadvantaged. Our new and informative pamphlet answers many questions about the Institute.

Theodore White's latest effort, Making of the President 1968, was recently published. From his book I am submitting an excerpt highlighting the AFL-CIO's role in the election.

The article by John Roche puts into perspective recent contributions of the organized labor movement.

Through Apprenticeship Outreach there has been a progressive assimilation of minority group youth into apprenticeship programs. A Federationist reprint, Outreach: Skills for Minority Youth, describes the evolvement of this effective program.

(EV)

With all good wishes!

Sincerely yours,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

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See attached publications

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI

MANPOWER ARM
OF THE AFL-CIO

- **What is HRDI?**
  The Human Resources Development Institute is a new, non-profit corporation established by the AFL-CIO executive council in September 1968.

- **What does HRDI do?**
  HRDI works at the community level to develop more effective job and training programs for the disadvantaged through greater union participation.

- **How does HRDI operate?**
  HRDI has field representatives in 50 cities with severe hard-core unemployment problems. They analyze the job and training needs of their communities and work with unions, industry and the government to design programs which meet their needs. Where the need is *not* being met, HRDI encourages unions to sponsor innovative manpower programs of their own.

- **Who are the HRDI field representatives?**
  HRDI has recruited an integrated staff of men and women from 27 different national unions. They have been involved in a wide range of civic and community organizations. They share a commitment to the job of bringing America's disadvantaged into full economic citizenship.

- **Who are the disadvantaged?**
  They are men and women who have trouble finding—or keeping—decent jobs because of a combination or race, age, lack of skill, poor health, inferior education or problems.

- **Are the hard-to-employ all members of minority groups?**
  No. However, unemployment among non-whites today is twice what it is among whites.

- **What is the relationship of HRDI to the AFL-CIO?**
  HRDI was set up to be the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO. It is governed by an 11-member board of trustees, all of whom are members of the AFL-CIO executive council. AFL-CIO president George Meany is chairman of HRDI's board and Julius Rothman, associate director of the AFL-CIO department of urban affairs, is president of HRDI. HRDI is headquartered in the AFL-CIO building in Washington, D.C.

- **What is HRDI's relationship to the labor movement locally?**
  The HRDI field representative is an integral part of organized labor in his city. He works closely with all the local unions in his community. In most cities, the central labor body provides office space for HRDI in its headquarters. This cooperation makes it possible for HRDI to achieve its goal.

- **What is HRDI's relationship to the business community?**
  HRDI works closely with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) in its Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program for hiring and training the disadvantaged. An AFL-CIO representative serves full time as labor liaison to NAB at NAB headquarters in Wash-

ington. Local HRDI representatives work closely with local NAB staff wherever possible.

- **Is the AFL-CIO's interest in manpower new?**

No. The labor movement played a key role in passing the Employment Act of 1946: this law stated for the first time the government's responsibility in achieving the goal of full employment.

AFL-CIO was instrumental in winning support for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 which for the first time committed substantial federal funds to training and upgrading the nation's work force.

AFL-CIO was a strong advocate of programs for training the disadvantaged under the Economic Development Act and the Economic Opportunity Act.

AFL-CIO continues to press for adoption of a coordinated federal manpower policy to make better use of *all* the nation's human resources—including the disadvantaged.

- **Have AFL-CIO unions sponsored any training programs?**

Yes. Many unions have been sponsoring On-the-Job Training (OJT) programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Some unions conduct training programs of their own without federal assistance. In 52 cities, local building trade councils are cooperating with minority group organizations and the Department of Labor in programs to recruit and prepare minority youth for entry into apprenticeable crafts.

What federal manpower programs is HRDI involved in—and how?

- Job Opportunities in the Business Sector

HRDI cooperates with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) in their program to hire, train and upgrade the hard-to-employ.

In plants where the disadvantaged are hired, HRDI recruits workers who act as volunteer "buddies" to help the new employees adjust.

- Apprenticeship Outreach

HRDI representatives actively promote programs to recruit more minority youth for jobs in the apprenticeable trades.

HRDI cooperates with the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, the National Urban League, the Workers Defense League-A. Philip Randolph Institute and the U.S. Department of Labor in promoting these programs.

- Model Cities

HRDI representatives work out local agreements between unions and community groups that make it possible to hire and train area residents for jobs in rebuilding their neighborhoods.

HRDI representatives play an active role in Model City planning groups wherever possible.

- On-the-Job Training

HRDI representatives encourage local unions to sponsor their own training programs for the hard-to-employ under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

- Concentrated Employment Program

HRDI representatives work closely with local CEP programs which are designed to give the disadvantaged in slum areas the individual help they need to get and keep a decent job.

- Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System

HRDI representatives present labor's point of view on local and state CAMPS committees. These committees develop manpower blueprints for effective use of all federal manpower programs to meet local job and training needs.

A Human Resources Development Institute

has been set up by the AFL-CIO to involve more unions in job training programs to help the disadvantaged.

The AFL-CIO has long maintained that the best way out of poverty is a good job at a decent wage.

For many Americans, however, this way out has not been available. Because of skin color, lack of skills, poor health, inferior education, age, language problems—or a combination of these—there are men and women in this country who cannot find consistent, meaningful employment. . .
These are the "disadvantaged" and the "hard-to-employ."

Our economy is expanding. Our capacity to produce has been increasing steadily since 1961. In the last five years, some 7½ million new jobs have been created—an average of *5,000 new jobs each day.* Yet hundreds of thousands of Americans have been unable to share in this economic growth. . .
These are the "disadvantaged" and the "hard-to-employ."

In 1968, a survey of our 50 major cities indicated that there were *500,000 men and women who had serious employment problems or who had never had a job at all* living in the slums of our metropolitan centers.

Because the AFL-CIO believes that human resources are a nation's most valuable asset, it has established a Human Resources Development Institute to operate in the 50 cities where the problem of hard-core unemployment is most severe.

HRDI's task is a critical one: to tap the talent and experience available within the labor movement to develop more effective programs for helping the disadvantaged find—and keep—good jobs at decent wages.

Through HRDI, the AFL-CIO is developing a staff of community-based employment specialists who come from and understand the labor movement, who understand manpower programs and who understand the needs and problems of the hard-to-employ. Their expertise provides a new and important element in the nation's effort to use its human resources more effectively.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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Photo by Irene Fertik

Outreach: Skills for Minority Youth

by Robert M. McGlotten & Doris Gibson Hardesty

A unique and imaginative program, Apprenticeship Outreach, is producing evidence that it is helping to crack one of the nation's toughest problems—enabling minority group youngsters to acquire skills and obtain good-paying jobs.

The U.S. Department of Labor recently reported that, of the 225,000 persons in registered apprenticeship programs in 1968, the number of non-whites totaled 16,200 or an increase to 7.2 percent.

A more refined measure of recent progress is that, of the 26,156 apprentices newly-enrolled in the first half of 1968, approximately 9.4 percent came from minority groups.

These figures reflect a systematic and combined effort on the part of the labor movement, the government and private organizations to recruit and place more minority youths in skilled trades. And the rate of progress also reflects the crucial factor of strongly-motivated youngsters seeking to improve themselves.

The extent of the achievement may be appreciated by glancing back at 1960 census statistics. They showed that non-whites made up 2.5 percent of a total 85,682 apprentices in the United States. Thus minority representation has tripled in eight years and continues to increase.

This overdue improvement occurred against a larger economic and legislative backdrop. The nation has enjoyed an unprecedented period of economic growth which has reduced the rate of unemployment. And the 1964 Civil Rights Act, specifically Title VII covering fair employment practices, has helped to desegregate many areas of employment.

But this is not the entire story by far. There had been a painfully gradual improvement in minority participation in apprenticeship programs before (from 1.9 percent in 1950 to 2.5 percent in 1960). The sharp increase of the past few years can only be explained, given favorable economic conditions, by an intensive coordinated effort to achieve progress.

Two major innovations were the Apprenticeship Information Centers (AICs) created by the government to attract minority youth and Apprenticeship Outreach, an even more significant concept. The aim of these two approaches was to deal with the complex problem of bringing minority group youngsters into the skilled trades of the construction industry. One effect of the past history of the craft unions and the industry had been the stifling of the interest and desire of young Negroes in acquiring skills.

This point was elaborated by Professor Ray Mar-

ROBERT M. McGLOTTEN and DORIS G. HARDESTY are with the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights. McGlotten is a staff representative and Mrs. Hardesty is an administrative assistant.

Apprenticeship Outreach Programs Funded

Bedford-Stuyvesant (NYC)	Knoxville
Harlem (NYC)	Albuquerque
Buffalo	Salt Lake City
Cleveland	Miami
Newark, N. J.	Wyoming (statewide)
Westchester	New Orleans
Detroit	Akron
Baltimore	Portland
Los Angeles	Fort Worth
Gary	Lexington
Oakland (4 counties)	San Antonio
Philadelphia	Milwaukee
Trenton	Chicago
San Francisco	E. St. Louis
San Diego	St. Louis
Cincinnati	Columbus
Omaha	Jacksonville
Boston	Minneapolis-St. Paul
Phoenix	Houston
Oklahoma City	Colorado Springs
Dayton	Nashville
Tulsa	Rochester
Denver	Kansas City, Mo.
Atlanta	Tampa
Dallas	Flint
Pittsburgh	Los Angeles (Mexican-American)

Journeymen upgrading programs

Buffalo	Boston
Oakland	St. Louis

shall in his book, "The Negro and Apprenticeship." Marshall found that minority group youngsters for the most part simply were not applying for existing apprenticeship programs and he sought the reason why.

One reason Marshall found was that they rarely had a model or example of successful craftsmen among their families or friends. Also, high school counselors seldom advised youngsters to enter what was generally considered a blue collar field, even though salaries were often higher and the future brighter than in many white collar jobs. Finally, minority youngsters were too often told by friends and counselors that they couldn't get into the trades anyway.

A successful approach to resolving this problem was developed in New York City in 1963 and 1964 after a court case involving Sheet Metal Local 28. The New York State Commission for Human Rights had charged the sheet metal local with discrimination based on a complaint from an apprentice applicant. The Commission maintained that not once in the local's 76-year history had a Negro been either apprentice or journeyman, thus proving a pattern of discrimination.

The case eventually went to the New York Supreme Court and a ruling was handed down that the next Sheet Metal Workers' apprenticeship class was to be open to all applicants and selection made on an objective basis.

The Workers Defense League, a human rights group which had been involved in earlier apprenticeship cases, helped to recruit minority youngsters for the first class scheduled in the spring of 1965. The union's admission examination was to be given by New York University. The WDL recruited 28 Negro applicants. A total of 340 applicants took the test for a class which would contain 65 apprentices.

Although the WDL tutored its candidates briefly, the highest scorer was 68th. The next highest was 97th. Three white youngsters who placed ahead of the 68th scorer dropped out and Local 28 had its first Negro in an apprenticeship program.

Six months later, in the fall of 1965, Local 28 began its next class for 65 apprentices. Of the top 30 candidates accepted, 11 were Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters who had benefited from WDL's improved recruiting and tutoring techniques.

Of the original group of 12 minority group apprentices accepted in 1965, the Sheet Metal Workers graduated eight Negroes as journeymen in January of 1969. Of the other four apprentices, one is deceased, one is in military service, one dropped out and one was demoted but is expected to graduate as a journeyman.

Today, over 20 percent of the Sheet Metal Workers' apprentices in Local 28 are Puerto Rican and Negro youngsters.

The Workers Defense League had learned a lesson after its attempt to recruit minority youngsters for the Sheet Metal Workers' program in 1965. It learned that recruitment is not always easy and that merely supplying "bodies" to take the examination didn't produce results. The WDL's success in placing youngsters with Sheet Metal and other craft union apprenticeships in the following years stemmed from new techniques and approaches.

The success of the WDL program is largely due to Ernest Green, present director of WDL's apprenticeship program. An M.A. graduate from the University of Michigan, Green was one of the "Little Rock 9," the first Negroes to attend Central High School there in 1957. He joined WDL as assistant director of the program in 1964 when WDL received its first grant from the Taconic Foundation to do apprenticeship work.

In mid-1966, Dennis Derryck took over the tutoring component of the program. A mathematician out of the Yonkers, N.Y., school system, Derryck devised the remedial and upgrading teaching methods which have made WDL-tutored youngsters top scorers in most entry aptitude tests.

The first step to success, WDL learned, was to know the precise requirements for entrance into programs—such as whether the youngster needed his high school diploma and/or high school transcript, the age and

residence requirements, the basic tools needed for the trade, the existence of an aptitude test or oral examination or both and whether a medical certificate was required.

Recognizing an educational lag between the inner city schools of New York and their suburban counterparts, WDL recruited minority youngsters who could compete with applicants from better school districts.

Most of the WDL apprenticeship candidates come from academic high schools. WDL staff found early that the vocational high schools produced youngsters less able to compete in this job market.

They also recognized the need for intensive tutoring before the examination. Many of the youngsters did not know the simple techniques of taking tests and were unduly frightened by them. They practiced repeatedly on basic aptitude tests given by WDL staff. The tutoring concentrated on mathematics and reading comprehension.

Tutorial programs frequently require 6 to 12 weeks and the admission procedure will sometimes stretch this time period into six months. In order to wait out the interim, WDL staff helped locate young men in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. The Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in particular, as well as other local New York unions, helped supply these jobs.

Motivation has always been considered a difficult problem in gaining entry to a skilled trades training program. WDL staff members frequently found themselves providing transportation from home to union hall for the youngsters, checking on why they may have missed a tutoring class and counseling them on personal problems.

While attending classes they are taught what to expect as an apprentice on a job. The hazing of new apprentices, a longstanding ritual in some craft unions, was mistaken as discrimination by some minority youngsters until they learned to expect it as a custom in particular unions.

Some unions have oral interviews as a part of their entrance procedures. Youngsters prepared by WDL received a lot of practice in going through oral interviews—interviews which were frequently more demanding and frightening than the actual experience.

When birth certificates, high school diplomas and health records were needed, WDL staff helped youngsters to secure them. They also provided the candidates with loans for tools and registration fees. Finally, the WDL followed its apprentices onto the jobs and was available for consultation on problems during the first weeks at work.

Young men prepared by the WDL enter apprenticeship programs knowing the value of the union and how it is structured. While the general drop-out rate for apprentices in the skilled trades is above 30 percent, youngsters who have gone through the WDL

Photo by Irene Fertik

Photo by James Gilbert

From apprentice to journeyman. Part of the group which moved successfully through a training program to become journeyman members of Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 in New York City. Seated, from left: Charlie Saunders, William Murphy, Bennie Newton, Robert Alston, Christopher Wiley. Standing: Herbert Hall; Charles Brenner, WDL assistant program director; Ernest Green, WDL program director; Scott Green.

training programs have maintained a drop-out rate of less than 10 percent.

Don Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, has served as a consultant to the WDL apprenticeship program since its inception in 1964 and has helped it to grow. In early 1967, with the support of the Civil Rights Department, WDL negotiated its first contract for "Outreach" with the U.S. Department of Labor. The contract called for two years of funding to expand further the League's Brooklyn program.

At this time, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund joined the Workers Defense League as a co-sponsor under the official title of "Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Workers Defense League—A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund."

Today, they maintain programs in cooperation with local building trades councils in 10 major U.S. cities. Since receiving their first Labor Department grant in 1967, they have placed 930 minority youngsters.

But Outreach did not stop there. In early 1966, Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, appeared before the AFL-CIO Executive Council and recommended a joint Urban League and labor program to help bring more Negroes into the labor movement. The Council voted to assist this program and donated $30,000 for a three-year period. This grant was renewed for another three years at the February 1969 meeting of the Executive Council.

Out of the Urban League and AFL-CIO venture came LEAP (Labor Education Advancement Program). It adopted the technique introduced by the WDL and secured its first grant for Outreach in July of 1967. Today, LEAP, with building trades cooperation, sponsors Outreach programs in 21 cities. As of January 31, 1969, LEAP had placed 861 youngsters.

At its 7th constitutional convention in 1967, the AFL-CIO officially endorsed the Outreach concept in its civil rights resolution, stating:

"The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, with the cooperation of the Department of Labor, the Building and Construction Trades Department and building trades councils throughout the country, have concentrated their efforts in working with the Joint Apprenticeship Committee (Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund), the Urban League's Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), the Trade Union Leadership Council, the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) and other groups. All of these have developed programs for recruiting, tutoring and counseling apprentices who qualify in meeting existing standards for apprenticeship programs.

"The U.S. Labor Department has already made grants to programs of these kinds in 16 cities. The AFL-CIO endorses these programs and recommends that they be studied and emulated in other cities."

In February 1968, in a letter to then Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, President C. J. Haggerty of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department pledged:

"1. To foster, with the cooperation of appropriate management organizations: (a) Programs of recruitment of qualified applicants for apprenticeship from

Photos by Irene Fertik

the Negro population and other minority groups, and (b) Programs for special attention to deficiencies affecting the full qualification of Negro and other minority group applicants. . . .

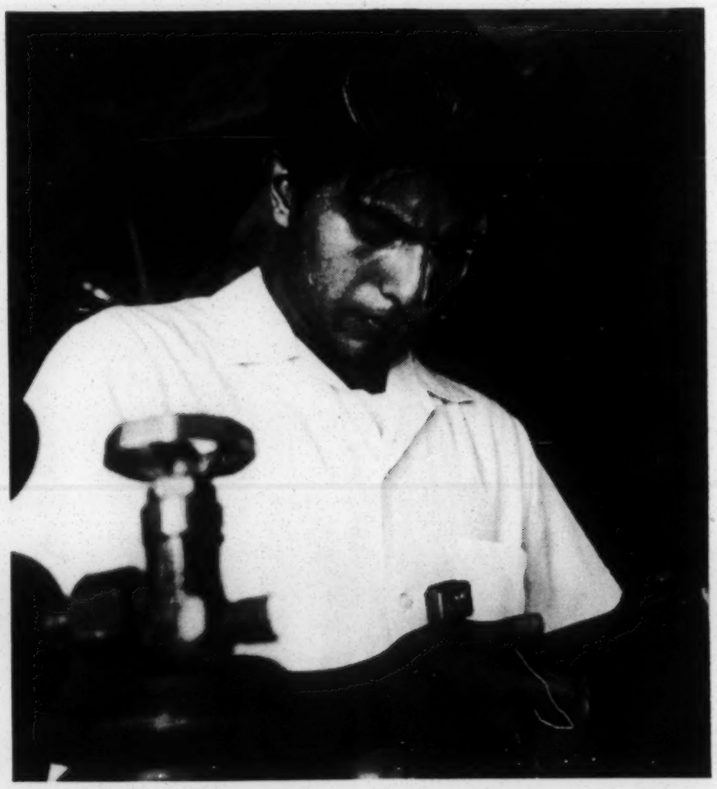
"2. To endorse and support projects such as Outreach and LEAP."

All Outreach programs operate with the cooperation and approval of local building trades councils. Because of this, relationships between the minority community and building trades councils have improved considerably over the past three years.

For instance, in a recently released study for the National Manpower Policy Task Force concerning equal opportunity in apprenticeship, Professors Ray Marshall and Vernon Briggs report:

"The WDL has . . . become the chief referral channel through which virtually all minority applicants pass if they desire entry into an apprenticeship program in New York City. Indicative of this understanding is the fact that most of the major unions, which are under no legal compunction to do so, notify the WDL in advance of the dates that entrance tests are to be given so that minority applicants can be assured of an opportunity to apply."

Building Trades Council presidents like Peter Brennan of New York have welcomed and encouraged Outreach. In 1967, Brennan told the New York Building Trades: "I hope our unions will have a greater understanding and will cooperate with the WDL." He reported the WDL applicants had proved to be "good apprentices" and that "the League is not trying to push in kids that aren't interested or aren't qualified."



Department of Labor Photo

Today, thanks to cooperative efforts of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, LEAP, other community organizations and the Department of Labor, Outreach programs are operating in 52 cities.

The Workers Defense League sponsors the program in 10 cities. LEAP has 21, building trades councils maintain them in 14 and other organizations like the Trade Union Leadership Council and the Opportunities Industrialization Center sponsor the remaining seven. As of January 1969, over 2,500 minority youths have been apprenticed in programs.

As Marshall and Briggs conclude: "It should be emphasized that although not more than 5,000 Negro youngsters are likely to reach journeyman status each year through apprenticeship training, these are good jobs—often paying more than $10,000 a year and leading to supervisory or entrepreneurial positions."

The Outreach program has demonstrated the ability of the skilled trades unions to rapidly recruit more minority apprentices. For example, there were only six Negro apprentices in five of Cleveland's building trades programs in 1966. An Outreach program was launched late in 1967 and, by the end of 1968, there were 21 in the electrical program, 26 in the ironworkers program, 31 in the plumbing and steamfitting trades and 11 in the sheetmetal trades. A total of 142 Negro apprentices were placed in Cleveland in a year.

Nor did the Outreach concept stop with programs to recruit apprentices. In November 1968 in Boston, the local Building Trades Council and the Workers Defense League expanded their program to include upgrading the skills of older minority workers.

The AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department paved the way for this expansion in July 1968 when the presidents of the 18 building trades unions adopted a policy on employment of older workers in Model Cities and urban rehabilitation programs.

The statement supported remedial training for non-journeymen so they could achieve journeyman status and specialized and remedial training for workers with non-union construction experience so they might qualify for trade union acceptance.

Skill upgrading programs now exist in cooperation with building trades councils and community-based organizations in four cities: Buffalo, Oakland, Boston and St. Louis. Negotiations are under way for similar programs in 12 of the 52 cities involved in Outreach.

In addition to skill upgrading programs for older workers and Apprenticeship Outreach, building trades unions also are engaged in other programs to help

This young man, a Choctaw Indian, is an apprentice wireman in Brotherhood of Electrical Workers' Local 1141, Oklahoma City.

Photo by Irene Fertik

minority youngsters who cannot immediately qualify for entry into apprenticeship.

One such program is "Project Build" in Washington, D. C. Funded under a Manpower Development and Training Act contract signed by the Greater Washington Labor Council and the Department of Labor, out-of-school youths 17 to 23 years of age are recruited for a year of instruction and practical work experience in housing rehabilitation and construction.

During the classroom period, they are paid $56 a week to help meet living expenses. Once on the job, their wages begin at $1.90 per hour. The program is directed to preparing the youngsters for apprenticeship. If a young man still cannot qualify after his year of training, the unions are committed to finding him a job under a collective bargaining contract with a union membership card.

Building trades unions, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the newly established AFL-CIO Urban Affairs Department, are continuing their efforts to improve and expand opportunities for minority workers in the skilled craft areas.

The progress already achieved has surpassed all expectations of even a few years ago and minority participation in the building industry grows steadily.

Those concerned and involved in these programs feel they not only benefit minority workers and strengthen trade unions, but that the nation gains as well.

Photo by Irene Fertik

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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September, 1969

Dear Friend,

I hope you have had a pleasant summer.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute has just published two pamphlets, the first of which is called A. Philip Randolph at 80--Tributes and Recollections. It contains speeches made at the birthday celebration in his honor by George Meany, Roy Wilkins, Coretta Scott King and others, and it is well illustrated. I think it is a significant historical document.

The second pamphlet, Three Essays by Bayard Rustin, contains three short pieces on current issues entitled "Myths of the Black Revolt," "The Role of the Negro Middle Class," and "The Union Card and the Ballot Box."

Please use the attached form in ordering these pamphlets.

Also enclosed is a flyer advertising a timely pamphlet on black studies published by the Randolph Educational Fund. I think you will find the essays by Martin Kilson, C. Vann Woodward, and others to be both interesting and relevant.

Best wishes,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Clip and send to: The A. Philip Randolph Institute
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The A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
announces the publication of

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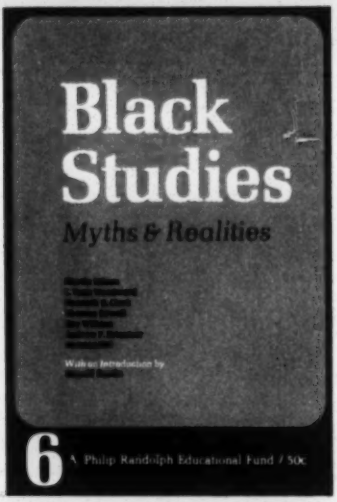

"What is meant by 'black studies'? . . . Is black studies an educational program or a forum for ideological indoctrination? Is it designed to train qualified scholars in a significant field of intellectual inquiry, or is it hoped that its graduates will form political cadres prepared to organize the impoverished residents of the black ghetto? . . . And finally, does it offer the possibility for better racial understanding, or is it a regression to racial separatism? The power – and also the danger – of 'black studies' as a slogan is that it can mean any or all of these things to different people . . . .

"To find the reality behind the slogan is the purpose of this pamphlet."

– from the Introduction by Bayard Rustin

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AFL-CIO-Civil Rights
(see Union-Civil Rts.

CIVIL

RIGHTS

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 8TH AFL-CIO CONVENTION-OCTOBER 1969

Fifteen years ago, the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in schools violated the Constitution and called for its ending with all deliberate speed. But compliance with the law came very slowly. After ten years, only 1% of Negro children were going to integrated schools in the South. Today, the figure is still far from satisfactory.

During the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, Congress passed comprehensive civil rights legislation to end discrimination in all aspects of American life—public accommodations, voting, education, employment, housing and in the administration of justice.

Today, we can see the results in substantial progress not only in this fight against discrimination but in bringing minority group citizens into the mainstream of American life.

But despite this progress, there are no grounds for complacency. The increasing crisis proportions of problems in our cities, the abnormally high rates of unemployment among Negro and other minorities and the remaining pockets of discrimination are festering sores. It would be idle and tragic to ignore them or pretend that they will go away.

Indeed, it cannot be stressed too strongly that the country as a whole, and we in the labor movement in particular, must pay greater attention at every level—national, state and local—to bring about sound, effective and democratic solutions to these problems.

In fact, since the last election, the momentum for sound progress has slowed.

It is no exaggeration to say that the great gains that have been made as a result of the efforts of the civil rights movement, the American labor movement and religious and liberal organizations are in peril today.

The Nixon Administration has failed to provide forthright and unambiguous support or adequate and consistent implementation of the laws.

The United States Civil Rights Commission recently observed that "for the first time since the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation, the Federal Government has requested, in court, a slowdown in the pace of desegregation."

This is no isolated incident. In failing to oppose the Whitten Amendment in the House of Representatives and by moving from established, successful regulations to complete reliance on the courts, the Nixon Administration is permitting a major retreat in the struggle to achieve meaningful school desegregation.

Another example is in the area of voting, where the Voting Rights Act of 1965 aided by vigorous implementation by the Department of Justice under President Johnson resulted in 800,000 new Negro registered voters in those states where voting discrimination had been most onerous. But here too, the Adminis-

tration has failed to press for a simple five-year extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that would insure that the clock not be turned back.

Nixon Administration officials are covering this retreat in civil rights enforcement by trying to make a whipping boy of unions, especially those in the building trades. They have resorted to an unsound double standard in attempting to deal with the legitimate problem of expanding the opportunities for minority group workers in higher paid skilled and technical jobs.

It is part of a calculated strategy of accommodating conservative elements in the South while, at the same time, trying to divide minorities, labor and liberals who have been the backbone of the effort to achieve progress in the civil rights area.

The unity of these forces for equality is vitally necessary today to maintain the gains that have been made and to start a new march forward toward the goal of an integrated society with equal opportunity and equal justice for all.

The AFL-CIO is proud of its record in the struggle for civil rights and we have particularly sought to end discrimination in employment. The AFL-CIO played a major role in getting a Fair Employment Practice section into the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which covered unions as well as employers. It has worked with its affiliates to attain compliance with the law. Today, it strongly supports efforts to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it cease-and-desist powers needed to make it more effective. The Administration is opposed, seeking enforcement in the federal district courts. Here as in the school desegregation situation, the Administration moves in a direction that the civil rights movement can only view as dilatory and ineffective.

The AFL-CIO has not limited its efforts to the legislative front. It has taken the initiative to work with affiliates in developing affirmative action programs on a sound basis that would bring significant results, whether required by law or not.

Specifically in the construction industry, the AFL-CIO has worked with the Building Trades Department, international unions, local building trades councils and groups like the Workers Defense League, A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, the Urban League's LEAP Program and other community groups. The results obtained speak for themselves.

By July of 1969, 4,248 minority group apprentices were placed by Outreach Programs. Of these, 3,958 were in building and construction trades apprenticeship programs. The bulk of these were not in the so-called "trowel trades". Electricians, carpenters, iron workers, plumbers, steamfitters and sheet metal workers accounted for 2,293 of these apprentices.

Minority group apprentices in the construction industry have moved from less than 2.5% in 1960 to 7.2% in 1968. The majority of regular apprentices in federally serviced programs are in the construction industry. The percentage of minority apprentices is higher than in metal manufacturing, non-metal manufacturing and public utilities and transportation.

At its last Convention, the AFL-CIO endorsed the Outreach Programs that then existed in 16 states and recommended that these programs be emulated in other states. Today, Outreach Programs for recruiting, motivating and preparing youngsters for building trades apprenticeship programs have been funded by the U.S. Department of Labor in 55 cities after agreement by local building trades councils for full cooperation.

This is an excellent example of a sound policy being designed and implemented with effective results.

The AFL-CIO is encouraged by the policy statement of the Executive Council of the Building and Construction Trades Department, which was passed unanimously at its recent 1969 Convention. This statement reaffirms the Building Trades policy of non-discrimination and calls for the acceleration and extension of apprenticeship Outreach Programs which have proved successful in actual operation. Moreover, it does not limit itself to these successful programs.

It also outlined a program for increasing minority group participation outside of the apprenticeship route, saying:

> "We make flat and unqualified recommendation to local unions throughout the United States that for a stated period of time they should invite the application of qualified minority journeymen for membership in their respective local unions and should accept all such qualified minority journeymen provided they meet the ordinary and equally administered requirements for membership."

It also recommends for study by local unions the establishment of training programs for minority workers who are not either qualified journeymen or eligible for apprenticeship. The statement says:

> "We also recommend that the local unions and the local council explore and vigorously pursue training programs for the upgrading of minority workers who are not of apprenticeship age. Such programs should be developed in such manner as to prevent undercutting the established apprenticeship programs. The recommendations which have been previously made on model cities should furnish an appropriate guideline for development of these journeymen training programs."

The implementation of this excellent statement is a sound basis for bringing increased participation by minority group workers

in skilled jobs in the construction industry, especially in those locals which now have low participation rates. The use of quotas is a bad substitute for sound, effective programs. It is not only of questionable legality under the Civil Rights Act, but it does not even insure permanent skilled jobs for minority workers.

The Administration's so-called "Philadelphia Plan" sets up unsound procedures used in no other industry, segment of the labor market or in government itself. The excuse for this is the low percentage of Negroes and other minorities in the construction industry. In most cases, the figures that have been used for justification have been erroneous. For example, in Philadelphia, government officials implied that less than 2% of building trades membership were minority group workers. The facts are that over 30% of Philadelphia Building Trades members are Negro, and excluding Laborers, 12% of all journeymen are Negro.

Government figures on white collar occupations and in industries, such as textile, banking and newspaper, show far less overall minority group participation than in construction and no higher percentages in skilled categories. In these industries, employers unilaterally do the hiring. Unions have little if any say. There is no excuse for the Administration to play a "numbers game" as they did in the Philadelphia Plan publicity. Falsely portraying the facts won't help minorities get jobs or end discrimination.

The AFL-CIO urges that vigorous efforts be made to expand opportunities for minority group youth and workers in the better-paid and more skilled jobs throughout our economy, including the building and construction trades industry. But we urge that it be done on a sound, fair, effective, continuing basis and we are opposed to making a political football out of an issue as important as the issue of ending discrimination in employment everywhere, in all kinds of employment for all time.

Discrimination and deprivation are problems not only of the American Negro, but of other minority groups. Americans of Mexican descent are the second largest minority. Puerto Rican, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Eskimos and Aleuts today face problems of discrimination.

Some of the Spanish-speaking minorities have a disproportionate number of people unemployed, under-educated, and below the poverty line in income.

The AFL-CIO especially and its state federations in those areas where these minorities are concentrated must pay increasing attention to their special problems. We are proud of our efforts and those of our affiliated unions in helping the farm workers, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, to bring dignity and an end to exploitation to this segment of the working poor. The AFL-CIO is also proud of the increased participation by minority group

workers in the trade union movement and of the contributions that they are making.

The AFL-CIO reiterates its dedication to the principle established in its Constitution—when the merged federation was founded—equality and equal benefits of union membership for all workers regardless of race, creed, national origin or sex. We urge that all international unions, state federations and central bodies insure that their civil rights committees be active and work with the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO toward the end of eliminating any vestige of discrimination that may remain in labor's house.

We must—and we will—continue our fight for full civil rights.

We will continue to measure progress and not seek to hide it. We will continue to delineate shortcomings and move to eradicate them. We will continue the unity of labor, liberal and civil rights forces.

We stand firm in the conviction that has brought us this far—our belief in the dignity of a man, the worth of an individual, the classlessness of citizenship.

The answer is the keystone of the trade union movement—brotherhood.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

LANE KIRKLAND
Secretary-Treasurer

Publication No. 8F

Slaiman

November 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

President Meany forwarded a copy of your telegram to me re our statement supporting the Supreme Court desegregation ruling. We appreciate your message.

It reminded me that we have not gotten together for what seems like an awfully long time. I wish you would let me know the next time you plan to be in Washington. Perhaps we can have lunch together.

I will be in Atlanta on November 25 to speak at a student government conference. If you will be in town then, maybe we can get together.

Cordially,

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

cc: Emory Via

bfc
opeiu #2
afl-cio

December 9, 1969

Mr. Don Slaiman, Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Don:

It was good to see you in Washington. I want to thank you for your time and interest regarding the tax bill.

I trust Al duly delivered Paul's and my apologies for having schedule difficulties which prevented our seeing you on your visit to Atlanta. Paul was especially disappointed since he had agreed to meet with you and then had to be out of town for survival reasons related to the tax bill.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THEODORE H. WHITE

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1968

NEW YORK
ATHENEUM PUBLISHERS
1969

But an even more formidable force than public opinion was coming to bear on the Wallace movement in October: the power of organized labor. Labor's support and labor's money had been essential to every Democratic national campaign since 1936—but never did those who

lead labor perform more effectively, more skillfully, with greater impact, than in 1968. In the near-miracle of the Humphrey comeback in October, no single factor was more important than the army of organized labor, roused to the greatest political exertion of its history.

In a sense, the challenge of Wallace had been a challenge to the leadership of labor itself. Their own membership polls had, as early as midsummer, shown Wallace picking up 25 percent of the labor vote in Pennsylvania, 32 percent in Connecticut, in Maryland even higher. By September, in Flint, Michigan, at the large Buick plant there, a poll of the 8,000 autoworkers in Local 599 showed Wallace outstripping both other candidates with 49 percent of the total; in Norfolk, Virginia, the Wallace challenge within the union was the springboard in an attempt to overthrow the local's internal leadership; in Pennsylvania, in Baltimore, in Gary, steelworkers were breaking to Wallace. Totally dismayed by the early confusion in Humphrey's headquarters in Washington, the AFL/CIO leadership considered its support of the Democrat and its drive against Wallace almost a mission of its own. "We had to do what we did," said Lane Kirkland, executive assistant of the AFL/CIO's president, "because the Party was bankrupt intellectually and financially. I reached the point where I said I'd never go into Democratic headquarters. I'd go in feeling good and come out feeling terrible. The only useful thing they did was television, in the last couple of weeks; and beyond that they didn't do a god-damned thing except cry."

Refusing to cry, the AFL/CIO set out immediately after the convention, therefore, for a classic exercise. The strategy was homely and time-honored: to register working people, then get them out to vote. But the results, effort and techniques were staggering. Volunteers card-punched names of union members across the country, by state, county and precinct. Computers in Washington digested names, spewed them out broken down by walking lists, arranged by street numbers; volunteers, trained by the Communications Workers Union, manned telephones; others rang doorbells. Appalled at the official Party's disarray, the AFL/CIO assumed responsibility for getting out the black vote—and set up special units, grinding out special literature and special appeals in thirty-one black communities across the nation. The dimension of the AFL/CIO effort, unprecedented in American history, can be caught only by its final summary figures: the ultimate registration, by labor's efforts, of 4.6 million voters; the printing and distribution of 55 million pamphlets and leaflets out of Washington and 60 million more from local unions; telephone banks in 638 localities, using 8,055 telephones, manned by 24,611 union men and women and their families; some 72,225 house-to-house canvassers; and, on election day, 94,457 volunteers serving as car-poolers, materials-distributors, baby-sitters, poll-watchers, telephoners.

Wherever an "unexpected" Humphrey surge developed, there, underbracing it, was the effort of COPE (the AFL/CIO's Committee on Political Education): in Pennsylvania, 492,000 voters were registered by COPE, 4,000 unionists were enlisted for house-to-house canvass detail; in Michigan, 690,000 voters were registered by COPE, and thirty phone banks with 275 telephones manned by 550 volunteers urged workingmen to vote Humphrey. One could trace labor's efforts all across the country: steel workers, packinghouse workers, auto workers in Illinois; auto workers, machinists and service trades in California; oil workers in Texas; garment workers, building trades and electricians in New York. (In New York, one of the afternoon rendezvous points of one group of union leafleters and canvassers was the front door of Nixon's headquarters on the corner of Park and 57th.) Though labor's expenditure of money was impressive—perhaps $10,000,000 for all political activity in 1968—more impressive, more useful for Humphrey were the manpower and the message.

By late October, labor's effort had begun to ravage the Wallace base in the North. Wallace as a "friend of the workingman" was a phony, ran the theme of the 20,000,000 pieces of specifically anti-Wallace literature distributed—his state was sucking off union plants from the North to fill them with non-union workers in the South; Alabama's child-labor laws were a mockery of decency; his Alabama was one of only sixteen states in the union with no minimum-wage legislation; his state ranked forty-ninth in the union in welfare payments to dependent children; his highway patrol was a union-busting outfit. If you're a bus driver, said the literature, you'd make thirty bucks less a week in Birmingham than in a Northern city; if you were a carpenter, you'd make forty bucks less a week; if you were a schoolteacher, you'd make $2,000 to $4,000 less in Alabama's schools than in the North. Thus, as Hubert Humphrey appealed to the consciences of white workingmen in the public squares and on radio and TV, labor's leadership drove home the split in conscience Humphrey's eloquence had wedged open by more direct appeal. A workingman could choose to go with racist George Wallace—but to do so he must desert all other traditional loyalties and his own interests; or he could choose to go with Hubert Humphrey and swallow Humphrey's attitude to the blacks. The argument began to tell on thousands; by the end of October even Flint's Local 599 had reversed itself and come out for Hubert Humphrey.

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept

JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE

HERMAN D. KENIN

FREDERICK O'NEAL

Roster of Standing Committees Includes Four New Chairmen

A new roster of AFL-CIO standing committees has been announced by Pres. George Meany. It includes four new committee chairmen.

Vice Pres. Frederick O'Neal, president of Actors' Equity Association, has been named chairman of the Civil Rights Committee. He succeeds former Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler.

Vice Pres. James A. Suffridge, president-emeritus of the Retail Clerks, heads the Community Services Committee, succeeding Vice Pres. Joseph A. Beirne. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers, had earlier been named chairman of the International Affairs Committee.

Vice Pres. Herman Kenin, president of the Musicians, has been appointed chairman of the Ethical Practices Committee. He succeeds the late George Harrison.

Nat Goldfinger, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Research, has been named chairman of the Research Committee succeeding Schnitzler.

All other committee chairman were reappointed. They are: Economic Policy, Vice Pres. I. W. Abel, president of the Steelworkers; Social Security, Vice Pres. Maurice Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters; Veterans Affairs, Vice Dennis, Railway Clerks; Charles West, Machinists; Raymond L. Gray, Government Employes; Ivor Morris, Retail Clerks.

COMMUNITY SERVICES: William H. McClennan, Fire Fighters; Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutters; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; Andrew A. Pettis, Marine & Shipbuilding Workers; Sal B. Hoffman, Upholsterers; Newton Black, Glass Bottle Blowers; Sullivan of Service Employes; Keenan, IBEW; A. J. Rohan, Printing Pressmen; Guinan of Transport Workers; E. V. Lewis, Musicians; Francis S. Filbey, Postal Clerks; James H. Rademacher, Letter Carriers.

ECONOMIC POLICY: Ralph Helstein, Meat Cutters; Pollock, TWUA; Hall, SIU; Beirne, CWA; Selden, Teachers; O'Neal of Actors; S. Frank Raftery, Painters; Joseph N. DePaola, Barbers; Kenneth J. Brown, Lithographers & Photoengravers; John Martin, State, County & Municipal Employes.

ETHICAL PRACTICES: Jacob S. Potofsky, Clothing Workers; Jennings, IUE.

HOUSING; Ben Fischer, Steelworkers; Hutcheson of Carpenters; Lyons of Iron Workers; Morris Pizer, Furniture Workers; George Miller, Communications Workers; Peter Fosco, Laborers; Haggerty of Building Trades; Edward J. Leonard, Plasterers & Cement Masons; Ronald F. Roley, Woodworkers; Ward of Plumbers; Peter J. Brennan, N.Y. Building Trades Council; Thomas J. Murray, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers;

Pres. Lee W. Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers; Legislative, Meany; Political Education, Meany; Education, Vice Pres. Peter Schoemann, president of the Plumbers & Pipe Fitters; Housing, Vice Pres. Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Organization, Vice Pres. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers; Public Relations, Kenin of the Musicians; Safety & Occupational Health, Vice Pres. Richard F. Walsh, president of the Stage Employes.

The full roster of other committee assignments is as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS: Minton; Charles Zimmerman, Ladies' Garment Workers; Louis Simon, Clothing Workers; Keenan, IBEW; Robert Powell, Laborers; David Sullivan, Service Employes; Thomas Murphy, Bricklayers; William Bowe, Sleeping Car Porters; Paul Jennings, Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Joseph P. Molony, Steelworkers; William Pollock, Textile Workers Union of America; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union; Hunter P. Wharton, Operating Engineers; Martin J. Ward, Plumbers & Pipe Fitters; Jerry Wurf, State, County & Municipal Employes; Matthew Guinan, Transport Workers; C. L. Jennings, IUE; Greenberg, RWDSU; Shoemann of Plumbers; Louis Stulberg, Ladies' Garment Workers; Floyd E. Smith, Machinists; Dennis of Railway Clerks; James T. Housewright, Retail Clerks; Charles Luna, United Transportation Union; John H. Lyons, Iron Workers; Peter Bommarito, Rubber Workers; Charles H. Pillard, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Joseph P. Tonelli, Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers; Howard Coughlin, Office & Professional Employes; Wurf, SCME.

SOCIAL SECURITY: Harry Sayre, Papermakers & Paperworkers; Pollock, TWUA; Zimmerman, ILGWU; Pillard, IBEW; Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers; Walter Burke, Steelworkers; Minton, GBBA; Anthony Weinlein, Service Employes; Morris Weisberger, Seafarers; C. L. Dellums, Sleeping Car Porters; John F. Griner, Government Employes; John M. Elliott, Amalgamated Transit Union.

VETERANS AFFAIRS: Ed S. Miller, Hotel & Restaurant Employes; Hutcheson of Carpenters; C. J. Haggerty, Building & Construction Trades Dept.; Fred Fulford, Furniture Workers; Martin Hughes, Communications Workers; Edward Todd, Textile Workers Union of America.

LEGISLATIVE: AFL-CIO Executive Council.

POLITICAL EDUCATION: AFL-CIO Executive Council.

EDUCATION: William Elkuss, Clothing Workers; Keenan, IBEW; Felix Jones, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; Helmuth Kern, Meat Cutters; John Brumm, Machinists; Gus Tyler, Ladies' Garment Workers; Carl Griepentrog, Allied Industrial Workers; Maywood Boggs, Metal Trades Dept.; Griner of Government Employes; David Hoffman of Upholsterers; Hank Brown, Texas AFL-CIO; Edward F. Carlough, Sheet Metal Workers; James Turner, Rubber Workers.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: Greenberg, RWDSU; Randolph of Sleeping Car Porters; Keenan, IBEW; Joseph Curran, National Maritime Union; Walsh of Stage Employes; Suffridge, RCIA; Hall, SIU; Abel of Steelworkers; A. J. DeAndrade, Printing Pressmen; Minton, GBBA; Feller of Brewery Workers; Stulberg, ILGWU; A. F. Grospiron, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; Kenin of Musicians; Thomas W. Gleason, Longshoremen; Executive Officers.

ORGANIZATION: Suffridge, RCIA; Potofsky, ACWA; Keenan, IBEW; Pollock, TWUA; Bommarito of Rubber Workers; Grospiron, OCAW; Minton, GBBA; Sullivan of Service Employes; Fosco of Laborers; Gleason of Longshoremen; Executive Officers.

PUBLIC RELATIONS: Keenan, IBEW; Beirne, CWA; Minton, GBBA.

RESEARCH: Lazare Teper, Ladies' Garment Workers; Otis Brubaker, Steelworkers; James Noe, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Vernon Jirikowic, Machinists; Vera Miller, Clothing Workers; William Gary, Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers.

SAFETY & OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH: Elwood Swisher, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; Curran of NMU; Wharton of Operating Engineers; Frank Burke, Steelworkers; Keenan, IBEW; Ralph Reiser, Glass & Ceramic Workers; A. H. Chesser, United Transportation Union; McClennan of Firefighters; Gleason of Longshoremen; Smith of Machinists; Daniel E. Conway, Bakery & Confectionery Workers; William J. Pachler; Utility Workers; Boggs, Metal Trades Dept.

Jobless Benefit Rolls Show Sharp Jump

The number of workers applying for and receiving unemployment insurance for the week which ended Dec. 20 was up substantially from the comparable period of the previous year, the Labor Dept. reported.

Total insured unemployment was up 58,000 from the previous year, to 1,251,000. The number of new claims that week was 289,400, which was 45,900 or 15.8 percent higher than the previous year.

MEMO FROM

DONALD SLAIMAN

FEB 26 1970

Mr. Emory Via

F.Y.I.

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AFL-CIO
Civil Rts. Dept.

Report of Civil Rights Department
to the Executive Council

Bal Harbour, Florida
February 23, 1970

At this time when further progress is essential, the civil rights gains of the sixties are in jeopardy. This is not to say that the country will reembrace those practices of discrimination and segregation that have been eliminated or at least reduced. But forward momentum has already slowed down and some gains are in danger of being undermined.

There are three main reasons for concern.

The first is government policy regarding the implementation of laws already passed by the Congress and decisions made by the courts. We are not merely faced with a more conservative approach but what seems to be the results of a "southern strategy."

For example, the poor caliber of appointments to the Supreme Court are primarily not due to administration ineptitude but follow from a deliberate attempt to woo southern segregationist political support by holding out the promise of changing the character of the Supreme Court from one which has been a guardian of equal rights for all citizens.

Should South remain the whipping boy?!

The same pattern can be discerned in the refusal by the Administration to endorse an extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Law -- a law which together with effective implementation by the Justice Department had played a major role in adding millions of Negro voters to the rolls. Discrimination in the application of literacy tests and other devices had been a major factor in keeping access to the vote -- a major item in a democratic political system -- from most Negroes in some areas.

An attempt to mask this refusal to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Law was made in the form of a proposal to ban all literacy requirements whether they were the means by which Negroes were kept from registering as a substitute for what was needed to maintain the progress already made. It did not fool responsible civil rights leaders.

A similar strategy of undermining effective progress by seemingly attacking northern, as well as southern problems, is now developing in regard to school desegregation. The Stennis amendment which equates de facto school segregation with the maintenance of racially separate schools contrary to the clear directives of the Supreme Court and the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed by the Congress is not an attempt to grapple with the problems of de facto school segregation but a gambit to slow down government efforts to speed up the end of the dual school systems in the south.

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If the Administration is not in cahoots with this move it certainly provided no leadership against it.

Its own record of going into the Courts and asking for a slowdown in the pace set by the Courts was certainly an encouragement for those who would turn back the clock 15 years after the Court had decreed the end of the dual school systems with "all deliberate speed."

The second major reason for concern is national economic policy. This may not be directed against Negroes but the result of the deliberate attempt to slow down the economy is higher unemployment which will, inevitably, have a serious impact on the opportunities for minority citizens, especially the so-called "hard core" unemployed.

Many of those hired by the efforts of large corporations such as in the auto industry have already been laid off and others will follow.

Full and fair employment was the slogan of the 1963 March on Washington. Giant strides toward both these goals were made in the years that followed. This played a major role in advancing the economic position of Negroes and other minorities.

Between 1965 and 1968, the income gap between Negroes and the rest of the country had begun to narrow for the first time since the recession of 1957.

A projected increase of unemployment to 4.3 percent as predicted by Administration economists and higher as predicted by other economists, not only bodes ill for further forward progress but can seriously threaten the well-being of thousands who have already begun to move into the mainstream of American economic life through the combined efforts of government, business, labor and voluntary private agencies.

The third major area of concern is confusion among some in both the minority community and among whites who had been part of the civil rights movement as to whether integration itself is desirable.

Few have descended to the level of the head of CORE in consorting with Governor Maddox of Georgia in a mutual effort to resegregate southern schools. But the temporary revival of separatist demands within the black community even by a small minority have concerned the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement as well as ourselves.

It prompted Bayard Rustin to say to black trade unionists at the last AFL-CIO Convention "this means steering clear of all the separatist nonsense that parades as militancy including the reactionary concept of dual unionism. Let us leave the separate but equal stuff to George Wallace and some of the misguided young people on campus."

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But confusion is not restricted to a small number of black militants. Legitimate challenges to societies present wrongs have been diverted into all sorts of useless blind alleys. So that many well-intentioned and some not so well-intentioned people have found themselves moving in opposite directions from the goals of the civil rights movement. Many others have weakened their resolve to achieve integration through the democratic process. Integration has not failed, it just hasn't been tried enough.

In the labor movement, as well as in society as a whole, significant progress was made in the sixties in eliminating discrimination and segregation and expanding opportunities for minority group workers. Here, too, the job is far from finished and leadership is needed to maintain the direction and pace of forward progress.

A review by the civil rights committee under its new chairman, AFL-CIO Vice President Frederick O'Neal, confirms that all elements of AFL-CIO Civil Rights programs have shown significant results. The elimination of segregated locals, opening of apprenticeship opportunities to minority group youth, removing barriers to upgrading of minority group workers, involving minority group trade unionists in the policy making process, providing equal benefits of union membership to all workers regardless of race or national origin. All these have received greater effort and attention from affiliated international unions. The results are there to be seen.

Increasingly, the internationals and their locals are developing affirmative action programs to hasten this process. We in the AFL-CIO have no policy of slow-down either in organizing those minority group workers who are without the benefits of unionism or in expanding the opportunities of those already in unions. The American labor movement has had no second thoughts on the value of integration and the elimination of segregation.

These efforts are being made by industrial unions, service unions, white collar unions, government employee unions, maritime unions and building trade unions. The federation itself now has an urban affairs department and a full-time manpower operation to work with affiliates and central bodies in the development of affirmative action programs. The numbers of international unions and state federations and central bodies which are developing their own full-time staff programs is increasing.

The building and construction trades for years have been particularly singled out -- partially because of high wages and a high proportion of skilled jobs in the industry's labor force (it contains 50 percent or more of registered apprentices in the country) -- partly because of the high proportion of public funds -- partly because its work is out in the public view -- and partly because it has become a favorite whipping boy.

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As elsewhere in the labor movement, the building trades have had discrimination and segregation in its ranks. As elsewhere in the labor force where Negroes had been permitted to enter an industry, they still remain concentrated below the most skilled and white collar positions. This is true at least equally, if not more so, in the non-union sector of the industry as is usual everywhere else.

The building trades unions have made efforts just as others have to change this situation.

In the area of apprenticeship, special efforts have had signal success. Since 1965, Outreach programs have spread to 58 cities. They contacted over 40,000 minority group youngsters and placed more than 5100 in building trades apprenticeship programs. Approximately 60 percent of these were not in the so-called trowel trades. Three thousand are electrician, carpenter, plumber, steamfitter, iron worker and sheet metal apprentices. This is up from 1200 at the time of the 1967 AFL-CIO convention here in Miami in December.

General Motors recently released a report on its efforts to increase job opportunities for minorities. In the last year, the number of minority group apprentices and trainees for skilled work rose from 1168 to 1546 nationally -- an increase of 32 percent. This contrast with the increase in building trades apprenticeship of over 400 percent in 2 years.

The same General Motors report tells us that 9700 or 15.3 percent of its workforce is made up of minority groups and 3.5 percent of the salaried group are minority workers. The last government figures on construction of labor contractors on federal contracts showed minorities to be close to 20 percent with less than 3 percent in the white collar end.

It is interesting to note, too, that there are no low-paid workers in construction. The Laborers Union contains all the semi-skilled classifications and union laborers in construction are highly paid relative to most blue collar jobs. In Philadelphia, the minimum laborers scale is $4.65 per hour, Washington, D. C. $4.00 an hour. In New York City over $5.00 an hour.

At its last Convention, while criticizing the Philadelphia Plan, the Building and Construction Trades Department adopted a 3 point program for a standing minority group opportunity in the construction industry.

1. It reendorsed the concept of Outreach and called for its expansion.

2. It called on all construction local unions to invite all minority group journeymen, not now in unions, to join on an equal basis.

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3. It recommended that local building trades councils and local unions explore and establish on-the-job training programs for those too old to become apprentices, especially those with construction experience who are not yet qualified journeymen.

All three parts of this program have already begun to move into operation. Approval for new apprenticeship Outreach programs has already been voted in North and South Carolina and for a number of cities like Toledo, Ohio, El Paso, Texas and Seattle, Washington by local building trades councils.

Some international unions have already sent out detailed guidelines on how best to recruit existing journeymen and some apprenticeship Outreach programs have already been recruiting and referring minority journeymen to local unions. In most instances they have been taken in although the numbers are small.

A few journeymen training programs in Oakland, Buffalo and St. Louis existed prior to the 1969 building trades convention. Since then, agreements have been ratified in Chicago, Pittsburgh and Boston, in which such journeymen training programs are contemplated.

We are also encouraged by the recent program entered into by the plumbers and some national contractors to train some 500 minority workers with some experience in that trade but who are not now qualified as journeymen.

The Civil Rights Department and HRDI are presently discussing similar programs with the building trades department and building trades councils in other cities. We hope to follow the pattern developed in apprenticeship outreach. That is, the evaluation of pilot projects within the policy guidelines of the building trades, followed by a systematic campaign to encourage local unions and building trades councils in other cities to study successful programs. And then to adapt such programs to the needs of the situation in their own communities.

The building trades department and the affiliates of the AFL-CIO resent the attempt of the Administration to take credit for what they are doing with the recent obvious political ploy of announcing that it would "install a Philadelphia-type plan in 19 cities" if acceptable area-wide agreements are not forthcoming. Again the building trades have been singled out from all other industries with a type of treatment and with a plan that is both of questionable legality and is practically useless.

The main result may be to maximize opposition of union membership and its main purpose seems to be to divide civil rights and liberal critics of the Administration from the labor movement.

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Here too confusion is maximized and it is impossible to square the statements of the Vice President recently that the quota approach for college admissions and job advancement is a "form of madness" with the Postmaster General's support for a piece of legislation to embody this same quota approach.

We believe, however, that the best course to follow would be for the building trades to continue to develop the type of affirmative programs which they have voted for and are putting into practice rather than react to this provocation.

The Civil Rights Committee also feels that the goal of the labor movement and the civil rights movement for full and fair employment remains the most healthy basis for continuing our efforts for full opportunity for all citizens.

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(202) 293-5000

April 16, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

On behalf of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, I want to thank you for your participation in our recent civil rights seminar.

The union representatives attending the seminar expressed their satisfaction with the sessions and found them most valuable and informative. The Civil Rights Department Staff and those at the labor center were pleased both with the content of the seminar and the input of the participants.

Again, many thanks for your cooperation and help.

Yours sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

P.S. Your materials arrived the day following your presentation and were distributed. The mails did not fail completely!!

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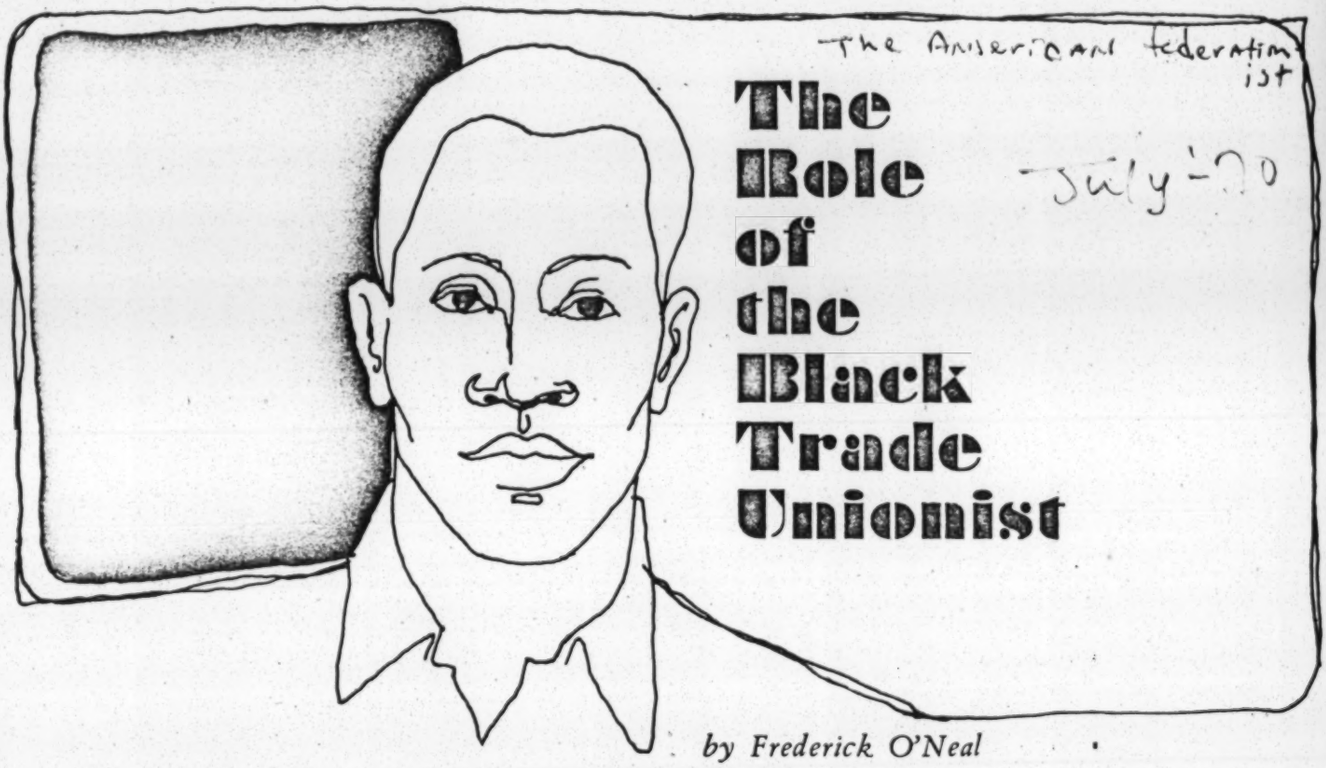

The Role of the Black Trade Unionist

by Frederick O'Neal

U.S. Negroes are a working people. The labor movement has been the home of the working man—traditionally the only haven of the dispossessed.

That brief credo, which A. Philip Randolph has used to sum up the reason for his life's work, still serves well as the answer to the questions many blacks are asking about their role in today's society. We are a nation of working people and black people are workers. And it is in the trade union movement where blacks have both a job to do and a great future.

The black trade unionist can play a creative and essential role in three identifiable areas:

• First, he must be a militant integrationist and an advocate of militant non-violence. As part of an integrated trade union movement, the black worker knows well the folly of separatism. As part of a movement that has won real and concrete gains for black Americans, he knows that frustration politics is merely a form of psycho-therapy which can lead only to a dead-end. And he knows that violence will sooner destroy the black community than contribute to its salvation. His willingness to stand firmly on the principles of integration and non-violence are particularly essential in this very difficult period we are living through, when so many despairing elements within the black community are advocating strategies of withdrawal and recklessness.

• Second, the black worker must articulate a sensible economic strategy as an alternative to the fanatical ideas that are currently gaining popularity in some quarters. Several facts are elementary to this strategy: Black capitalism will not help the black worker; tax incentives will only mean more profits for the rich; there is absolutely no land on which to build industry in the ghetto; community control over an impoverished ghetto will be that and only that—it will not provide jobs for the unemployed, homes for the ill-housed, doctors for the sick and better teachers for the uneducated. The black worker must understand and publicize the principle that the fundamental division in America is not between white and black but between rich and poor, that there can be no cure for black poverty in the absence of an attack on white poverty and that the racial problem in America requires an economic solution.

The black worker, who has been educated to a sophisticated economic point of view as a result of his participation in the trade union movement, must now speak out against psychological solutions to economic problems. And he must also speak out against deceptive programs which divert people's attention from the real objectives. Those objectives are outlined in A. Philip Randolph's Freedom Budget and in the economic program of the trade union movement. They are full employment, the redistribution of wealth and the resconstruction of our cities.

• Third, the black worker has an enormously significant political role to play. He must continually point out that the source of funds for a genuine war on poverty lies in Washington and that if liberal-thinking men are to be elected to national office, black people must vote. The kind of voter education and registration campaigns that Negro trade unionists carried on in all of the major American cities in 1968 must

FREDERICK O'NEAL has been president of Actors Equity since 1964 and recently became president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, which is made up of six theatrical unions. He is an AFL-CIO Vice President and chairman of the federation's Civil Rights Committee.

bers belong to integrated locals. All the southern state and local central bodies are integrated and most work closely with NAACP branches and other similar organizations in the Negro community. Joint campaigns to register voters and get out the vote are widespread. In labor disputes involving the predominantly black sanitation workers in Memphis and the predominantly black hospital workers in South Carolina, there was a huge outpouring of local support from other unions in the area.

In recent times we have seen the top officers of the Mississippi AFL-CIO file taxpayers suits to stop state funds from being spent on the State Sovereignty Commission; we have seen the Louisiana Labor Council use ads in the daily press to defend having the president of the Louisiana NAACP as one of its vice presidents. The South Carolina labor convention adopted a resolution in support of the lunch counter sit-ins. We have seen the trade union movement fighting against segregation in the school crisis in Little Rock, New Orleans and Norfolk.

And on the national scene we have seen the unions and the civil rights movement working together to achieve the civil rights legislation of the 1960s—legislation which opened public accommodations, established a federal fair employment practices law and helped enfranchise hundreds of thousands of black voters previously denied that right.

It was a labor-liberal-black coalition that increased minimum wage, expanded federal aid to schools and established Medicare in the 1960s.

And most recently it is to the credit of labor and the civil rights organizations that the U.S. Senate rejected two nominees to the Supreme Court who would have done untold damage to our fight for civil rights and civil liberties in the United States. The defeats of Judges Clement F. Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell proved that a viable, effective coalition exists—despite popular reports to the contrary.

While we can find in the past, and even in the present, enough internal discrimination, segregation and prejudice to give all of us plenty of work to do, we can also say that the labor movement has been the most advanced of all mass membership institutions in American life in the degree to which it has stood up for the equal rights of the Negro, practiced integration within its own ranks and regarded the Negro as an equal.

These acts do not stem from any high principle of the broad membership of the trade union movement. In fact, their significance is greater because the membership of the trade union movement is simply a cross section of the American people, incorporating all of their prejudices and all of their ignorance.

And discrimination exists within this cross section. But we must not allow that discrimination to be used as a wedge to divide the Negro-labor coalition. Make no mistake about it, anti-labor forces have much to gain by such a division. Construction unions have borne the brunt of this attack with a segment of the black community seemingly always available to shout racism rather than tackle the problem with constructive, permanent solutions.

> "Unity must be re-established between the economically deprived and the economically insecure in their common struggle against the economic elite. And no group in America is in a better position to bring about this reconciliation than the black worker."

The real solution lies in increased Negro and other minority-group membership in those unions and some outstanding progress has been made through Outreach and similar programs. That progress must be continued.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once said, "Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. This is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-head creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth."

To maintain that alliance, we do not have to forego one ounce of principle or practical criticism of each other. But we do have to maintain the basic attitudes of allies when criticizing each other, which involves a mutual acceptance of the sincerity of the other.

If we want to direct biting criticism at some repugnant element in the other group, we must direct it at those specific elements, not at the whole group and certainly not at those in the group who are actually fighting these same elements.

If we think that the leaders are not doing an adequate job on a given problem, then we have to propose a better way and try to convince them that it is better. If we don't succeed, we ought not to impugn their motives for not agreeing with us. The rules of united action are really quite obvious and we must follow them if we are to move rapidly toward full civil rights. We must not allow ourselves to be held back by the debris thrown at us by the prophets of divisiveness. The confusion that they have sown must be removed before we can see the real tasks before us. We will have difficulties with each other, but none that cannot be met by serious analysis, honest discussion and sweat.

These differences must be placed in their proper context while we turn our primary attention to the common tasks and challenges that lie ahead. And there are many. Among them: decent low-cost housing; full employment; health care and other welfare needs; quality education for all; adequate pensions for retired persons; standard unemployment insurance. All of these problems, and more, must be solved if we are to restore hope to the hopeless communities.

remain a model for similar political activity in the future.

But even more important, the black trade unionist must never cease reminding his brothers and sisters in the ghetto that Negroes represent only 11 per cent of the American population. Therefore, Negroes cannot go it alone. Any positive action coming from Washington will come only through a coalition of Negroes, liberals and the entire trade union movement. The black worker must be a forceful spokesman for unity within this coalition and he must speak out firmly against any activities which promote racial polarization. He must become an agent of reconciliation who will break the bitter connection between black rage and white fear. Unity must be re-established between the economically deprived and the economically insecure in their common struggle against the economic elite. And no group in America is in a better position to bring about this reconciliation than the black worker.

Today there are over 2 million black trade unionists and this number is increasing daily. More Negroes are also moving up through the ranks of their local unions to positions of power and influence. This latter development is particularly essential if there are to be more voices in the trade union movement speaking for the black worker and if the trade union movement itself is to be more effective in its efforts to solve our country's social and racial problems.

Today, despite all the progress we've made, the unemployed are filling our ghettos, the inner cores of our cities are literally rotting, health care is primitive and our schools are ill-equipped to serve the enormous needs of children bred in poverty. And the situation is growing worse daily, for automation is transforming the character of labor. Unskilled jobs are being eliminated, muscle power is no longer in demand and as always, black workers suffer most from these changes.

Over the past 100 years, since Negroes first entered the trade union movement in America, many mistakes have been made. One of the most serious errors was the enforced pattern of segregated unions and the tolerance of segregated jobs in the plant.

Now, from the vantage point of history, we can examine the mistakes of the past and try to correct them. We can learn from the great debates that have taken place within the black community between the separatists and the integrationists, between the economic conservatives and the economic radicals.

A. Philip Randolph has continuously told us that there is no hope for the black worker outside the American trade union movement, that a Negro-labor alliance must be made a firm and enduring reality. It must be made a reality simply because the black man has been dispossessed in this country and the labor movement is the primary vehicle through which the dispossessed can advance themselves economically.

Discrimination and segregation still exist within certain areas of the union movement. There is no attempt here to close our eyes to that situation. Discrimination is there, perhaps less than in many other major American institutions, but it's still there and must be opposed.

But because it exists, we should not take the foolish path of the separatists. We should not employ the distorted logic which says that the existence of discrimination justifies separatism and further segregation. These mistakes have been made repeatedly during the long history of the black struggle for equality. They have been rooted in justified anger and frustrations. But they have also been rooted in opportunism, and the result has always been the further exploitation of the exploited and the further enrichment of the enriched. The economic liberation of the black American can best be achieved through his participation in the trade union movement.

Alliances between black workers and trade unionists do not always come easily. With just cause the black community is impatient with America—11 years after anti-discrimination laws were enacted in New York City, few private apartment buildings are integrated; 15 years after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, many Negro children still attend all-black schools.

Similarly, the existence of lily-white local unions and separate seniority lines are a source of dissatisfaction on the part of blacks. In fact, if you read only the public accounts, you would be convinced that the relationship between the Negro community and the labor movement is not good at all.

And in such an emotion-charged atmosphere one can easily become blinded to the positive efforts and accomplishments of the labor movement in the racial and social areas that are a benefit to us all. There are certain elements, whether consciously or unconsciously, sowing seeds of mistrust and divisiveness in the black community—some of it through misinformation and some through deliberate distortion. As a result both civil rights forces and the trade unionists often find themselves confused, frustrated and their work seriously hampered.

It is important that we separate fact from fiction, not because the historical record is necessarily so significant, but so that we can stop wasting time and address ourselves to the real problem.

The history of the southern labor movement, for instance, is rich in episodes of black and white workers fighting together—in the coal mines, on the docks, at the plants—all in defiance of community traditions, practice and law.

In the South today the vast majority of union mem-

"A Negro-Labor alliance must be made a firm and enduring reality. It must be made a reality simply because the black man has been dispossessed in this country and the labor movement is the primary vehicle through which the dispossessed can advance themselves economically."

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

A. Philip Randolph
President
Dr. Robert Gilmore
Treasurer
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

June - July 1971

Dear Friend,

I thought you would be interested in having a copy of the enclosed article which appeared in Harper's magazine. "The Blacks and the Unions" was written in an effort to destroy a very popular myth. First, that the white worker has become affluent and conservative, that he feels his security threatened by the demand for racial equality, and consequently, the primary function of the labor movement is to protect the white worker from the encroaching black.

I argue, on the contrary, that the labor leadership understands that discrimination hurts the entire movement and that anything which divides the workers makes it more difficult for them to struggle together for common goals: decent wages, better working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures. Further, I believe the trade union movement is more progressive today than at any other time in history. The article trys to prove this thesis.

I hope you enjoy the article. I would certainly be interested in hearing your comments. Individual copies cost 25¢, quantity prices are as follows:

10 or more 20¢ per copy
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Enclosed also is a flyer describing our latest pamphlet, The Neglected Black Majority. This pamphlet contains excellent articles by Andrew F. Brimmer, Charles V. Hamilton, John A. Morsell and Thomas Sowell.

I hope you will use that flyer to order copies of both publications for your colleagues and friends.

Have a pleasant summer.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/hh

Norman Hill, *Associate Director*
Rachelle Horowitz, *Administrative Assistant*
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The A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
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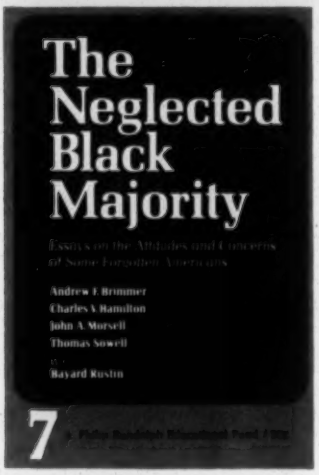

During the past five years there has been a proliferation of literature about every extremist group which has caught the imagination of the people who control the media. This pamphlet is designed to right the balance of attention and to provide some reasonable perspective on black America. Each essay highlights a different aspect of the subject and represents a significant contribution to our current literature about Negroes. Charles V. Hamilton's broad overview is an indispensable guide to understanding the black community. Andrew F. Brimmer provides an enormous amount of economic data to substantiate and supplement many of Professor Hamilton's contentions. Thomas Sowell has done a great service by puncturing some of the myths about black youth and decrying the tendency to admit into college "authentic" ghetto types who are not as academically well prepared as other blacks who get turned down. John A. Morsell's article is a brilliant polemic against the advocates of reparations.

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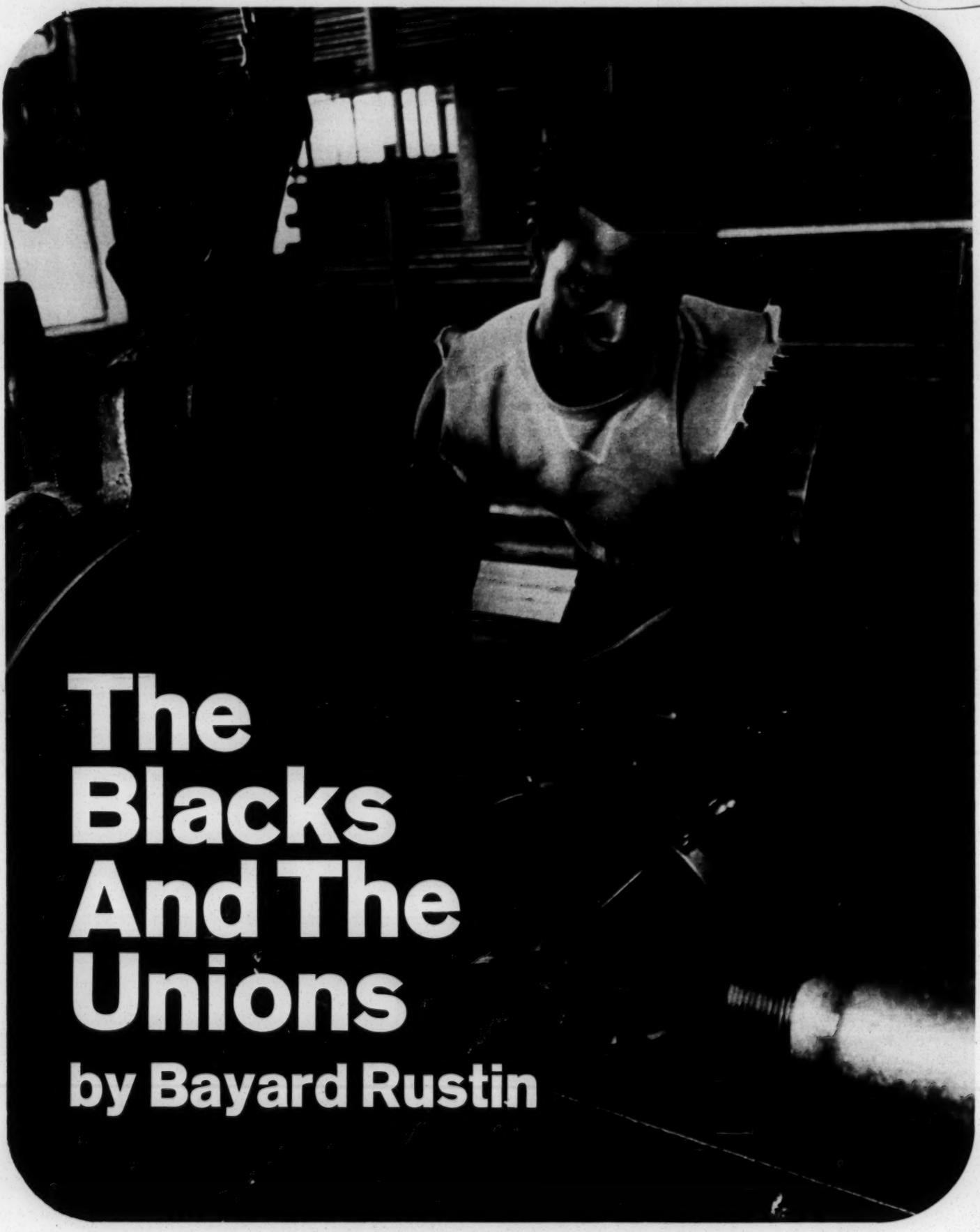

The Blacks And The Unions

by Bayard Rustin

Reprinted by the
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

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Bayard Rustin

THE BLACKS AND THE UNIONS

Which way will the blacks choose—to fight to eliminate all segregation in the trade unions, or to become pawns in the conservatives' games of bust-the-unions?

ONE OF THE MAIN ARTICLES of faith in liberal dogma these days is that the interests and objectives of the American trade-union movement are in fundamental conflict with the interests and objectives of black America. One can hardly pick up any of the major journals of liberal opinion without reading some form of the statement that the white worker has become affluent and conservative and feels his security to be threatened by the demand for racial equality. A corollary of this statement is that it is a primary function of the labor movement to protect the white worker from the encroaching black. Furthermore, the argument runs, since there are no signs that the blacks may be letting up in their struggle for economic betterment, a hostile confrontation between blacks and the unions is not only inevitable but necessary.

It may well be that historians of the future, recording the events of the past five years, will conclude that the major effect of the civic turbulence in this period has been in fact to distract us from the real and pressing social needs of the nation. And perhaps nothing illustrates the point more vividly than the whole question of the relations between blacks and the unions.

This question itself, however, cannot be properly understood except in the larger context of the history of the civil-rights movement. Negro protest in the Sixties, if the movement is in its turn to be properly understood, must be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase, which covered something like the first half of the decade, was one in which the movement's clear objective was to destroy the legal foundations of racism in America. Thus the locale of the struggle was the South, the evil to be eliminated was Jim Crow, and the enemy, who had a special talent for arousing moral outrage among even the most reluctant sympathizers with the cause, was the rock-willed segregationist.

Now, one thing about the South more than any other has been obscured in the romantic vision of the region—of ancient evil, of defeat, of enduring rural charm—that has been so much of our literary and intellectual tradition: for the Negro, Southern life had precisely a quality of clarity, a clarity which while oppressive was also supportive. The Southern caste system and folk culture rested upon a clear, albeit unjust, set of legal and institutional relationships which prescribed roles for individuals and established a modicum of social order. The struggle that was finally mounted against that system was actually fed and strengthened by the social environment from which it emerged. No profound analysis, no overriding social theory was needed in order both to locate and understand the injustices that were to be combated. All that was demanded of one was sufficient courage to demonstrate against them. One looks back upon this period in the civil-rights movement with nostalgia.

During the second half of the Sixties, the center of the crisis shifted to the sprawling ghettos of the North. Here black experience was radically different from that in the South. The stability of institutional relationships was largely absent in Northern ghettos, especially among the poor. Over twenty years ago, the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier was able to see the brutalizing effect of urbanization upon lower-class blacks: "... the bonds of sympathy and community of interests that held their parents together in the rural environment have been unable to withstand the disintegrating forces in the city." Southern blacks migrated north in search of work, seeking to become transformed from a peasantry into a working class. But instead of jobs they found only misery, and far from becoming a proletariat, they came to constitute a *Lumpenproletariat*, an underclass of rejected people. Frazier's prophetic words resound today with terrifying precision: "... as long as the bankrupt system of Southern agriculture exists, Negro families will continue to seek a living in the towns and cities of the country. They will crowd the slum areas of Southern cities or make their way to Northern cities, where their family life will become disrupted and their poverty will force them to depend upon charity."

Out of such conditions, social protest was to emerge in a form peculiar to the ghetto, a form which could never have taken root in the South except in such large cities as Atlanta or Houston. The evils in the North are not easy to understand and fight against, or at least not as easy as Jim Crow, and this has given the protest from the ghetto a special edge of frustration. There are few specific

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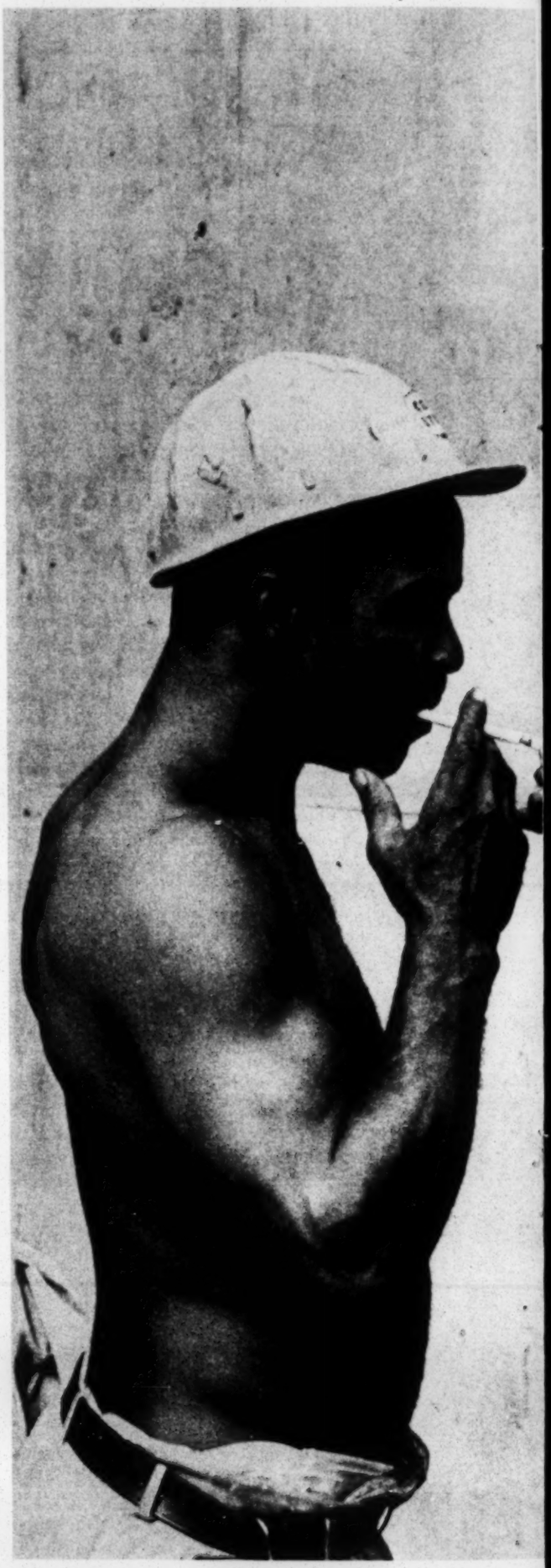
injustices, such as a segregated lunch counter, that offer both a clear object of protest and a good chance of victory. Indeed, the problem in the North is not one of social injustice so much as the results of institutional pathology. Each of the various institutions touching the lives of urban blacks—those relating to education, health, employment, housing, and crime—is in need of drastic reform. One might say that the Northern race problem has in good part become simply the problem of the American city—which is gradually becoming a reservation for the unwanted, most of whom are black.

IN SUCH A SITUATION, even progress has proved to be a mixed blessing. During the Sixties, for example, Northern blacks as a group have made great economic gains, the result of which being that hundreds of thousands of them were able to move out of the hard-core poverty areas. Meanwhile, however, their departure, while a great boon to those departing, only contributed further to the deterioration of the slums, now being drained of their stable middle and working class. Combined with the large influx of Southern blacks during the same period, this process was leaving the ghetto more and more the precinct of a depressed underclass. To the segregation by race was now added segregation by class, and all of the problems created by segregation and poverty—inadequate schooling, substandard and overcrowded housing, lack of access to jobs or to job training, narcotics and crime—were greatly aggravated. And again because of segregation, the violence of the black underclass was turned in upon itself.

If the problems of the ghetto do not lend themselves to simple analyses or solutions, then, this is because they cannot be solved without mounting a total attack on the inadequacies endemic to, and injustices embedded in, all of our institutions. It is perhaps understandable that young Northern blacks, confronting these problems, have so often provided answers which are really non-answers; which are really dramatic statements satisfying some sense of the need for militancy without even beginning to deal with the basic economic and political problems of the ghetto. Primary among these non-answers is the idea that black progress depends upon a politics of race and revolution. I am referring here not to the recent assertions of black pride—assertions that will be made as long as that pride continues to be undermined by white society—but to the kind of black nationalism which consists in a bitter rejection of American society and vindicates a withdrawal from social struggle into a kind of hermetic racial world where blacks can "do their thing." Nationalists have been dubbed "militants" by the press because they have made their point with such fervent hostility to white society, but the implication of their position actually amounts to little more than the age-old conservative message that blacks should help themselves—a thing that, by the very definition of the situation, they have not the resources to do.



BOB ADELMAN

The same is true of black proposals for revolution. For to engage in revolutionary acts in contemporary America—where, despite a lot of inflammatory rhetoric, there is not even a whisper of a revolutionary situation—not only diverts precious energies away from the political arena where the real battles for change must be fought, but might also precipitate a vicious counterrevolution the chief victims of which will be blacks.

The truth about the situation of the Negro today is that there are powerful forces, composed largely of the corporate elite and Southern conservatives, which will resist any change in the economic or racial structure of this country that might cut into their resources or challenge their status; and such is precisely what any program genuinely geared to improve his lot must do. Moreover, these forces today are not merely resisting change. With their representative Richard Nixon in the White House, they are engaged in an assault on the advances made during the past decade. It has been Nixon's tragic and irresponsible choice to play at the politics of race, not, to be sure, with the primitive demagoguery of a "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, say, but nevertheless with the same intent of building a political majority on the basis of white hostility to blacks. So far he has been unsuccessful, but the potential for the emergence of such a reactionary majority does exist, especially if the turbulence and racial polarization which we have recently experienced persists.

What is needed, therefore, is not only a program that would effect some fundamental change in the distribution of America's resources for those in the greatest need of them, but also a political majority that will support such a program. In other words, nothing less than a program truly, not merely verbally, radical in scope would be adequate to meet the present crisis; and nothing less than a politically constituted majority, outnumbering the conservative forces, would be adequate to carry it through. Now, it so happens that there is one social force which, by virtue both of its size and its very nature, is essential to the creation of such a majority—and so in relation to which the success or failure of the black struggle must finally turn. And that is the American trade-union movement.

ADDRESSING THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION in 1961, Martin Luther King observed: "Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs —decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old-age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community."

Despite the widely held belief that the blacks and the unions have not the same, but rather irreconcilable, interests—and despite the fact that certain identifiable unions do practice discrimination—King's words remain valid today. Blacks *are*

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mostly a working people, they continue to need what labor needs, and they must fight side by side with unions to achieve these things.

Of all the misconceptions about the labor movement that have been so lovingly dwelt on in the liberal press, perhaps none is put forth more often and is farther from the truth than that the unions are of and for white people. For one thing, there are, according to labor historian Thomas R. Brooks, between 2,500,000 and 2,750,000 black trade unionists in America.* If his figures are correct, and other estimates seem to bear them out, the percentage of blacks in the unions is a good deal higher than the percentage of blacks in the total population —15 per cent as compared with 11 per cent, to be precise. And since the vast majority of black trade unionists are members of integrated unions, one can conclude that the labor movement is the most integrated major institution in American society, certainly more integrated than the corporations, the churches, or the universities.

Moreover, blacks are joining unions in increasing numbers. According to a 1968 report by *Business Week*, one out of every three new union members is black. The sector of the economy which is currently being most rapidly unionized is that of the service industries, and most particularly among government employees, such as hospital workers, sanitation workers, farm workers, and paraprofessionals in educational and social-welfare institutions. This category of worker is, of course, both largely nonwhite and shamefully underpaid.

Like other workers, blacks have gained from the achievements of their unions in the way of higher wages, improved working conditions, and better fringe benefits. To be sure, in some unions whites still possess a disproportionate number of the higher-paying jobs and there is not yet adequate black representation at the staff level and in policy-making positions. But the question of what continues to account for the perpetuation of such inequities cannot properly be answered by the fashionable and easy reference to racial discrimination in the unions. Statistical surveys have shown that the participation of blacks in the work force is no higher in nonunionized occupations than in unionized ones. Indeed, as Derek C. Bok and John T. Dunlop have pointed out in their remarkably informed and comprehensive study, *Labor and the American Community*, even in the automotive and aero-space industries, where the unions have been known for dedication to racial justice, the percentage of blacks, particularly in the skilled jobs, is not appreciably higher than in other industries.

THERE HAVE, THEREFORE, TO BE far more fundamental social and economic reasons for present inequalities in employment. Primary among these reasons are certain underlying changes within the entire society which are being reflected in the evolving character and composition of the work force itself. The upsurge of union organization of minority-group workers in the fields of education, sanitation, and health care, for instance, is the result of the rapid expansion of the service sector of the economy.

Another crucial factor here is government economic policy. The tremendous growth in the economy from 1960 to 1968 increased nonwhite employment by 19 per cent, 4 per cent higher than the increase for whites, and during the same period the unemployment rate for nonwhite adult men dropped from 9.6 to 3.9 per cent. A large number of these new black workers entered unions for the simple reason that they had jobs. And now many of them are out of jobs, not because of union discrimination, but because the Nixon Administration's economic policies have so far caused a sharp increase in unemployment.

All of which is not to exonerate the entire labor movement of any possible charge of wrongdoing. It is rather to put the problem of economic inequality into some useful perspective. The inequalities which persist within the unions must of course be corrected. They are in fact being corrected through the work of the labor movement itself—the role of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO is particularly noteworthy here—the civil-rights activities of the federal government, and the efforts of black trade unionists who are taking over leadership positions in their locals and are playing more of a role in determining union policy. The union drive against discrimination was exemplified by the fight made by the AFL-CIO to have a Fair Employment Practices section written into the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Both President Kennedy and Robert Kennedy were opposed to including an FEPC section because they thought it would kill the bill, but George Meany pressed for it. He did so for a simple reason. The AFL-CIO is a federation of affiliates which retain a relatively high degree of autonomy. The parent body can urge compliance with its policies, but the decision to act is left up to the affiliates. Meany felt that the only way the AFL-CIO could deal effectively with unions practicing discrimination would be to demand compliance with the law of the land. He testified before the House Judiciary Committee that the labor movement was calling "for legislation for the correction of shortcomings in its own ranks." And the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act greatly speeded the process of this correction.

Most labor leaders, I believe, are opposed to discrimination against the blacks on moral grounds. But they also have highly practical grounds for their position. They understand that discrimination hurts the entire labor movement as much as it hurts blacks. They know from long experience as unionists that anything which divides the workers makes it more difficult for them to struggle together for the achievement of common goals. Racial antagonisms have undermined solidarity during strikes and have been exploited by management as a means of weakening unions. The following passage from the classic study, *The Black Worker*,

*"Black Upsurge in the Unions," *Dissent* (March-April, 1970).

written in 1931 by Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, may not be typical of every company's approach to its work force, yet it describes a practice commonly in use till this very day:

> *The Negro is now recognized as a permanent factor in industry and large employers use him as one of the racial and national elements which help to break the homogeneity of their labor force. This, incidentally, fits into the program of big concerns for maintaining what they call "a cosmopolitan force," which frees the employer from dependence upon any one group for his labor supply and also thwarts unity of purpose and labor organization.*

People no longer lend much credence to the idea that management continues to think and operate in such convoluted terms. But it does, and so does labor. Indeed, such terms as "labor solidarity" or "labor disunity" are standard tools of the trade in labor-management relations. A further error is to imagine that unions might from such reasoning increase unity within their ranks by excluding blacks. On the contrary, given the character of the American working class, the *only* possibility for genuine labor solidarity is for the blacks to be fully integrated into every level of the trade-union movement. If they are not, then they will continue to exist outside the unions as a constant source of cheap labor exploitable by management to depress wages or to break strikes.

Another notion which has passed into vogue among some blacks as well as some whites is that the whole problem of integration can be finessed by organizing the workers into dual unions. This is not a new idea; nor is its feasibility any greater today than was evidenced by a record of impossibility in the past. For were there to be racially separate unions, it would naturally follow that the interests of blacks would be diametrically opposed to those of whites, with whom they would be in competition. And once again, no matter how innocently or unintentionally, the blacks would remain in the role of being a reserve army that could be called into action whenever companies felt the white workers needed a good kick in the pants.

Of course, the blacks would also be victims in this situation since they would be at the beck and call of management only if they were chronically unemployed. Thus, exploitation is as much the effect of poverty as its cause. It is only the poor, those who are needy and weak, who can be manipulated at the whim of the wealthy. This introduces another notion concerning the welfare of black and white workers about which there has grown up a misplaced skepticism—namely, the function of the supply of labor. Put very simply, it is in the interests of employers for the supply of labor to be greater than the demand for it. This situation obtains when there is high unemployment or what is often called a "loose" labor market. Under these conditions, the bargaining position of the unions is weakened since labor, which is after all the product unions are selling, is not in high demand, and also because there are a lot of unemployed workers whom the companies can turn to if the unions should in any way prove recalcitrant. Generally speaking, an excess of supply over demand for labor exerts a downward pressure on wages, and, vice versa, there is an upward pressure on wages when the demand for labor outpaces the supply. In addition, this dynamic of supply and demand affects the level of racial antagonism within the work force. If supply exceeds demand, i.e., if there is a high level of unemployment, there will be tremendous competition for jobs between white and black workers, and racial tensions will increase. Under conditions of relative full employment, there will be little job competition and greater racial harmony. As George Lichtheim recently pointed out: "If economic conflict as a source of political antagonism is ruled out . . . the residual cultural tensions . . . need not and doubtless will not fall to zero; but they can be held down to a tolerable level."*

THESE IDEAS SHAPE THE CONCEPTUAL universe as well as the behavior of many of the principal actors in our country's economic conflicts. The fact that they tend to be ignored in so much current discussion of blacks and unions is as much a testimony to the naïveté of liberal journalists as it is to the public-relations skills of corporations. A good example of what I mean is the press treatment accorded the terrible racial conflict in the building trades and the Administration's policies in this area.

Racial discrimination exists in the building trades. It is unjustifiable by any moral standard, and as to the objective of rooting it out there can be no disagreement among people of good will. How truly to achieve this objective is another matter. An important distinction here is often overlooked. One cannot set varying moral standards in judging the performance of institutions; the same standard must be applied equally to all—to the unions, the corporations, the churches, etc. But beyond the realm of moral judgment is the crucial question of social utility. Blacks could attack Jim Crow in the South without regard to the welfare of the lunch counters, the hotels, or whatever, because they had little or no stake in them. This is not the case with the trade-union movement, a social force in which blacks *do* have a stake. If blacks attack the unions in such a way as to damage them irreparably, they will ultimately harm themselves. As it happens, certain presently self-styled friends of the Negro are in fact not at all averse to such a possible development.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Wicker reflected the views of many liberals when he described the Nixon Administration's strong and forthright position on the building-trades issue as "remarkable." Wicker's analysis, however, never advances beyond this point. He never asks why the Nixon Administration—particularly Attorney General Mitchell, and most particularly given other Admin-

*"What Socialism Is and Is Not," *The New York Review of Books* (April 9, 1970).

istration policies—would suddenly take such an interest in the welfare of blacks. The question is neither gratuitous nor idle. Why, in fact, would a President who has developed a "Southern strategy," who has cut back on school-integration efforts, tried to undermine the black franchise by watering down the 1965 Voting Rights Act, nominated to the Supreme Court men like Haynsworth and Carswell, cut back on funds for vital social programs, and proposed a noxious crime bill for Washington, D.C.—which is nothing less than a blatant appeal to white fear—why indeed would such a President take up the cause of integration in the building trades?

To begin with, Mr. Nixon's Philadelphia Plan—which requires contractors to make a commitment to hire a certain quota of black workers on a job where over $500,000 of federal funds are involved—actually does nothing for integration. In order to meet this commitment, a contractor could shift the required number of black workers in an area onto a particular job, a procedure known in the trade as checker-boarding. He would thus satisfy federal requirements *for that job*, but no new jobs would be created for blacks and no Negroes would be brought into the building trades. In fact, the contractor can even achieve compliance simply by making an effort of good faith, such as contacting certain people in the area who are concerned about black participation in the building trades. If those people do not produce any workers, the contractor has done his job and can get the federal money. The Philadelphia Plan makes no provision for training, nor does it provide a means for blacks to attain the security of journeyman status within the unions. It is geared only to temporary jobs, and even in this area it is deficient. It is designed primarily to embarrass the unions and to organize public pressure against them.

In simple truth, the plan is part and parcel of a general Republican attack on labor. The same Administration which designed it (as well as the Southern strategy), has also sent to Congress a measure that would increase federal control over internal union political affairs. Republican Senators and Representatives have introduced dozens of antilabor bills: one of which, for example, would create a right-to-work law for federal employees; another would restrict labor's involvement in political activities. Moreover, the Administration has turned the heat on labor at the same time that it has cooled pressure against discrimination by the corporations.

The advantages to the Republicans from this kind of strategy should be obvious. Nixon supports his friends among the corporate elite and hurts his enemies in the unions. He also gains a convenient cover for his anti-Negro policies in the South, and above all, he weakens his political opposition by aggravating the differences between its two strongest and most progressive forces—the labor movement and the civil-rights movement.

The Philadelphia Plan and related actions are also part of the Administration's attempt to pin onto labor the blame for inflation in construction costs. The *Wall Street Journal* has suggested that contractors welcome the thrust for integration in the building trades since this "might slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers." There is reason to believe that Mr. Nixon thinks in these same terms. It will be remembered that on almost the very day he proposed the Philadelphia Plan, he also ordered a 75 per cent reduction in federal construction—thereby reducing the number of jobs available in the industry and producing the twofold effect of exerting a deflationary pressure on wages and increasing competition among workers over scarce jobs. When Nixon finally freed some of the construction funds some months later (a move no doubt designed to improve the economic picture for the 1970 elections), he warned that "a shortage of skilled labor runs up the cost of that labor." He said he would issue directives to the Secretaries of Defense; Labor; and Health, Education, and Welfare to train veterans and others toward the goal of "enlarging the pool of skilled manpower."

It should be pointed out in passing that the President's approach to the problem of inflation in construction costs cannot succeed since he has made the typical businessman's error of identifying wages as the major inflationary factor. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, on-site labor costs as a percentage of total construction costs decreased between 1949 and 1969 from 33 per cent to 18 per cent. During the same period, the combined cost of land and financing rose from 16 per cent to 31 per cent of the total cost, Thus land and financing, not labor, have been the major causes of inflation in construction. Nevertheless, the President continues his crusade against "wage inflation."

The concern with increasing the supply while reducing the cost of labor is what motivated the Nixon Administration's most recent act in the construction field—the suspension of the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act. Here the "deflationary" intention is more evident than in the case of the Philadelphia Plan, but the similarity between the two moves is striking, particularly with regard to the anti-union role envisioned for the unorganized Negro worker.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires contractors on federal or federally assisted projects to pay all workers, union or nonunion, the prevailing union wage rates. The suspension of the Act will not directly affect the wages of unionized workers who are protected by their contract. It will, however, enable contractors to cut the wages of nonunion workers, and this, in turn, should encourage the employment of these workers instead of the higher paid unionists. Thus, there will be fewer jobs for organized workers (there is already an 11 per cent unemployment rate in the construction industry), and the bargaining power of the unions will be weakened. Since many of the unorganized workers are nonwhite, it might be argued that this is a boon to their fortunes since they will be more likely to find work. Aside from the fact that they will be working for lower wages, the question is again

"Racial antagonisms have undermined solidarity during strikes and have been exploited by management as a means of weakening unions."

Bayard Rustin

THE BLACKS AND THE UNIONS

raised whether it is in the interests of blacks to let themselves be used by employers to hurt unions. I do not think that it is. Their interests lie in becoming part of the trade-union movement. Ironically, the current attack on labor may speed the process of their entrance into the labor movement, for in situations where union standards have been threatened by open shops, unions have been spurred on to fully organize their industry.

It should be emphasized that this would only encourage changes that have already been taking place for a number of years as a result of pressure from civil-rights groups and union leaders.

Seventy-nine Outreach programs now operate in as many cities and have placed over 8,000 minority-group youngsters in building-trades apprenticeship training programs. Sixty per cent have been placed in the highest paying trades—the plumbers, electricians, sheet-metal workers, carpenters, pipe fitters, and iron workers. This is far from sufficient, of course, but within the past two years, these programs have expanded by over 400 per cent, and they are continuing to grow. The role of civil-rights activists should be to continue to see that they grow.

THE BLACKS HAVE A CHOICE. They can fight to strengthen the trade-union movement by wiping out the vestiges of segregation that remain in it, or they can, knowingly or unknowingly, offer themselves as pawns in the conservatives' games of bust-the-unions.

The choice must be made on the basis of a critical assessment of the current economic plight of blacks. More than any single factor, the Nixon Administration's policies of high interest rates, "fiscal responsibility," and economic slowdown are undermining the gains which blacks made during the past decade. Dr. Charles C. Killingsworth, a leading manpower economist, predicted some months ago that within a year the unemployment rate is likely to go up to 8 per cent. We could expect the rate for blacks to be twice as high. Nixon's managed recession may calm the fears of businessmen, but it will do so at terrible cost to blacks and to all other working people. There are, no doubt, many well-meaning people who are concerned about the plight of unemployed workers under Nixon, but it is only the labor movement that is fighting every day for policies that will get these workers back on the job.

Thus, it is clear why unions are important to black workers. What may perhaps seem less obvious and must also be sharply emphasized is that the legislative program of the trade-union movement can go a long way toward satisfying the economic needs of the larger black *community*. The racial crisis, as we have seen, is not an isolated problem that lends itself to redress by a protesting minority. Being rooted in the very social and economic structure of the society, it can be solved only by a comprehensive program that gets to the heart of why we can't build adequate housing for everybody, why we must always have a "tolerable" level of unemployment, or why we lack enough funds for education. In this sense the racial crisis challenges the entire society's capacity to redirect its resources on the basis of human need rather than profit. Blacks can pose this challenge, but only the federal government has the power and the money to meet it. And it is here that the trade-union movement can play such an important role.

The problems of the most aggrieved sector of the black ghetto cannot and will never be solved without full employment, and full employment, with the government as employer of last resort, is the keystone of labor's program. One searches in vain among the many so-called friends of the black struggle for a seconding voice to this simple yet far-reaching proposition. Some call it inflationary, while to others, who are caught up in the excitement of the black cultural revolution, it is pedestrian and irrelevant. But in terms of the economic condition of the black community, nothing more radical has yet been proposed. There is simply no other way for the black *Lumpenproletariat* to become a proletariat. And full employment is only one part of labor's program. The movement's proposals in the areas of health, housing, education, and environment would, if enacted, achieve nothing less than the transformation of the quality of our urban life. How ironic that in this period when the trade-union movement is thought to be conservative, its social and economic policies are far and away more progressive than those of any other major American institution. Nor—again in contrast to most of the other groups officially concerned with these things—is labor's program merely in the nature of a grand proposal; there is also an actual record of performance, particularly in the area of civil rights. Clarence Mitchell, the director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and legislative chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a man more deeply involved in Congressional civil-rights battles than any other black in America, has said, "None of the legislative fights we have made in the field of civil rights could have been won without the trade-union movement. We couldn't have beaten Haynsworth without labor, and the struggle against Carswell would not have been a contest."

Labor's interest in progressive social legislation naturally leads it into the political arena. The Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, the Political Action Committee of the UAW, and the political arm of the Teamsters were active in every state in the last election registering and educating voters and getting out the vote. This year trade unionists were more politically active than they have ever been during an off-year election. The reason for this is clear. With so many liberal Senators up for reelection, and with political alignments in great flux, 1970 presented itself as a year that would initiate a new period in American politics—a period which would see the regrouping of liberal forces or the consolidation of a conservative majority.

One of the important factors determining the kind of political alignments that will emerge from

this period of instability will be the relationship between the trade-union movement and the liberal community, and today this relationship is severely strained. Differences over the war in Vietnam are frequently cited as a major cause of this division, but there has been a great deal of misunderstanding on this issue. The house of labor itself is divided over the war, and even those labor leaders who support it have enthusiastically backed dove Congressional candidates who have liberal domestic records, among them such firm opponents of the war as Mike Mansfield, Edward Kennedy, Vance Hartke, Philip Hart, Howard Metzenbaum, and Edmund Muskie.

A better understanding of the trade-union movement by liberals may be developing, but for the present the antagonistic attitudes that exist cast an ideological pall over the chances for uniting the democratic Left coalition. It must be said that the vehement contempt with which the liberals have come to attack the unions bespeaks something more than a mere political critique of "conservatism." When A. H. Raskin writes that "the typical worker—from construction craftsman to shoe clerk—has become probably the most reactionary political force in the country"; or when Anthony Lewis lumps under the same category the rich oilmen and "the members of powerful, monopolistic labor unions"; or when Murray Kempton writes that "the AFL-CIO has lived happily in a society which, more lavishly than any in history, has managed the care and feeding of incompetent white people," and adds, "Who better represents that ideal than George Wallace"; or when many other liberals casually toss around the phrase "labor-fascists," one cannot but inevitably conclude that one is in the presence not of political opposition but of a certain class hatred. This hatred is not necessarily one based on conflicting class interests—though they may play a role here—but rather a hatred of the elite for the "mass." And this hatred is multiplied a thousandfold by the fact that we live in a democratic society in which the coarse multitude can outvote the elite and make decisions which may be contrary to the wishes and values, perhaps even the interests and the prejudices, of those who are better off.

It is difficult not to conclude that many liberals and radicals use subjective, rather than objective, criteria in judging the character of a social force. A progressive force, in their view, is one that is alienated from the dominant values of the culture, not one which contributes to greater social equality and distributive justice. Thus today the trade-union movement has been relegated to reactionary status, even though it is actually more progressive than at any time in its history—if by progressive we mean a commitment to broad, long-term social reform in addition to the immediate objectives of improving wages and working conditions. At the same time, the most impoverished social group, that substratum which Herbert Marcuse longingly calls "the outcasts and the outsiders," has been made the new vanguard of social progress. And it is here that liberals and New Leftists come together in their proposal for a new coalition "of the rich, educated, and dedicated with the poor," as Eric F. Goldman has admiringly described it, or in Walter Laqueur's more caustic phraseology, "between the *Lumpenproletariat* and the *Lumpenintelligentsia*."

THIS POLITICAL APPROACH, KNOWN AMONG liberals as New Politics and among radicals as New Leftism, denotes a certain convergence of the Left and the Right, if not in philosophy and intent, then at least in practical effect. I am not referring simply to the elitism which the intellectual Left shares with the economic Right, but also to their symbolic political relationship. Many of the sophisticated right-wing attacks on labor are frequently couched in left-wing rhetoric. Conservative claims that unions are anti-black, are responsible for inflation, and constitute minorities which threaten and intimidate the majority reverberate in the liberal community and are shaping public opinion to accept a crackdown on the trade-union movement.

While many adherents of the New Politics are outraged by Nixon's Southern strategy, their own strategy is simply the obverse of his. The potential for a Republican majority depends upon Nixon's success in attracting into the conservative fold lower-middle-class whites, the same group that the New Politics has written off. The question is not whether this group is conservative or liberal, for it is both, and how it acts will depend upon the way the issues are defined. If they are defined as race and dissent, then Nixon will win. But if, on the other hand, they are defined so as to appeal to the progressive economic interests of the lower middle class, then it becomes possible to build an alliance on the basis of common interest between this group and the black community. The importance of the trade-union movement is that it embodies this common interest. This was proved most clearly in 1968 when labor mounted a massive educational campaign which reduced the Wallace supporters among its membership to a tiny minority. And the trade-union movement remains today the greatest obstacle to the success of Nixon's strategy.

The prominent racial and ethnic loyalties that divide American society have, together with our democratic creed, obscured a fundamental reality—that we are a class society and, though we do not often talk about such things, that we are engaged in a class struggle. This reality may not provide some people with their wished-for quotient of drama, though I would think that the GE strike or the UAW strike against GM are sufficiently dramatic, and it may now have become an institutionalized struggle between the trade-union movement and the owners and managers of corporate wealth. Yet it is a struggle nonetheless, and its outcome will determine whether we will have a greater or lesser degree of economic and social equality in this country. As long as blacks are poor, our own struggle will be part of this broader class reality. To the degree that it is not, black liberation will remain a dream in the souls of an oppressed people. □

"Today the trade-union movement has been relegated to reactionary status, even though it is actually more progressive than at any time in its history. . . ."

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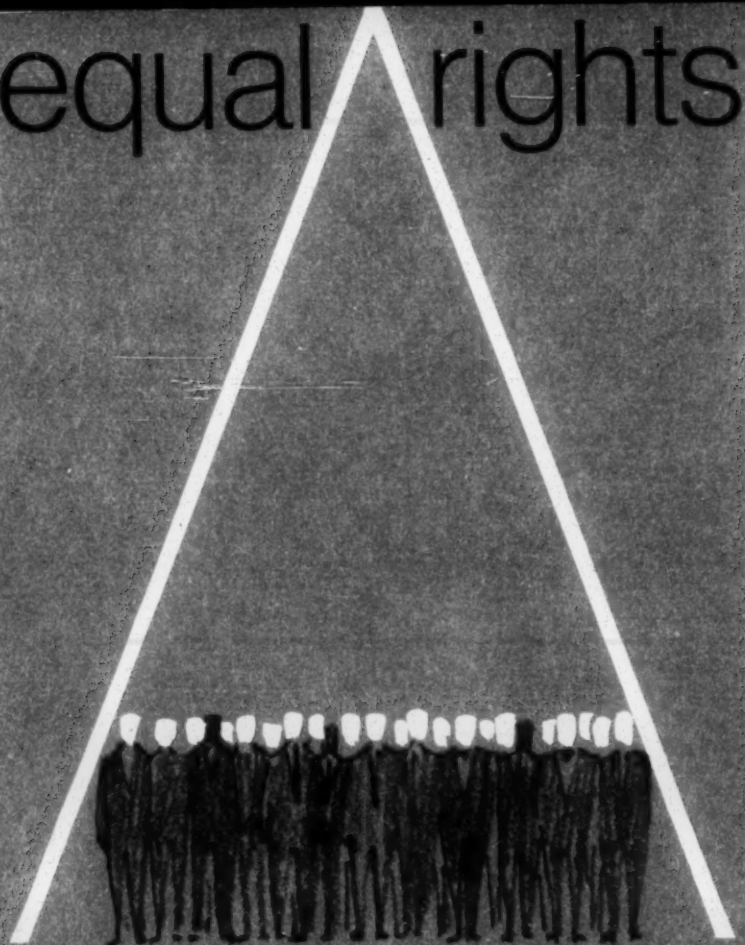

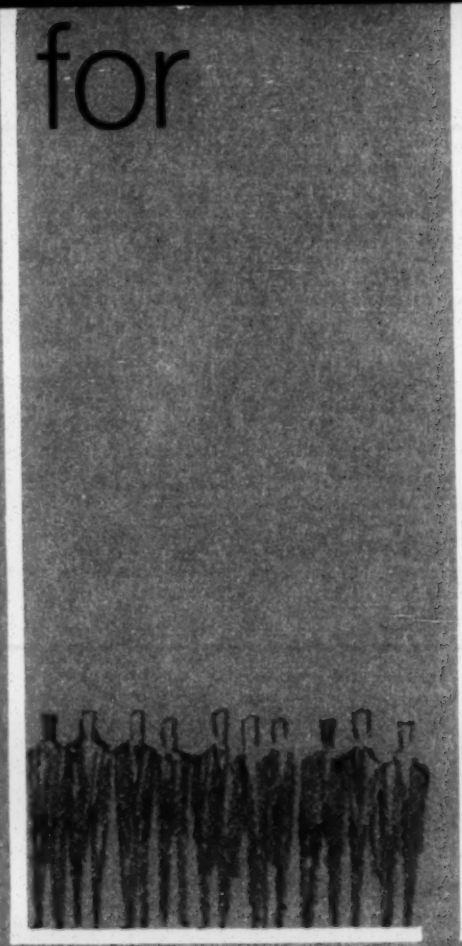

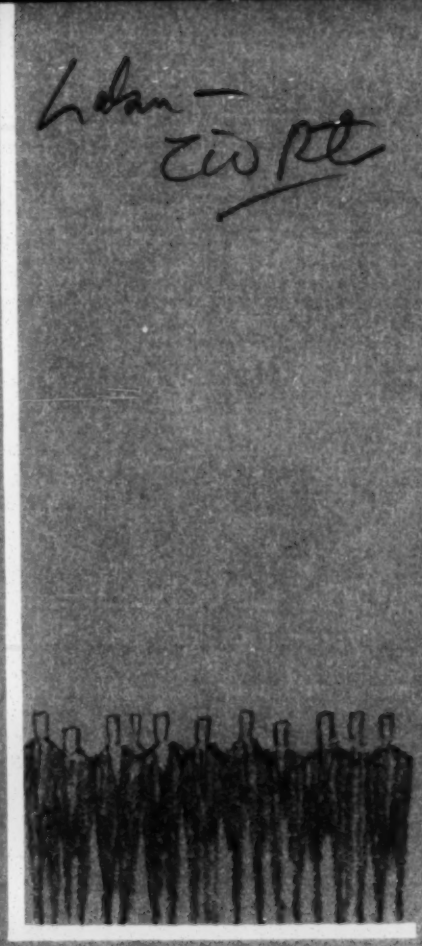

...the AFL-CIO program

AFL-CIO Civ Rts

Civil Rights: Facts vs. Fiction

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a new bill of rights for everyone, regardless of race, creed or color.

This basic fact has been overlooked, ignored or distorted by those who are opposed to equal rights for anyone.

This is—in capsule form—what the act provides:

JOBS: Starting in July 1965, discrimination and segregation in employment, or in unions, is forbidden. Complaints will be processed through state agencies; the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission acts only if a state fails to act.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS: Effective at once, every hotel, restaurant, theater or other facility catering to the general public must do exactly that. Thirty-one state laws, already in effect have even stronger provisions.

SCHOOLS: The Attorney General of the United States has greater power to implement the Supreme Court decision of 1954 prohibiting segregation in public schools.

VOTING RIGHTS: Both the federal courts and the Attorney General are instructed to make sure registration and voting rights are safeguarded under uniform, reasonable standards.

There are other provisions in the law; a detailed analysis is available free of charge from the AFL-CIO. But these are the basic points.

Enemies of civil rights, enemies of labor, enemies of democracy itself are spreading lies about the terms of the act in order to play upon the fears of homeowners, parents, employers and workers. Here is the truth about the kind of lies that are told:

FICTION: "If you sell a house, you have to sell to a Negro."

FACT: The AFL-CIO believes that discrimination in housing should be ended. But there is no reference whatever to housing in the Civil Rights Act.

FICTION: "Your children will be sent out of the neighborhood to some Negro school."

FACT: Local school boards in some cities, operating under state and local statutes, have instituted pupil transfers in an effort to achieve better racial balance in their schools. But there is no such requirement in the Civil Rights Act, which provides only that schools must not be segregated.

FICTION: "A certain number of Negroes will have to be hired on every job, even if white people have to be fired to make room for them."

FACT: This is a myth. The law will properly put an end to discrimination in employment —including discrimination in seniority systems. But it does not in any way interfere with existing job rights. There are no "quotas" established. As a matter of fact, "inverse discrimination," even if intended to offset past evils, would actually be a violation of the law.

In short, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in letter and spirit, is dedicated to justice—to the principles of democracy and fair play which are in the highest American tradition.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Sixth Constitutional Convention

AFL-CIO

Resolution No. 167

CIVIL RIGHTS

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- both strongly supported by the AFL-CIO -- represent major accomplishments in the continuing effort to abolish racial discrimination in this country. But much more needs to be done before equality is a fact in this land.

The impact of the Civil Rights Act is already apparent. Widespread desegregation of public facilities and accommodations is a reality in 53 cities of over 50,000 population in Southern states. Among the important new tools provided by the Act are Title VI which prohibits discrimination in all programs receiving federal financial assistance, and Title VII which establishes a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But good laws by themselves do not automatically solve problems, as we in the labor movement know from our own experience. The passage of the Wagner Act enabled unions to expand organization and increase their effectiveness in representing workers. But the laws had to be backed up with hard work. The unions could not and did not sit back and consider their job was done by the law.

That is just as true of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Vigorous and effective enforcement by government is mandatory if these laws are to be useful tools for eliminating discrimination and opening opportunities for minority group citizens. We intend to see to it that there is effective and vigorous enforcement.

Education:

We take particular note of the situation with regard to education in the South. The United States Office of Education reports that the percentage of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the 11 Southern states has tripled this year. On the other hand, data compiled by the Southern Regional Council indicates that the increase from 1964 to 1965 may have only doubled. Even the 7.5 percent figure of the U.S. Office of Education, however, represents meager progress 11 years after the Supreme Court decision required public school desegregation.

There must be an accelerated pace of school desegregation. Already, children, who entered the first grade after that decision, are about to graduate from high school, having spent their entire shool life in Jim Crow schools -- making a mockery out of that trail-blazing decision of the Supreme Court.

The U.S. Office of Education must not accept "freedom of choice" plans at face value. Frequently there is no free choice for Negro parents and children, who face threats and harassments if they select a previously all-white school.

We contend the U.S. Office of Education must be given sufficient funds to employ adequate staff and provide adequate services to obtain compliance with the law. Where local officials fail to comply, federal funds must be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act.

Equal educational opportunity must be a national goal. It is an achievable goal. We must make it a reality. The challenge of de facto segregation in the North must be faced. President Johnson has ordered the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to undertake a study of de facto school segregation. We look to the Commission for positive recommendations to deal with this problem.

But we insist the problem in education is too crucial for additional delay. What America needs and must have is high quality education in its schools, both North and South, on a basis of true equality.

To achieve that goal, we reiterate President Meany's proposal, made immediately after the Supreme Court's school decision: That the United States authorize a special multi-billion dollar school fund to aid affected communities to meet this challenge. North and South alike could benefit from this proposal.

We must no let money stand in the way of eliminating segregation and discrimination in education -- every place in America.

Housing:

A serious and important factor in the spread of de facto school segregation in the North is the discriminatory housing practices that have fostered huge Negro ghettos, which we have long deplored and against which we will continue to battle until we have achieved equality in housing.

Executive Order 11063, issued by the late President Kennedy, banning discrimination in federal and federally-assisted housing, broughtthe weight and prestige of the Federal Government into this vital area. But this is not enough.

We urge President Johnson to extend the 1962 Housing Executive Order to cover not only Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration insured mortgages but also mortgage activities of all federally-assisted or federally-insured bank and savings and loan companies and to insure its vigorous implementation. Certainly the money of all Americans must not be used to deny housing to millions of them.

Equal Employment Opportunity:

The establishment of a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides a new and vitally important tool to strengthen labor's program to insure fair and equal employment opportunity. Better job opportunities for minority workers will enable them to break out of the vicious circle that confines them to slum housing and their children to overcrowded, substandard schools. The new law as a declaration of public policy will help us to speed achievement of our policies of the AFL-CIO of equal opportunity on the job.

As we have told the Congress, Title VII needs strengthening. We intend to support legislation to strengthen this section. Until we achieve that improved law, we intend to make Title VII work.

In anticipation of the establishment of the Commission under Title VII, President Meany requested all international unions to assign an international officer towork with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other government agencies to obtain intelligent and effective compliance with the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has adopted the following procedure in regard to complaints involving local unions and/or collective bargaining agreements of AFL-CIO affiliates:

A. In states which do not have a FEPC, after initial investigation by a Field Representative and at the time a complaint is sent to the local union involved, a copy will be sent to the national or international office of the union and to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

B. In states where there is a FEPC, the Commission has recommended that the state agency make a similar agreement with the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

To implement this effort, we urge all national officers assigned to this task to give prompt attention to the processing of complaints received under this procedure and to call upon the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department for aid and assistance.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled segregated local unions and separate lines of seniority and promotion based on race are a violation of the Act -- a position exactly comparable to the AFL-CIO position.

We call upon all affiliates with the few segregated locals that remain in existence to merge such separate locals without delay and to adopt contractual clauses that will eliminate barriers to equal opportunity for promotion and seniority for all workers.

In keeping with the five-point program adopted by the Executive Council on August 4, 1964, we also call upon all affiliates and assigned national officers to develop and accelerate programs to eliminate discriminatory practices within their industry and union, utilizing and strengthening established machinery of collective bargaining:

1) by negotiating non-discrimination clauses in all collective bargaining contracts and utilizing these clauses in all stages of the collective bargaining procedure;

2) by sensitizing the collective bargaining machinery to the problems of eliminating discrimination and providing equal employment opportunities.

Voting:

The Voting Rights Act provides the means to end discrimination at the ballot box. Since its passage, over 166,000 Negroes have registered to vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, states covered in whole or in part by the Act. In the four months since the law became effective, the Justice Department has sent federal examiners into only 32 counties. That is just not good enough.

Congress has provided the means for the elimination of voting discrimination. If the 1966 elections are to take place without disenfranchisement of Negroes, the Justice Department must act promptly.

We urge the Attorney General to move without further delay to implement the will of this nation -- that all its citizens have a right to vote.

Equal Administration of Justice:

The administration of justice on an equal basis for all citizens is fundamental in a democratic society. Inequality in the administration of justice moreover can be a major barrier to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

After long and bitter years, in which Southern juries have denied simple justice to Negroes, there have now been two instances in which justice has been served.

But still the murderers of William L. Moore, Medgar Evers, four young girls in a Birmingham church, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Colonel Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Reverend James Reeb and Jonathan Daniels remain unpunished. We insist that this mockery of our judicial system be halted.

We demand justice in our courts -- equal justice, for all men must be equal in our courts if there is to be justice in our land.

Fundamental to this goal is the total elimination of segregation and discrimination in our jury system. The right to trial by a jury of one's peers is basic to democracy. But a jury must consist of peers; it must not be "for whites only." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO facilitate and insure increased labor participation in the achievement of these objectives; we urge every affiliate to establish a functioning Civil Rights Committee. These committees are crucial in the implementation of labor's civil rights program: providing technical assistance to workers filing complaints under Title VII; establishing basic educational programs reaching the rank and file member; forming cooperative relationships with responsible civil rights groups, religious and other community organizations, for the purpose of obtaining compliance with existing civil rights laws, and aiding local labor leadership to resist Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society infiltration.

For equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, we must have a society of full opportunity. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates participated with outstanding Negro leaders, scholars and experts in a recent national planning session called by President Johnson.

In outlining the need for this conference, President Johnson said: "We seek not just legal equity, but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

This has always been the goal of the AFL-CIO. We pledge ourselves to the achievement of national programs to meet the educational, housing and community needs of all citizens. Such programs will both meet the social needs of our country and its cities and create jobs urgently needed to insure employment opportunities.

Such measures, plus a higher minimum wage, extended minimum wage coverage, and the establishment of national standards for quality integrated education and training will aid Negroes and other minorities to translate legal rights into absolute equal opportunity.

America has made great progress in civil rights in the past two years. We are proud of our role in this worthy battle.

But too much remains to be done for any of us to pause for self-congratulations. The unresolved problems are many and great. They can be met; they must be solved; they will be conquered.

Our goal is true and absolute equality of opportunity throughout America. We shall not rest until we achieve it.

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 87th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The John Birch Society

SPEECH

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 8, 1961

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, for the past year or more I have been deeply concerned about the increased membership and spreading influence of a relatively new organization called the John Birch Society.

It has gained considerable membership in several of the major cities in North Dakota. In one city alone, it has at least four cells. This organization is ultraconservative in nature and has among its members some of the most able and influential people in each community. Strangely enough, most of its criticism is leveled, not against liberal public officials, but against the more middle-of-the-road, and even conservative, Republicans.

They have accused me of being about every kind of a scoundrel, including a Communist or pro-Communist. This gives me little concern, as I am certain no sane person would believe there is the slightest substance to such a charge. In fact, from a practical political point of view, such charges actually are of some help. It is a sort of medicine to some liberal thinking people who have often accused me of being a reactionary conservative.

I have been aware for a long while that the head of this organization, Mr. Robert Welch, has made accusations against the President of the United States and other top officials far beyond anything the late Senator Joe McCarthy ever thought of. I quote a part of a story appearing in the Chicago Daily News of July 26, 1960:

However, new members are not told about a book written by Welch. Its title is "The Politician." It is about President Eisenhower, and for 302 pages tries to prove that the President is a conscious, dedicated agent of the Communists.

It maintains that the present administration is controlled by the Communist Party.

In this fantastic document Milton Eisenhower is described as Ike's superior in the Communist Party. Even Neil McElroy, former Secretary of Defense, is pilloried as "doing the Communists' work for them with assurance and determination."

Mr. President, I hesitated to give further publicity to this dastardly attack. It is unbelievable that any sane person would make such accusations against President Eisenhower, who has devoted his life to the service of this country and who led all of the allied forces in the European theater during World War II. The only reason why I am reluctantly giving publicity to the vicious charges made by the leaders of this society is that I believe it will serve to give needed information to people in my State and elsewhere who may be influenced by this organization.

Communism represents a serious menace to freedom-loving people everywhere. It is the same international conspiracy it has always been, seeking to enslave the entire free world. To label some of our most loyal and dedicated people as Communists plays right into the hands of the Communist movement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an article appearing in the Chicago Daily News under date of July 26, 1960, entitled "Strange Threat to Democracy," and also an article appearing in this week's issue of Time magazine, entitled "The Americanists."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 26, 1960]

STRANGE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY—ANTI-RED GROUP HITS LEADERS

(By Jack Mabley)

Robert Welch, the leader of thousands of conservative Americans in the John Birch Society, not only believes that President Eisenhower is a Communist, but he takes a dim view of democracy.

"Democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud," he told founders of the John Birch League in 1958. He has continued to maintain this in a booklet given to new members.

Welch, a prominent Boston businessman, a former board member of the National Association of Manufacturers, has 25 lines of biography in "Who's Who in the East."

He is the absolute boss, the authoritarian head of the John Birch Society, which ostensibly is an organization dedicated to fighting communism.

This league has thousands of members throughout the country, and a goal of a million members.

Wealthy conservatives support Welch. He lists as members of the advisory "Council" Cola G. Parker, Ernest G. Swigert, and William J. Grede, all past presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers, Clarence Manion of the Manion Forum, the late James Simpson, Jr., former Illinois Republican Congressman, and a number of other well-known conservatives.

LOFTY AIMS ARE MOST ATTRACTIVE

Welch is a persuasive speaker. Many responsible people are attracted to the Birch Society by the lofty aims expressed by Welch and "coordinators" who lead local groups.

It is made clear to new members that the organization is monolithic, that it operates under complete authoritative controls at all levels. And Welch is the undisputed boss.

However, new members are not told about a book written by Welch. Its title is "The Politician." It is about President Eisenhower, and for 302 pages tries to prove that the President is a conscious, dedicated agent of the Communists.

It maintains that the present administration is controlled by the Communist Party.

In this fantastic document Milton Eisenhower is described as Ike's superior in the Communist Party. Even Neil McElroy, former Secretary of Defense, is pilloried as "doing the Communists' work for them with assurance and determination."

This book is supposed to be seen only by leaders of the society. Recently a meeting in Glenview was disrupted when the book was brought up in open discussion by someone in the audience.

Stillwell J. Conner, leader of the meeting, had told a member that giving the book to a member of the society before he became "qualified" was like telling a first-year medical student to go out and cure cancer.

ROOSEVELT, H.S.T. USED BY COMMIES

Welch writes that Roosevelt was used by the Communists. He says that Truman also was used by them, but with his knowledge and acquiescence because "they made him President." In the third stage of the Communist conspiracy, writes Welch, "the Communists have one of their own actually in the Presidency."

It may be questionable judgment to give these incredible statements the dignity of publicity. But Welch is persuasive.

Quietly he has been gaining strong support among both prominent conservatives and thousands of ordinary people who seek to fight communism.

They should know the thinking of the man to whom they are pledging their energies and loyalty.

[From Time magazine, Mar. 10, 1961]

ORGANIZATIONS

THE AMERICANISTS

Among the U.S. brotherhoods dedicated to the fight against communism, nothing is quite like the John Birch Society. Except for an elite corps of leaders its members shun personal publicity and their names are held by the society in strictest secrecy. Its cells, of 20 to 30 members apiece, take orders from society headquarters, promote Communist-style front organizations that do not use the John Birch name. Carefully avoiding normal channels of political action, the society accepts the hard-boiled dictatorial direction of one man who sees democracy as a "perennial fraud" and estimates that the United States is 40 percent to 60 percent Communist controlled. In other times, other places, the John Birch "Americanists"—as they call themselves—might seem a tiresome, comic-opera joke. But already the society admits to cells in 35 States, and its partisans have made their anonymous and unsettling presence felt in scores of U.S. communities.

In Wichita, Kans., student members of the society are trained to tell their cell leader of any "Communist" influence noted in classroom lectures; by phone, parents belabor the offending teacher and his principal for apologies and admissions of guilt. A Wichita businessman who planned to make a modest contribution to a University of Wichita fund was dissuaded because members of the society were demanding that certain professors and books be thrown out. "My business would be wrecked," said he, "if those people got on the phone and kept on yelling that I am a Communist because I give money to the school." Society members in Nashville, Tenn., started telephone campaigns to warn homeowners that some of their neighbors were suspected Reds. The project with current top priority is the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, and activities in a dozen cities range from the "spontaneous" circulation of petitions to a rash of letters to newspapers, and a "Help Impeach Earl Warren" banner strung across the main street of Pampa, Tex. (and taken down by the police a few hours later).

The Red plot

All society activity comes under the firm thumb of a balding, deceptively mild-mannered, retired businessman from Belmont, Mass., named Robert Welch. Son of a North Carolina farmer, Baptist Welch, 61, spent 25 years as an executive with Cambridge's famed candymaking James O. Welch Co. (run by his brother). After the war, Welch began to bone up on Communist literature; eventually he decided that such schemes as social security and Federal income tax laws were part of a Red plot to ready the United States for Soviet conquest. Welch left candy for full-time anti-Communist pamphleteering in 1957. He founded the John Birch Society the next year, naming it for a U.S. Navy captain killed by Chinese Communist guerrillas after V-J Day.

Welch's Mein Kampf is a masterpiece of invective called "The Politician." Shown only to close friends, the book is now being withdrawn from circulation, largely because its judgments on contemporary leaders repelled more people than they attracted. Some Welchian estimates:

The Eisenhower brothers: "Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party. * * * For [the former President] there is only one possible word to describe his purposes and his actions. The word is 'treason.' "

CIA Director Allen Dulles: "The most protected and untouchable supporter of communism, next to Eisenhower himself, in Washington."

The late John Foster Dulles: "A Communist agent."

Rightwing names

For public consumption, Welch has kept his vitriol well enough in check to avoid libel suits. A prolific author, he has turned out reams of Red-baiting copy, including the Blue Book that guides the society's actions. He puts out the monthly American Opinion, as well as a bulletin that informs all dues-paying ($24 a year for men, $12 for women) members of the society's monthly aims. Despite the ill-fame of "The Politician," Welch has been highly praised as a freedom fighter by a horde of familiar rightwing names, e.g., Actor Adolphe Menjou, Lawyer Clarence Manion, ex-Diplomat Spruille Braden, who grace the society's council and have the right to appoint his successor.

Not all conservatives are so sanguine about Welch. Many object to the society's contempt for dissent from its views, feel that its militant words and thoughts are barely a goosestep away from the formation of goon squads. "This is the kind of thing that does violence to everything we're trying to accomplish," says one Chicago conservative who backed away from Birchism after a glimpse at "The Politician." It siphons a lot of well-meaning, respectable people off into a lunatic fringe run by Welch, at the same time giving anti-Communist efforts a black eye. It hurts us much more than it helps us."

oeiu42aflcio

IS THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY ANTI-COMMUNIST?

by

Harry Fleischman

The John Birch Society is so vehement in claiming that it hates Communism that I was intrigued into wondering how the John Birch Society itself would fare if its program and that of the Communist Party were compared. The results are illuminating:

1. Communist program -- Weaken NATO so that it would be unable to check any possible advance into Western Europe.

John Birch Society program --Take U.S. troops out of NATO. This would enable the USSR to march into Western Europe without real opposition.

2. CP -- Weaken or wreck the United Nations by insisting on Soviet veto power in the administration of the United Nations.

JBS -- Take the United States out of the United Nations. This would leave the Communists in full control of the UN.

3. CP -- Urge underdeveloped nations to refuse American economic or military aid on grounds that it would make those countries puppets of America.

JBS -- Withdraw American economic and military aid from foreign nations, thus allowing Communist nations to fill the vacuum.

4. CP -- Try to convince Americans that the Communist nations pose no external military threat to America and world peace.

JBS -- "Although our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst, and treason right in our government, the American people are being persuaded that our danger is from the outside, is from Russian military superiority." Blue Book.

5. CP -- Persuade the American people to cut the defense budget as not needed since there is no Communist threat to peace.

JBS -- Abolish the income tax, which provides the wherewithal to pay for defense needs.

6. CP -- Convince Africans and Asians that America does not merit their support because of alleged growing racism.

JBS -- Impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren because of Supreme Court decisions for civil liberties and desegregation, argue for states' rights against the Court.

7. CP -- Give protective coloration to real Communists by charging that all who stand for social reform are attacked as Communists.

JBS -- Attack all who stand for social reform -- even very moderate-- as Communists.

8. CP -- Use front groups to promote the party's objectives; infiltrate union, civic and political groups; attack and smear as "Fascist" all opponents,

insist that the end justifies the means.

JBS -- Use front groups to promote the John Birch Society's objectives; infiltrate unions, civic and political groups; attack and smear as "Communist" all opponents; insist that the end justifies the means.

Under the John Birch Society's own rules of "logic," wouldn't this record make the Society qualify as at least "Comsymps," to use Robert Welch's inelegant invention?

Nevertheless, I must confess, I prefer J. Edgar Hoover's temperate warning that "The label of 'communist' is too often indiscriminately attached to those whose views differ from the majority" and that "attributing every adversity to communism is not only irrational, but contributes to hysteria and fosters groundless fears."

No, the John Birch Society is not Communist (unless the Communists are even more Machiavellain than I think they are), but if the John Birch Society did not exist, the Communists might have had to invent one.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

To _____

Date _____ *Time* _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr. Mueller Travel

of _____

Phone _____

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL HIM	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTED TO SEE YOU		RUSH	

Message Your reservations are all confirmed to New York

_____

PARTY RECEIVING CALL

Answers from
Wis. Union Staff
at AREA COPE
Conference April, 1964

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Take a ~~lot~~ half truth & expand it recklessly - prey on prejudice & ignorance

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____ (at least difference in degree

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) J. Birch Society (b) B. J. Hargis

   (c) Minute Men (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Anti Civil Rights

   (b) Abolish Income Tax

   (c) Restrict ~~rights~~ civil liberties of "communists"

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) School Integration

   (b) Spiritual Prayers

   (c) Pro civil liberties decisions e.g. ~~re~~ affecting Communists

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant ___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ~~least~~ most False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

We should be more ~~appr~~ aggressive in assuming the ultra right. Should not simply treat them as harmless crackpots.

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Infiltration, oversimplification of issues, hate

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch Society (b) Christian Crusade

   (c) AMPAC (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Anti-UN

   (b) Purity-rod, work etc

   (c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) Schools-desegregation

   (b) No religion in schools

   (c) Protect 5th Amend.

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

_____ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

_____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

_____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

_____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

X Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education

815—16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? _____

_____

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) John Birch (b) _____

(c) Barry Goldwater (d) _____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) No Income tax

(b) [illegible]

(c) _____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Prayer Decision

(b) Civil Liberties

(c) _____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes ____ No X

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True ____ False X

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

17 17

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Newspaper, Radio T.V. - for the purpose of innuendo

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) _____

   (c) _____ (d) _____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) _____

   (b) _____

   (c) _____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) _____

   (b) _____

   (c) _____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ____ False X

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

X Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

X Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

X Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

already done Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

X Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Extreme pressures - work on school and church groups.

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch Society (b) Nt'l Assoc. of Manufacturers

   (c) American Medical Society (d) _____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Right to Work

   (b) Opposition to Medi-Care

   (c) _____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) _____

   (b) _____

   (c) _____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Use of Films "And Women Must Weep" & Counter with "Anatomy of a Lie"

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? divide & conquer

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) Lifeline

   (c) ACA (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Prayer Decision Medi-care

   (b) Civil Liberties

   (c) Right To Work

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) Validity of Agency Shop Clause

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ____ No X

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

_____ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

_____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

X Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

X Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

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_____

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? FALSE. STATEMENTS, + DIFFER PEOPLE, AND DIFFERENT IDEAS FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ✓ False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch Society (b) BERRY GOLDWATER

   (c) A.M.A (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) ELIMINATING OF GRADUATED INCOME TAX

   (b) GOV. TO BIG, + FED AID

   (c) PROPERTY RIGHTS

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) PRAYER IN SCHOOL

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ✓ False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant✓)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ____ No ✓

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ✓ False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

_____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

_____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

PUT RIGHT WING GROUPS ON DEFENCE
BY TELLING PEOPLE THIS GROUP IS WORST
THEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Call to the veterans Civil Groups. Infiltrate Union meetings.

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch Society (b) ____

   (c) American Medical Asso (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Right to Work &

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ____ False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none X little ___ significant ___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ____ No X

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

X Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Continual Education of Union Members at meetings

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Call all Social Education and Labor Legislation as communist
Equate every dissentor or opposition to their ideas as unpatriotic.

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True ✓ False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) John Birch Society (b) Right to Work Committee

(c) Association for Constitutional action (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Opposition to Civil Rights ~~Solel~~ State Rights

(b) ____

(c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Reapportionment

(b) ____

(c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True ✓ False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little✓significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True ____ False ✓

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

✓ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

✓ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Mainly The Big Lie Continued distortion —

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True X False ____ But the so-called honest conservative finds out to late

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) John Birchers (b) Right To Work Com.

(c) Financial Groups. (d) Medical group largely doing dirty work

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Right To Work — Repeal 20 Century —

(b) Establish Taxation on Ability instead of ability to pay

(c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Desegregation — Reapportionment — Labor Acts in general

(b) ____

(c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True ____ False X Repeated Big Lie has some appeal

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none X and little X significant ____)influence on your members. on informed members

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes X No ____ Using otherwise better groups

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True ____ False X

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

#1 _____ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

2 _____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

3 _____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

4 _____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

5 _____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

6 _____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

7 _____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

8 _____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

9 _____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

10 _____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

_____

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AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? PROPAGANDA DISSEMINATED, EVERYWHERE

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ✓ False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) BIRCH (b) AMER. FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOV'NT

   (c) CRUSADERS (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) SEGREGATION

   (b) RIGHT TO WORK

   (c) TAFT-HARTLEY - LANDRUM-GRIFFIN, LAWS

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) SEGREGATION DECISION

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ____ False ✓

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant ✓)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ____ False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

✓ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

✓ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

✓ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

MORE USE OF T.V. TO PRESENT LABORS POSITION!

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? malicious and vicious

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) Goldwater (b) ~~Amica~~ AMPAC

(c) John Birch Society (d) BIPAC

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Right-To-Work law

(b) Repeal of Tax

(c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Prayer

(b) Integration

(c) Reapportionment

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

_____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

_____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

X Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

More time should be spent on the education of our members in regard to ~~them~~ what the "right-wings" are actually doing against them. There are many films now being shown at clubs, schools etc that support the "right-wings", and only one side is being shown

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Slanted Communications, Front Groups, Terror, Blackmail, Falsehood

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) AMPAC (b) John Birch Society

   (c) BIPAC (d) Billy James Hargis

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) ~~Rep.~~ Right to work

   (b) States Rights

   (c) Aid to Ed.

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) Prayer

   (b) Integration

   (c) Reapportionment

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

X Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

X Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Purchase T.V. & Radio Time for AFL-CIO Films

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Always promoting FREEDOM

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) Billy Hargis Group

   (c) FREEI (d) Citizens' White Group

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Tax measure

   (b) Against U.N

   (c) States rights

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) Prayer decision

   (b) Reapportionment

   (c) Aid to education only to tax supported schools

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

X Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

GROUP RESEARCH IS GOOD, BUT IT SHOULD BE PUT INTO EASIER READING.

GET CHURCH GROUPS TO UNDERSTAND MOTIVE OF RIGHT WING GROUPS

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? untrue statements slander

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True ____ False X

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) John Birch (b) ____

(c) Goldwater (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Civil Rights

(b) Untruth statements on medicare

(c) Tax measure

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) ____

(b) ____

(c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little✓___significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes ____ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True ____ False ✓

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Have a registration drive and get out the vote like we never had before

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Attempt to slander by inference — Repetition of lies until they see it

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) Americans for Constitutional Liberties (b) Birch Society

(c) Freedom Committee (d) _____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Loss of Seniority — three passages of C.R. Bill

(b) Fight the Communists

(c) _____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Integration of Schools

(b) _____

(c) _____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes ____ No (Haven't noted as yet)

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

✓ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Do a good job on Cope so Rt wing politicians don't win —
Be alert to Radio + TV programs
(I don't believe in picketing a rt wing speaker — It just gives him more publicity —

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

2

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Propaganda - to divide other people

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch Society (b) ACA Society.

   (c) Klu Klux Clan (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Reapportionment of Voting Areas.-

   (b) Repeal of Income taxes.-

   (c) Civil Rights

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ~~Reapportionment of Voting Areas~~.

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little X significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

_____ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

_____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

_____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

_____ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

On Item 10, the local could do all of these but the problem is to get members to work at them.

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Fear, Half-Truths & Deception

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ✓ False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) Birchers (b) AMA.

   (c) NAM (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ____ False ✓

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little✓significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ✓ False ____

✓

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

✓ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

✓ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

✓ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

✓ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

✓ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

attempt to find a way to convince AFL-CIO members of the importance for survival of the labor movement that they must involve themselves in politics as much as does the politicians.

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Fear + Hate

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) ____

   (c) Goldwater (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Right to Work Laws

   (b) Repeal Income Tax

   (c) abolish U.N.

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) De segregation of schools

   (b) reapportionment

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ____ No ____ ?

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

X Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

X Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

X Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

_____

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_____

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? TELL UNTRUTH.

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ____ False ✓

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birchers (b) Americans for action.

   (c) ____ (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Right to Works

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ✓ False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant ✓)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ____ False ✓

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

_____ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? disruptive

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

(a) John Birch Society (b) John Manson

(c) Ampac (d) Bepac

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

(a) Liberty Amendments

(b) National Right to Work Laws

(c) Against the Civil Rights bill

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

(a) Anti Segregation decision, "Schools"

(b) Reapportionment

(c) Aid to Education

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

True X False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

X Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

X Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

X Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

X Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

X Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

X Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

X Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

X Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

X Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

X Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Get some of our people into the schools to explain Labors role in the community. Also the history of the Labor movement and its contributions to the real building of America.

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Communist Propaganda

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) Pifac

   (c) Maf. Association (d) ____

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) States rights

   (b) Segregation

   (c) Right to work

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant X)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes X No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ____ False X

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

✓ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

✓ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

✓ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Propaganda in the papers Radio & TV.

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True ✓ False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) John Birch (b) ____

   (c) Gold Water (d) Wallace

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Against Unemployment Ins. Med. Care

   (b) For Right to Work laws

   (c) Against Unions & Union shops

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True ✓ False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant___)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ✓ False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

✓ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

I believe the we should get more into the family (home) and school before the Cancer hath alt. on

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? Hate & False information

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True X False ____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) Birch (b) Goldwater

   (c) Wallace (d) Nixon

4. List some of the issues supported by right-wing groups which seem to appeal to some AFL-CIO members.

   (a) Civil Rights

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

5. List three Supreme Court decisions which some AFL-CIO members and right-wing groups object to.

   (a) ____

   (b) ____

   (c) ____

6. Solutions to present day complex social, economic, and international problems are so difficult that simple right-wing slogans have an effective appeal.

   True X False ____

7. Right-wing groups are having (check one: none___little___significant ✓)influence on your members.

8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes ✓ No ____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True ✓ False ____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

✓ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

✓ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

✓ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

✓ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

✓ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

✓ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

Yes ✓ Disclose right-wing candidates supporting anti-labor legislation like "right-to-work laws."

Yes ✓ Use films, THE EXTREMISTS and JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LAST WORDS TO LABOR, at local union and community meetings.

✓ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

✓ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

Make it Policy for members to be voters. Would discuss this issue here if given the chance as a point for discussion

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Notes for Discussion Leaders

Climate Contributing to Rise of Extremism

1. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover	"The cause of communism is well served by the hate-mongers, the lunatic fringe and the other rabble who preach a doctrine of malice and intolerance toward their fellow man. They are carriers of a highly infectious disease. "They clutter the streets and the mails with their slanderous obscenities, urging impressionable teen-agers and unstable adults to acts of hate, terror and intimidation. "They have brought forth the bombs and ignited the flames that have killed decent Americans and even innocent children and destroyed churches and other temples of worship." Washington Post, 12/5/63
2. Henry Steele Commager (historian)	"The assassination of President Kennedy, and the killing of the chief suspect, have dramatized for us the lawlessness and violence, the fear and suspicion and hatred which lie so close to the surface of American life." Washington Post 12/1/63
3. Herbert Block (Pulitzer Prize cartoonist)	"Many sections of the press, including some of our most widely read national magazines, have fostered the idea that the United States Government somehow does not belong to the people but is the enemy. Not corruption, injustices or inequities in representation, but the Federal Government itself, and most particularly the Executive and Judical branches, is made out to be some kind of enemy." Washington Post 12/4/63
4. Chief Justice Earl Warren	"If we really love this country, if we truly love justice and mercy, if we fervently want to make this Nation better, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us, and the bitterness that begets violence." Capitol Memorial
5. Dr. Eugene CarsonBlake (United Presbyterian Church)	"Those who have been making irresponsible attacks upon him and his policies are as responsible for his death as the one who pulled the trigger." Washington Post 11/24/63
6. Joseph D. Quillian, Jr. (Dean of Perkins School of Theology, SMU)	"The fact that the accused particular criminal (Lee Oswald) turned out to be a Marxist made no difference, for the contribution of our city to hatred, lawlessness of attitude and violation of human rights and values was still perfectly clear to us--and still is." St. Louis Post-Dispatch 12/19/63

7. Maurice I. Carlson (former Dallas Republican Chairman)	"Freedom of thought and expression are opposed in Dallas by those who hold power in this city. Thomas Jefferson would find things pretty rough in Big D. He would be regarded as too controversial to be respectable." St. Louis Post-Dispatch 12/19/63
8. Leroy Collins (former Governor Florida-now head of the National Association of Broadcasters)	--urged Southerners to tell the "bloody-shirt wavers to climb down off the buckboards of bigotry ...How many Sunday School children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the back? How many Governors have to be shot in the Chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated? NY Times 12/4/63
9. William R. Matthews (editor of Tucson Arizona Daily Star)	"I was in Dallas last week at a meeting of men from all over Texas. I was discouraged and alarmed over the violence of the hatred expressed not only against Jack Kennedy but at Lyndon Johnson...The haters and the name-smearers have reaped what they preached." Drew Pearson Washington Post 11/29/63
10. J. (Bud) Nelson, letter of resignation as Chairman of Tacoma, Washington, White Citizens Council	"Though it was a left-wing Communist who wantonly assassinated our President...I feel that every radical left and right, had his hand on the rifle butt and finger on that trigger. We are all guilty (morally) of fomenting hatreds of one sort or another, thus guilty of a common act of cruelty." Washington Post 11/27/63
11. Thomas G. Aaron, letter of resignation as Chairman of Kentucky Young Americans for Freedom	"I am satisfied that the climate of political degreneracy and moral hysteria masquerading as 'true Americanism' bears substantial culpability for the murder of the President of the United States." He said the group was "more a vehicle of political impovrishment than one of loyal and legitimate opposition." NY Times 12/1/63
12. Richard Ely, President, Memphis Citizens Council	"I firmly believe Mr. Kennedy died a tyrant's death. President Kennedy did nothing to harm or set back communism but he has done so many things to help communism." Washington Post 11/27/63
13. Ted Desley (publisher of the Dallas News)	---accused Mr. Kennedy of running the nation as Caroline rode her tricyle. Pearson Washington Post 11/27/63
14. American Opinion (Birch Society publication)-Novemeber issue article by Charles C. Tansel	in re disarmament proposal--" It is amazing that resolutions of impeachment were not introduced at once in the House of Repesentatives, and it is a clear indication of how far the last three Administrations have gone toward the destruction of American patriotism and devotion to our flag and our country." NY Times 12/18/63

15. Robert Welch, founder of the Birch Society in December issue of the Society's Bulletin

"In the course of the awakening of America... there was a rapidly rising identification of the policies of the Kennedy Administration with the plans of the Communists. There was even an increasing awareness of the fact that steps and measures of the Administration which were specifically presented to the American people as means of fighting Communism were in fact helping the Communists and had been cunningly designed by somebody behind the scenes for that purpose." --In the same article Welch charged that President Kennedy had been assassinated by a Communist acting under orders. NY Times 12/25/63

16. "On Target", publication of the Minuteman, Norborne, Mo. March 15, 1963

"The Minutemen heartily endorse the use of a variety of weapons, from pistols to poison to target rifles, in the pursuit of their goals... Thus the publication states: 'Traitors beware! Even now the cross hairs are on the back of your necks.'"...
Madison Capitol Times 1/24/64

17. Letter from Paul Revere Associated Yoemen Inc. New Orleans, La.

"There is still a bare possibility that we can save our country from complete socialism coming in 1965...

"We must defeat the liberals in the Senate. It can be done as follows - the only way.

"There are 19 sparsely populated States with 38 Senators: 18 of whom are ultra-liberals. They must be concentrated upon - and defeated. They are: "Alaska, Bartlett and Gruening; Arizona, Hayden; Arkansas, Fulbright; Hawaii, Inouye; Idaho, Church; Maine, Muskie; Nevada, Bible and Cannon; New Mexico, Anderson; North Dakota, Burdick; South Dakota, McGovern; Oregon, Morse and Neuberger; Rhode Island, Pell and Pastore; Utah, Moss and Wyoming, McGee." Inserted in Cong. Record by Senator Morse, January 20, 1964.

Not for circulation
Probably has [illegible]

ILLINOIS

Act Fast WILMETTE Box 292

American Action Counsel, Inc. CHICAGO Box 435

Leona Scannel is Executive Secretary of this anti-labor group. Merwin K. Hart and Upton Close were active in its founding.

American Council on Relations CHICAGO

This group was organized in 1961.

Americans for Constitutional Action ARLINGTON HEIGHTS (see cover sheet)

Americans for Constitutional Action LAKE BLUFF (12th Congressional District) (see cover sheet)

Americans for Constitutional Action VILLA PARK (see cover sheet)

American Security Council CHICAGO 123 N. Wacher Drive

This organization maintains a large file of "subversives" for blacklisting. John Fisher is President. Their Washington publication: "Washington Report."

American Security Education Program PARK RIDGE 1321 Park Ridge Road

Libby A. Krejci is Chairman of this 60 member group. L

American Vigilant Intelligence Foundation CHICAGO Box 144

Americans Will Vote, Inc. CHICAGO 8 S. Michigan Avenue

Anti-Communist League of America PARK RIDGE Box 365

John Crippen is the Executive Secretary of this group. It was recommended by Robert Welch in the John Birch White Book.

Anti-Communist Society SPRINGFIELD

Wilfred Stock is the leader of this group. It has 15 members. L

Associated Industries of the Quad-Cities ROCK ISLAND 616 20th Street

C. W. Anderson is the Executive Vice President of this group.

"Bible News Flashes" GALVA Box 141

The editor and publisher of this sheet is W. D. Herrstrom.

The Bookfinders ROCKFORD 341 N. Main Street

F. L. Mill is active in this group.

ILLINOIS

Cardinal Mindzenty Study Group EAST ALTON 164 Norwood Place

Vivian Wall is President of this 6 member group. L

Champaign County Taxpapers CHAMPAIGN 910 W. Springfield Avenue

L. L. Von Patterson is President of this 50 member group. L

Christian Anarchist Guild CHICAGO Box 5270 3323 Michigan Blvd.

This group publishes the "American Spectator," Wyman Port is its editor.

Christian Citizens For America STERLING

This group was begun in 1961.

Christian Patriotic Crusade HINSDALE Box 147

F. Allen Mann is active in this group. It publishes an anti-semitic, anti-negro organ, "The Revere."

Church League of America WHEATON

National Headquarters. Major Edgar C. Bundy is President.

Church Schools Service, Inc. CHICAGO 10119 Lafayette Avenue

Citizens v. Fluoridation, Inc. CHICAGO 6633 S. Lowe Street

Committee for the Repeal of the Income Tax EVANSTON

Ruth O'Connell is active in this group.

Conference of American Small Business Organizations CHICAGO 407 S. Dearborn St.

R. Harland Shaw of this group was quoted as "out to fight the Reuther recession."

"The Conservative" CHICAGO 6750 Stony Island Avenue

This publication is put out by the Naconle Company. William Waddington, Jr., is the editor. It has reprinted columns from "Human Events" and Life Lines."

The Conservative Club ST. CHARLES

Conservative Clubs of America CHICAGO 2020 W. Montrose Avenue

Robert Bent Taft is the Secretary of this group.

Constitution Clubs of Illinois, Inc. DEERFIELD

Constitution Party of Illinois CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Constitutional Research Association CHICAGO 3150 N. Sheridan Road

Council of Women Citizens CHICAGO 316 S. Clark Street

"Destiny of America" CHICAGO Box 5164

This radio broadcast is by Robert B. Record.

DuPage Patriots WHEATON Box 506

Education For American Security GLENVIEW

This local group was founded in 1960.

Evanston Panel, Inc. EVANSTON Box 872

This group publishes "Your America" which criticized NEA and UNESCO.

Faith and Freedom Forum WHEATON Box 55

Federal Party BARRINGTON Box 315

CHICAGO 401 S. LaSalle Street

The Chicago group was established in 1952.

First Principles HOLLAND 366 E. 166th Street

For God and Country Study Group CHICAGO 6310 S. Claremont Avenue

Foundation For Foreign Affairs, Inc. CHICAGO 64 E. Jackson Blvd.

Free Enterprise Federation CHICAGO 111 N. Wabash Avenue

Harry Everingham, Thomas O'Conner and Judge John Unger are Trustees of this group. Publish "Free Enterprise," edited by H. Everingham.

Freedom Bookshelf LOMBARD Box 303

The Freedom Bookshelf began in 1960. It recommends tapes by Hargis and Schwarz, among others.

"Gentile News" CHICAGO

Eugene Flitcraft is the publisher of this paper.

George S. May International Company CHICAGO

This company sponsored a Young Americans for Freedom rally.

"The Gospel Truth" CHICAGO Box 1963

James Kurtz is the editor of this organ.

ILLINOIS

Grass Roots Association CHICAGO 2020 W. Montrose Avenue

A. Edwin Allbaugh is the Executive Director of this 6,450 member Association. It has a national staff of 5, with 16 State groups and 92 local groups. GRA was founded in 1948. Same address as Conservative Clubs of America.

Help Fight Communism, Inc. CHICAGO P.O. Box 1119

Austin Folett is President and Phillip R. Gates is Vice President of this group.

The Heritage Foundation, Inc. CHICAGO 75 East Wacher Drive

Arthur Conrad is President of this Corporation. It publishes and distributes the "Case For Right-To-Work Laws" and Rudd's "Bending the Twig."

Hinsdale Study Group HINSDALE 301 Chanticleer

Mrs. Calvin E. Race is active in this group. L

Hinsdale Women's Republican Club CLARENDON HILLS 3 Iroquois Street

Mrs. Eugene Alsaugh is President of this 160 member group.

Illinois Right-To-Work Committee CHICAGO Dearborn Street

Ira H. Latimer is the Executive Vice Chairman of this group.

Institute for American Strategy CHICAGO 7 S. Dearborn Street

This group of industrialists conducts cold war seminars with military leaders.

Intercollegeiate Society of Individuals (ISI) CHICAGO P.O. Box 4309

This group publishes the New Individualists Review. (See cover sheet) Frank Chodorov is President.

International Intelligence DALTON Box 42

Kankakee County Taxpayers Association KANKAKEE Rt. #1

Mrs. Kenneth W. Elliott is Secretary of this 250 member group. L

Mayflower Descendents CHICAGO 231 S. LaSalle Street

The Governor-General of this group is Waldo M. Allen. It was established in 1807.

McHenry County Citizens Information Center WOODSTOCK Box 282

ILLINOIS

Mid-America Research Library CHICAGO 205 W.Monroe Street, Room 300

Miller Fluid Power BENSENVILLE No. 15 York Road

Frank Flick and Dorothy Reed of the Personnel Division of Flick-Reddy Corporation are active here.

National Association of Christian Schools CHICAGO 10201 S. State St.

This group publishes the "Christian Teacher," edited by Mark Fakkema.

National Association of Evangelicals WHEATON

George Ford is the Director of this group which distributed anti-Catholic literature during the Kennedy campaign.

National Committee For Economic Freedom BENSENVILLE Box 562
c/o Frank Hick (Ready Education Association) 7 No. 15 York Road
(see Miller Fluid Power address above).

Affiliate of the National group organized for repeal of the income tax.

National Committee for Support of American Patriots LIBERTYVILLE
Box 334

This group is headed by former Army Major Arch E. Roberts who was dismissed from the Army after disobeying orders and making a smear speech before the DAR at its Washington convention in 1962.

National Federation of Independent Businesses, Inc. CHICAGO North Shore
Bank Building

Ed Wimmer is Vice President for Public Relations and George J. Berger is Vice President for Legislative Activities of this 190,000 member group. It is anti-union, and anti-medicare in its philosophies.

National Labor-Management Foundation CHICAGO 101 E. Ontario Street and
757 N. Michigan Blvd.

Maurice R. Franks is the President, Dr. Alfred Haabe is First Vice President and George Peck is the 2nd Vice President of this organization. It publishes a monthy magazine, "Partners."

National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America WHEATON
1407 Hill Avenue

This group was recommended by Robert Welch in the John Birch White Book. George C. Bundy is the Director. Publish "News & Views."

ILLINOIS

National Sunday School Association CHICAGO 175 N. Franklin Street

This group held a Sunday School convention in Denver in October '62 at which Herbert Philbrick spoke. It also publishes a pamphlet quoting Schwarz. The President is Dr. Lloyd Knox, the Vice President is Dr. Harold Etting, the Secretary is Rev. Lawrence Swanson and the Treasurer is Mr. Hal W. Coup.

The North Side Young Conservatives CHICAGO

Pan American Forum CHICAGO 530 Arlington

A. B. McAllister is the Director of this 100 member group. L

Patriotic Research Bureau CHICAGO Box 659

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling is active.

Patriotism, Inc. BUSHNELL Box 12

T. M. Armstrong is President of this 14 member group. L

Political Science and Debate Society PRAIRIE CITY Box 265

Michael Young is President of this 30 member group. L

Realpolitical Institute CHICAGO Box 1785

Max Nelson, Manager. Publish "Frontier," an extreme racist, anti-semitic bulletin.

Right-to-Know Association CHICAGO 175 W. Jacks

Edwin Albaugh, Executive Director.

Rockford Citizens Committee to Warn of Communist Imports ROCKFORD 125 N. Church Street

Sears, Roebuck and Company CHICAGO

Sponsored Fred Schwarz's show, and has made repeated contributions to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and other groups.

Senate Studies WILMETTE Box 292

Loraine Hill is Secretary of this 38 member group. L

Sound Money Foundation CHICAGO Box 7781

Emmett C. Barr is President of this group which believes that "the United States Government is hopelessly insolvent."

State of Illinois Anti-Subversive Committee CHICAGO 1313 West Randolph Street

Ed Clamage, Chairman.

ILLINOIS

Students Committed to Accurate National Representation EVANSTON

Sunday Afternoon Club CHICAGO 2430 S. State Street Room 704

S. A. Davis is active.

"Surplus Record and Index" CHICAGO 20 N. Wacher Drive

Published by Thomas P. Scanlon.

Taxpayers, Inc. GALESBURG

Cooperates with the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.

We, the People! CHICAGO 111 N. Wabash

National headquarters of this group (see cover sheet). Publish "The Fact Finder," edited by Harry Everingham who founded the organization.

White Circle League CHICAGO Box 531

Founded by Joseph Beauharnais.

White Youth Corps CHICAGO Box 6253

"Women's Voice" CHICAGO 537 S. Dearborn Street

Lyrl Clark Van Hyning is active in the publication of this anti-negro, anti-semitic paper.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "THE EXTREMISTS"

1. What kind of tactics does an extremist group use? _____

_____

2. There is a difference between an honest Conservative and the Extreme Right-Wing.

   True _____ False _____

3. List three right-wing groups or individuals.

   (a) _____ (b) _____

   (c) _____ (d) _____

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   True _____ False _____

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8. Has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in your schools?

   Yes _____ No _____

9. Right-wing groups are gaining strength by exploiting the background of the alleged assassin of President Kennedy.

   True _____ False _____

continued.....

Questionnaire on "The Extremists" continued

10. How can we overcome the political strength of the right-wing in the 1964 elections? (Check any item that you think your local could do.)

_____ Educate AFL-CIO members on controversial political and economic issues.

_____ Work with other liberal groups on this problem.

_____ Help distribute Group Research to community opinion makers.

_____ Order "The Target Is You" for use in your local union.

_____ Compare COPE voting records with ACA voting records on candidates.

_____ Check school libraries for right-wing pamphlets and films.

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_____ Listen to local right-wing radio commentators as a basis for asking for equal time to reply.

_____ Purchase and read "Men of The Far Right" by Richard Dudman. Pyramid. 192 pp. 50¢.

List your ideas:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THE TIME HAS COME

We believe that the president of the United States has been murdered by a Communist within the United States.

It has been pointed out by the Hon. Martin Dies, since the assassination, that "Lee Harvey Oswald was a Communist," and that when a Communist commits murder he is acting under orders. The former Congressman, head of the original Dies Committee, is probably second only to J. Edgar Hoover in first-hand knowledge acquired from early and long experience in investigating Communist activities.

The Hon. J. Edgar Hoover said in a speech on October 18, 1960: "We are at war with the Communists, and the sooner each red-blooded American realizes that the better and safer we will be." He emphatically repeated this statement on December 3, 1963 - - ten days after the assassination. And this is none the less war because the Communists conduct it according to their usual methods, without regard to civilized rules or human decency.

Nor is it in character for the Communists to rest on this success. Instead, we can expect them to use the shock, grief, and confusion of the American people, resulting from the assassination of our President, as an opportunity for pushing their own plans faster. Also, we shall be subjected to an ever greater barrage of distortions and falsehoods, aimed at imposing on the nation a completely false picture of the situation and of the forces at work. They have to subvert our minds as well as our institutions.

For five years The John Birch Society has said that, regardless of the external threat, Communism was a serious internal menace in the United States. And we were right. We believe that this has now been proved, tragically but conclusively, to the deep sorrow, but also to the profound alarm, of all good Americans. The time has come for those good Americans to join us in this fight against the powerfully organized "masters of deceit." For, as Edmund Burke once wrote: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

The John Birch Society is an *educational* army, and our only weapon is the truth. But George Washington stated our problem well: "Truth will ultimately prevail where there is pains taken to bring it to light." We take tremendous pains in proportion to our numbers and our strength, and all we need to win is that enough other patriots join us in our determination and our labors. For there is nothing the Communists fear so much in the whole world today as having the American people learn, too soon, the truth about their purposes, their methods, and their progress.

If you oppose the Communist conspiracy by learning and spreading the truth, you may expect to be smeared as viciously as we have been for five years. But you will be helping to save your family and your country from the same cruel tyranny that has already been imposed on a billion human beings.

The time has come for every red-blooded American to react as such. If you have the willingness to learn and the courage to support the disturbing truth, use the coupon below. It will be without any obligation on your part, and we shall not contact you further unless or until you request us to do so.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

Exec. Comm.: Wm. J. Grede, A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., Fred C. Koch, Clarence E. Manion, R. W. Stoddard

Please Note

If you agree with this statement, and are willing to help us put this message in as many newspapers as possible across our country, send us your contribution *now*. Make your check out to *Special Advertising Fund*, and mail it directly to:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY,
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

The John Birch Society
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

Gentlemen:

☐ Please send me, without cost or obligation on my part, a sheet of preliminary information about the Society.

☐ For the enclosed one dollar, please send me your *Introductory Packet* of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

_____

(Check the box that applies.)

☐ For the enclosed five dollars please send me your *Special Packet*, containing the basic materials from which I can obtain a thorough understanding of what The John Birch Society is, how it works, and what it hopes to do.

Sincerely,

This ad, sponsored by the John Birch Society, was printed in major daily newspapers the week of December 15, 1963, at an estimated expense to the Society of $35,000.00.

AFL-CIO
Film Discussion Guide
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, AFL-CIO ★ 815 16TH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, President WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

THE EXTREMISTS

AFL-CIO, 25 min., 1964. B/W Filmstrip.

SUMMARY:

The wide range of extremist organizations that comprise the radical right-wing in the nation today are described in this filmstrip. It explores the goals of the right-wing, the range of propoganda activities, political and economic programs and the source of funds. Behind the facade of patriotism and anti-communism emerge violent attacks on labor, social legislation, political leaders and the Federal government. How the right-wing uses political action to support right-wing goals is explained.

INTRODUCTION :

The filmstrip which we are about to see describes some of the activities of the radical right-wing in this country. In their appeal for support, these groups reach all members of the community with their denunciation of the Supreme Court, the President, the Federal Government and the labor movement. During most periods in our history, no organization could get away with calling former President Dwight Eisenhower a conscious, dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy and charging the late President Kennedy with treason.

Throughout our history groups that impugned the honor of our country's leaders would either be ridiculed and laughed at as annoying crackpots or people would soon rise up and demand that they stop defaming the elected representatives of a democratic nation. Let's spend some time discussing what makes many people react so differently today. The extremists in America today are not rejected or rebuked for their verbal and physical attacks on our distinguished statesmen. Instead, they are listened to by many people. Their strength appears to be growing. The money continues to flow in to support the stream of propaganda they produce and the right-wing rallies they sponsor.

Why are many segments of the American public receptive to these prophets of disaster? What is their appeal to union members? What conditions help the cause of those who operate through rumors, lies, and secret meetings? Let's take a look at this filmstrip and discuss some of these questions.

NOTE TO DISCUSSION LEADER:

After the film has been shown, take two or three minutes to set the stage for the discussion by summarizing the issues involved and raising a few provocative questions.

It may not be possible for you to cover all of the questions in this discussion guide in the period available for discussion. We think that you will find that some sections may take only 10 or 12 minutes to cover because of lack of information and other sections, because of problems in that region, may merit extended discussion.

We suggest that you adapt this discussion guide to your needs, covering as much of the content as possible and always allowing time to cover the final section regarding what can be done to combat right-wing groups. Be sure to terminate the discussion no matter where you are when you are nearing the last 10 minutes and proceed to Section VI -- the program for action.

To help you judge the time to be devoted to each section, a time limit has been indicated. Adjust this to meet the needs of the group. The time limit is only to serve as a guide and can be extremely flexible so that you can devote more time to the areas you feel are most significant in terms of that particular group.

Additional space has been left beneath the suggested answers in each question. You may wish to make your own notes regarding approaches to each particular problem.

Section I is intended to identify some of the right-wing groups in the area of the conference participants and what their activities are in the local and state-wide area.

Suggested Time: 15 minutes

1. What right-wing groups are you familiar with in your state?

2. Can you list some of the goals and activities of right-wing groups in your state?

3. How has the right-wing tried to make its influence felt in the schools?

   - It has portrayed young people as gullible and easy victims of Communist propaganda. Therefore, it has called for --

     screening of text and library books to weed out subversive ideas

     inclusion of right-wing propaganda in materials to educate youth on the menace of Communism

   - It has raised doubts about the loyalty of teachers who speak out against the right-wing or who support liberal legislation or independent ideas.

   - In some areas right-wing groups have persuaded the school system to allow them to telecast their anti-communist message into the schools on educational TV stations.

   - Right-wing groups have encouraged teachers and students to participate in panels at their schools and, in some cases, to write themes on the right-wing rally in that city.

4. What organizations in your community have been active in opposing right-wing groups?

   - PTA - League of Women Voters - Farm Groups

5. We have seen in this film that right-wing groups are working around the clock to promote their ideas. How can we counteract their efforts and reach some of the groups they are influencing?

   - Get respectable people in the community to speak out against the right-wing groups operating in your area.
   - Educate union members on the goals of the right-wing.
   - Work with other community organizations to develop programs on issues raised by the right-wing so that people will have the facts.
   - Actively support AFL-CIO legislative programs and work for candidates who will support these programs.
   - When the John Birch Society or other right-wing groups have programs in your area watch for any attempt to project their activities into the schools or get support from the church or other organizations you belong to. Be ready to organize a protest movement, if this should happen.

Section II is designed to build recognition of the fact that right-wing groups are influencing union members and how they are doing it.

Suggested Time: 15 minutes

1. Are right-wing groups influencing our members?

   - Many union members do not know anything about the right-wing organizations, what they are, what they stand for or against.
   - Union members are sometimes taken in by the patriotic, religious appeals of these groups with their highly emotional arguments.

2. What are the issues promoted by the right-wing groups which seem to appeal to our members?

   - Emotional anti-communist position, appeal to patriotism
   - Cut taxes, get rid of the income tax
   - Return power to the state and the individual (state's rights)

- End the welfare state and all the programs which cost money and are socialistic

- Suspicion about the kind of things that are taught in the schools -- socialism, communism -- and the loyalty of the teachers

- Too much money spent abroad on foreign aid and on the U. N.

- Government is going too fast and too far on the race issue

3. How do these extremist groups reach local union members?

- Well publicized meetings and rallies sometime featuring movie stars

- Radio and TV programs. More than 6,000 right-wing messages are broadcast weekly.

- Stories in the press and magazines. Books and pamphlets circulated by the right-wing.

- Right-wing schools are set up in various communities and people are invited to come in and learn about communism and the dangers of subversion.

- Through the PTA and the school board, right-wing groups influence people on education.

Section III. These questions are intended to develop discussion of the real goals of the right-wing groups hiding behind the cloak of anti-communism.

Suggested Time: 10 minutes

1. Do you really think that the wealthy men and corporations behind right-wing groups are really afraid of communism or are they using this as a smoke screen?

- Undoubtedly many people active in right-wing organizations are really frightened of the meance of communism and their fears are played upon by right-wing leaders.

- Right-wing leaders use the anti-communist issue to get support for legislative policies which will benefit the people who support them.

- Some big industrialists give large amounts of money to the right-wing. In addition to being anti-communist, the right-wing also happens to be strongly anti-labor and anti most progressive legislation which helps working people.

2. What are some of the major issues which the right-wing is most actively promoting? (List these on the board as the group names them and then ask -- Who would benefit most if we did this?)

   - Abolish the income tax
   - Abolish Social Security
   - Return the power to the states and the individual
   - Abolish the union shop

Section IV is intended to help the group understand the nature of our radically changing world and the frustrations inherent in change which cause resistance and sometimes result in ultra-reactionary ideas.

Suggested Time: 20 minutes

1. What are some of the background forces which have combined to contribute to the growth of the right-wing in the last 10 years?

   - Rapid changes in our way of living and in international relationships make people uncomfortable and they long to return to the good old days.
   - We have been living through a politically unstable world since 1945. Peace and security have been continuously threatened by the Cold War. The tensions of this stalemate produce frustrations between nations and among the people within nations.
   - High rate of unemployment creates serious problems and fears.
   - Growing movement to win equal rights for all Americans creates fear of competition for too few jobs, fear of loss of money invested in property and fear of loss of social status.

2. Right-wing groups have coined the slogan "Get the U. S. Out of the U.N. and get the U.N. out of the U.S." Do you think this is a solution to any of the problems we face today?

   - The U. N. has been praised by leading Republicans and Democrats as an important agency in keeping peace between nations. By providing a forum where all nations can talk out their differences, the U. N. resolves many problems between nations which might otherwise lead to war. For example, Korea, the Congo.

   - U. N. specialized agencies -- WHO, UNICEF -- give medical care and food to sick and starving children.

   - A leading Republican, Wendell Wilkie, said some 20 years ago, "It's either one world or no world." Today the U. S. is a leading power. We can't return to the good old days when life was more simple. We can't pretend the atomic or hydrogen bomb doesn't exist or that rockets and space flights aren't part of our world. We have to get along with other nations or we will destroy the entire world.

3. The right-wing is constantly attacking the U. S. Supreme Court and Chief Justice Earl Warren. What are some of the things which the right-wing groups are most critical of?

   - 1954 school desegregation decision which held that separate schools are inherently unequal

     This marked the beginning of the continuous attack on the Supreme Court and rallied the racists to the right-wingers. Extremists opposing social change now joined forces against the Supreme Court and from time to time called for the impeachment of the Chief Justice.

   - The decision banning prayers from public schools as a violation of the separation of church and state provided for in our Constitution

   - Reapportionment -- the court held that the division of seats in state legislatures is subject to judicial review

   - The decision outlawing state sedition laws and reserving this area to the Federal government

4. Why do you think that the right-wing continually supports state's rights and attacks the Federal government and the Supreme Court?

- This is part of a massive campaign to undermine confidence in the Federal government and call for a return to state's rights.

- State legislatures are more easily controlled by special interest groups within that state and are seldom forerunners of social progress.

  It is the Federal government that is responsible for the minimum wage law, social security, unemployment compensation, Wagner Act.

Section V is devoted to defining what we mean by radical right-wing and indicating the difference between honest conservatives who genuinely differ from our point of view and the extremists groups.

Suggested Time: 15 minutes

1. Is there a difference between an honest conservative and the extreme right-wing?

Right-wing --

Plays on emotions and tries to develop hate, fear, suspicion of our leadership and our institutions

Masks its real objectives by rallying public support on front issues (like opposition to floridation, communism) in order to promote its reactionary programs

Attacks and would destroy American institutions

Honest conservative --

His goals are different from ours. He may oppose most social legislation and even be anti-union BUT...

He works within the democratic framework, plays the role of the loyal opposition -- staunchly opposing liberal legislation and new ideas but not seeking to impugn the loyalty of our leaders and foster fear and suspicion.

Which Senators and Representatives in your state might be characterized as

a) honest conservatives

b) extremists

2. In what way are the extreme right-wing and the extreme left-wing similar?

- Both desire to destroy our democratic institutions
- Both use the same methods -- secrecy, infiltration, spying, rumors, lies, playing on emotions
- Both mask their real objectives with front issues which attract widespread support

3. How are the right-wing groups exploiting the assassination of the President for their own purposes? What have responsible leaders said about the role of the radical right in creating the climate which culminated in the assassination of the President?

- John Birch Society ran a full page ad in papers across the country saying in effect -- We told you the Communists were a menace in this country, now one has killed the President -- send money to help us fight the Communist menace.
- Other right-wing organizations seem to be using the President's assassination as confirmation of their long-time warnings against the evil of Communism and the dangers of the subversive decisions of the Supreme Court. See Group Research Report, December 13, 1963.
- Chief Justice Earl Warren said, "What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred, and malevolence such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life."
- President Johnson told the nation that we must "turn away from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream."

Section VI. These questions are intended to stimulate discussion of an action program in the community in which this discussion is taking place.

Suggested Time: 10 minutes

1. What kind of political candidates do right-wing groups support?

   - Candidates who are anti-labor and against social legislation such as:

     Senator Barry Goldwater, Senator Dirksen, Senator Mundt, Senator Curtis, Rep. Colmer, Rep. Howard K. Smith, Rep. Arends.

2. What can union members do to combat the right-wing in your community?

   - Support liberal political candidates who will fight for legislation which will help all Americans.
   - Discuss the issues so that the right-wing groups can no longer thrive on misinformation and distortion of the facts.
   - Work with other community groups to limit the influence of these groups in your community. See that able representatives are on the school board to fight any attempted take-over by right-wingers.
   - Be alert for any attempt to use your church group or veterans' organization as a forum for radical right-wingers.

What Did Firm Say?

What kind of local politics Liberty

Am. Xn Crusade — anti Union

When support pol. action depends on who endorsed

H. L. Hunt — anti Left Lines

White Citizens Council

Nat'l Pt to work Com. Dillard also JBS.

AM OP.
J.B.S.
Slick

Repeal Income Tax

Union Monopoly — anti-Trust

Censors in Ed.

Social Welfare Seges.

Racial Separatist

World view
UN attack
Foreign aid
NO Negotiations
Use war —

Nat'l States Rts Party

more Sophisticated

Human Events

National Review

Am Med Pol. Act Com —
Not left — but reactionary
Wis. $

BI PAC (NAM)
Business — Industry PAC
5 of 13 T[o] lied to reaction

Why

This is labor battle

Survival of unions
Takes effort

Rt. Wing -

What appeal

"Individualism" ("Conformity" willingness to stand

Anti-Bigness

Disatisfaction with a particular act - decision

Security — Simplistic Answers in a Complex world
└ Unemployment
Civil Rts

Prejudice - hate

Rationale of
1) family budget vs. national budget
2 wrongs of govt

Unwillingness to face real shortcomings of U.S. — Pick on "faults" of others

Power without responsibility.

(Map & List)

Growing Size

ADL - 282 org (121 in 1961 alone)

only 20 survived from Joe McCarthy Days

List — for Illinois

Threat -

Politics of percentages

info vs. mis-info

Publications

How To Meet; Energy — money —

Political & Economic Understanding

Solid political Org.

Influx without response.

Read the sign of weakness

fewer people listen to someone

hatred

wanted for Treason

UN —

attacks on Court — Warren

Racial hatred — Velsey.

$25 M

J.B.S. $3/4 M
100,000
Robert welch —
40 90 20m. Total control

Am for Court & Action

Tie in with J.B.S.

WHEREAS; THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT IS COMMITTED BY DESIGN AND NEED TO WORK FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE AND TO GIVE HUMAN RIGHTS THE PRIORITY OVER PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR PEACE FOR THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRY AND OF THE WORLD FOR USING ALL THE RESOURCES OF OUR SOCIETY TO HELP EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL, AND

WHEREAS; THERE ARE ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS COMMITTED TO OPPOSE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT BY CONDEMNING THE VERY PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRACY BY FIGHTING AGAINST EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL BY SPREADING HATRED AGAINST VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS IN OUR SOCIETY, BY STRIVING TO DESTROY THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT, USING SUCH METHODS AS THE SO CALLED RIGHT-TO-WORK LEGISLATION, BY FIGHTING AGAINST SOCIAL LEGISLATION PASSED IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, BY OPPOSING THE RESOURCES OF OUR OTHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT ARE USED AND CAN BE USED TO HELP UNDER-PRIVILEGED PEOPLE, AND

WHEREAS; SUCH ORGANIZATIONS ARE OFTEN HEAVILY FINANCED FOR NATIONWIDE PROMOTION OF THEIR REACTIONARY IDEAS AND CAMPAIGNS TO ENACT LEGISLATION IN THE STATE GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PROGRAMS AND TO FIGHT CIVIL RIGHTS, LABOR AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION, AND TO SPREAD HATRED, BE IT

RESOLVED; THAT THIS CONFERENCE RECOMMEND TO THE WISCONSIN STATE AFL-CIO THAT IT PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN THE EFFORTS OF THE AFL-CIO AND ITS AFFILIATES TO ALERT THRU ITS COMMUNITY MEDIA THE EXPOSING OF THESE GROUPS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES; AND BE IT FURTHER

RESOLVED; THAT THE WISCONSIN STATE AFL-CIO INITIATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMITTEE WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS DEVOTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE TO DO RESEARCH ON CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF HATE AND REACTIONARY GROUPS IN WISCONSIN AND TO PUBLICIZE THEIR FINDINGS REGARDING THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

DON'T BE FOOLED . . . . THE TARGET IS YOU

A new and ominous challenge confronts American trade unions and threatens their security. Everywhere, the forces of the right wing are churning distrust of free democratic institutions, unions among them. No community escapes right wing activity, whether open or secret. Hate literature floods the land, attacking liberal church groups, slandering government officials, disrupting school systems, smearing labor.

Combatting the right wing at the national and local level is imperative if organized labor is to meet this challenge successfully. The battle must be waged in cooperation with other groups under attack. Working with teachers, clergymen, PTAs, liberal farm groups, youth movements, minority and civil liberties groups, and many others, unions can counteract right wing activity and, by doing so, encourage broader understanding in the community of labor's rightful place in it.

A leaflet produced and distributed by Billy James Hargis, a star performer for the right wing. Between the covers, a flood of distortions adding up to a massive lie.

A heavy dose of the right wing's special brand of poison has been injected into the bloodstream of American life in recent years. Hotheads and hate-mongers have rallied to the call of preachers of discord who reap fat profits from false patriotism. (Example: The ultra-rightist Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, headed by Dr. Fred Schwarz, grossed nearly one million dollars in 1962. Schwarz, who freely advises citizens how to be "good Americans," is not himself an American citizen.)

Today, more than 1,000 right wing organizations blanket the nation. They claim to represent more than four million active members. Most of them espouse these goals:

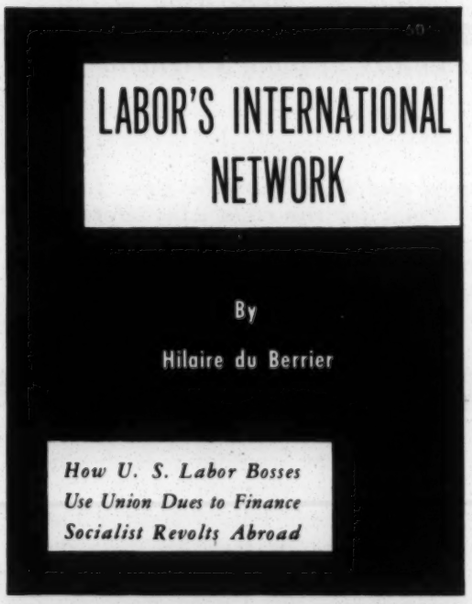
- Prevent new social welfare and liberal legislation, weaken or repeal already enacted laws;
- Undermine our public schools and turn them into indoctrination grounds for future rightists by censoring textbooks, gagging teachers;
- Impeach Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court;
- Wreck the United Nations;
- Repeal the income tax;
- Maintain rigid segregation.

Most of these are far-fetched and unattainable. But the one goal all rightists share is well within the range of possibility: further laws aimed at the ultimate destruction

What Right-Wing Leaders Say About Unions

". . . in the majority of union convention resolutions, we see the Communist Party line followed closely (and) support of all unconstitutional socialistic schemes. . . . Millions of American working men blindly follow the propaganda of the Big Labor bosses . . . and vote for the dangerous radical politicians the bosses instruct them to support."—Billy James Hargis, head of the Christian Crusade.

". . . any person of intelligence has great reason for concern when workers can be compelled to join organizations, contribute their money, and obey the leadership imposed by a small group." —Dr. Fred Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.



Organized labor not only is undermining America, according to one way-out writer, it's socializing the rest of the world.

of strong, effective trade unions.

Thus, their principal target is YOU . . . you and your union.

Don't be fooled when they wrap themselves in the flag and claim all they want is to "preserve freedom."

Don't be fooled when they twist the Bible to their own ends.

Don't be fooled when they attack our public school system or honorable government leaders.

Don't be fooled when they shout "treason" at everyone who disagrees with them.

Don't be fooled, because *you* are their first target.

Their blueprint is clear: clamp anti-trust restrictions on unions; ram through a so-called "right to work" law at the federal level; kill off the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts.

* * * *

How strong are the forces of the right wing, and what are their prospects?

Politically, they have scored alarming successes. In the 1962 elections, in at least six contests for the House of Representatives and the Senate, right-wingers defeated incumbent liberals. Four admitted members of the John Birch Society each polled more than 40 percent of the vote in losing campaigns for the House. Two of them, John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand, drew 46 and 45.5 percent despite the fact their areas had been redistricted against them. An ultra-conservative was elected governor of Oklahoma. In New York State, the newly-formed Conservative Party secured enough votes (110,000) to ensure a place on the ballot in future elections.

Economically, the right wing has a powerful base in big industry and big finance. Its leadership interlocks substantially with leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers and U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Strategically, the right wing is better organized and it commands more money and more know-how than ever before. For the first time, it is doing a strong recruiting and selling job at the community level, with unprecedented success. (The John Birch Society now boasts chapters in 48 states, members in all 50. It has 38 paid full-time organizers, 70-part-time, hundreds of volunteers.)

Overall, the right wing is a far more powerful, more influential movement than at any time in recent years. It claims more than 50 outright supporters in Congress. A study of voting records shows this estimate is conservative. The right wing thus is a potent threat to the welfare of trade unions. As such, its close connection with one key anti-union movement is worth examining in detail.

THE HISTORY OF TRICK-TITLED 'RIGHT TO WORK' LAWS

In the middle of any anti-labor activity, the demagogues of the right will be found, either as prime movers or as noisy front men for the quieter men of power and influence who remain off-stage but throw the actors their lines.

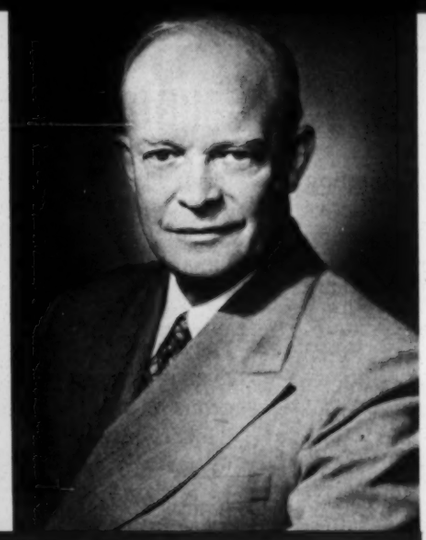
No example of right wing involvement in anti-union campaigns is more glaring than in the history of so-called "right to work" drives.

They began with the grand-daddy of conservatism, the National Association of Manufacturers, in 1903 when the NAM stated in a Declaration of Principles: "No person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization."

Not to be outdone by its Siamese twin of reaction, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1921 joined the NAM crusade. Its president declared: "We stand for the principle of the open shop."

Through the years, the phony "right to work" movement launched by the NAM and Chamber has been a magnet for ultra-reactionaries. Indeed, without them it would be as dead as vaudeville, for it is the ultras who today carry the load for state RTW movements.

A professional right-winger, Vance Muse, was among the first to employ the phrase "right to work" as a full-blown slogan. In Florida (1944) and Arkansas (1947), the first two states to pass open shop laws, Muse played an important role, with help from Dupont money and finances from Alfred Sloan of General Motors.



Two Presidents Speak Out . . .

"The discordant voices of extremism are heard once again in the land. They find treason in our finest churches, in our highest court . . . Let our patriotism be reflected in the creation of confidence rather than crusades of suspicion."

—President John F. Kennedy.

"I don't think the United States needs super-patriots . . . those people that are more patriotic than you or anybody else . . . those who would go back to eliminate the income tax from our laws and the rights of people to unionize . . . those who make radical statements and attack people of good repute."

—Ex-President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In the thick of the Arkansas open shop battle, too, was strong-arm man James Karam who ran a professional strike-breaking organization. He had the support and cooperation of a powerhouse of today's right wing, George S. Benson, president of Harding College, Searcy, Ark. Benson and his college are the fountainhead of rightist films, literature, strategy.

Ten years after the war, 17 states had adopted RTW, and the time was ripe for formation of a national front group. Thus, in 1955, founding of the National Right to Work Committee was announced. Its character can be judged by the heralds who trumpeted it onto the scene. One was North Carolina industrialist E. S. Dillard, presently an endorser of the John Birch Society and of the extremist, violently anti-union Manion Forum. The other was ex-Rep. Fred Hartley, Jr. whose name endures as the far end of the Taft-Hartley Act. Hartley himself once was listed as sponsor of a political action conference organized by the late Merwin K. Hart, a holy name in right-wing circles.

Joining NRTWC in 1961 as vice president and director of information was Glenn A. Green who had put in 12 years as chief assistant to the previously mentioned George S. Benson. Under Benson at Harding College, Green produced propaganda films widely circulated by the John Birch Society and other rightist groups. Green is an admitted member of JBS.

TIES TO NAM AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

NRTWC enjoys close and permanent family ties with the NAM and Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber, in 1961, set up its own Special Committee on Voluntary Unionism, describing its policy "to spearhead and stimulate a drive for an end to compulsory unionism wherever and in whatever form it may exist."

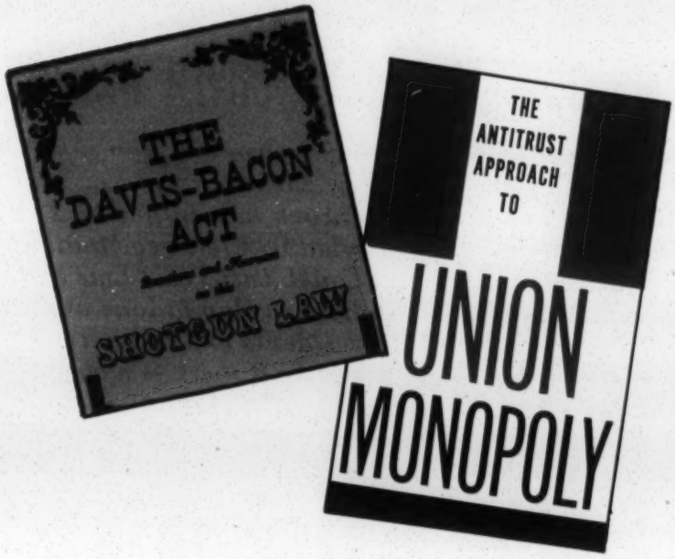
One-fourth of the Chamber's committee members are directly connected with NRTWC.

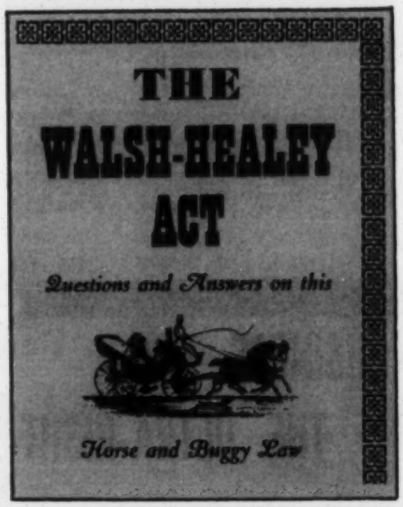
Heading the committee is Chamber Treasurer Wofford B. Camp, former director of the California Farm Bureau and member of the rightist American Good Government Society. Among other committee members are two Manion Forum endorsers and at least one member of the John Birch Society.

The NAM also has set up a special committee which embraces RTW in its jurisdiction, the Center for the Study of Union Power. It is an offshoot of an earlier NAM Study Group on Monopoly Power Exercised by Labor Unions, formed in 1956, coincidentally only a year after NRTWC was launched.

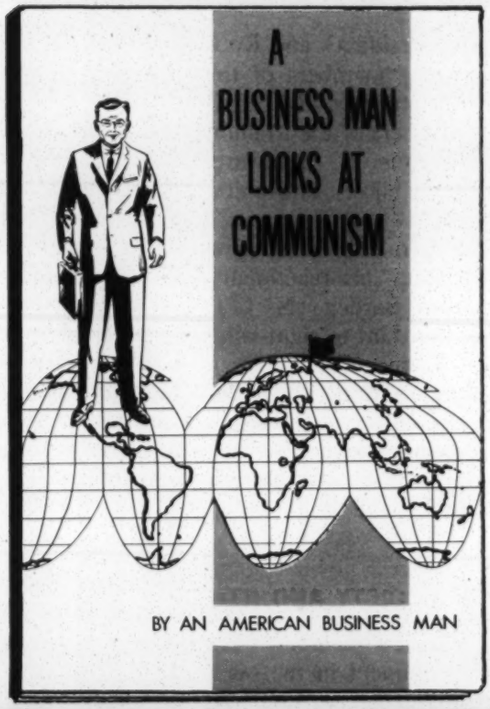
Members of the first "study group" included William J. Grede

Below, tracts put out by the National Right to Work Committee. The message: trade unions and their leaders constitute "a deadly power over freedom."





U.S. Chamber of Commerce publications. More temperate than those of the ultra-rightists, but the pitch is the same: a tighter noose around labor's neck.



"A Business Man Looks at Communism," and guess what he finds? Among other things, because of union security clauses, "dictatorship is just around the corner." The businessman, Fred Koch of Wichita, Kansas, happens to be a leader of the John Birch Society.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS BARE TRUTH ABOUT RIGHT WING

"In the name of preserving freedom, they (right wingers) subvert it more effectively by their reckless attacks on the churches, the press and constitutional government than the communist conspiracy has been able to do."—General Council of the United Presbyterian Church.

". . . rational discussion is being corrupted by the hatred and fear fomented by ultra-right wing groups."—General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

"A virulent form of disunity is weakening us in the world struggle against communism and is performing this disservice in the name of militant anti-communism."

—Father John Cronin, assistant director, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

"Extremists really destroy the freedoms and the country they love while they think they are protecting them."—J. Irwin Miller, National Council of Churches.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE ULTRA-RIGHT

The money that keeps the right wing going comes straight from the coffers of big business and industry, according to Alan Westin, a Columbia University government professor. He states: "A cautious estimate . . . would show that the business community contributed about $10 million to the Radical Right" in 1961. From the evidence, the figure is going up, up, up.

Westin says hundreds of national firms help circulate right wing literature and films, and claims 25 "bluechip" corporations back Dr. Fred Schwarz' so-called Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, among them Richfield Oil, Schick Safety Razor Co., Technicolor Corp., and Allen-Bradley Co.

One example of how big business money keeps the right wing going: When anti-semite Merwin K. Hart formed the National Economic Council, he got $34,513 from one of the DuPonts, $7,000 from Gulf Oil, $13,350 from Lone Star Cement, $9,532 from the Texas Company, $9,585 from W. H. Regnery, right wing publisher.

Another: A $300,000 donation from Alfred Sloan of General Motors helped Dr. George Benson start his right wing machine at Harding College, Ark. Here, major rightist films, books and other propaganda are produced.

RIGHT-WING TENTACLES COVER NATION

Right wing campaigns get strong support from a network of radio stations that cover the country.

The Manion Forum radio network has outlets in 245 communities. The Forum is headed by Clarence Manion, founder of the Committee for Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection, organized to back the drive to slap unions under anti-trust. Two former NAM presidents and the national fuehrer of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, are part of Manion's committee.

Billy James Hargis produces a weekly radio program used by stations in 200 cities.

Other right wing leaders reach deep into the hinterlands with weekly radio and TV shows.

(former NAM president) and Robert Stoddard, now members of the John Birch Society executive committee; two endorsers of the Manion Forum, and Lemuel C. Boulware, General Electric's biggest anti-union weapon.

Among the members of the new NAM "study group" are reactionary ex-Rep. Graham Barden (N. C.); the legislative assistant to right-wing Senator John Tower (R.-Texas); a member of the national advisory board of the extremist Young Americans for Freedom; and Godfrey Schmidt, endorser of Manion Forum and luminary in other right wing groups.

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY AND RTW

John Birch Society members have always been prominent in the open shop movement in general and the NRTWC in particular. This is most evident at the state level, and the pattern in Kansas, where the law was approved in 1958, is typical.

A Washington Post reporter who studied operation of the John Birch Society in Wichita ("under open colors") wrote that "The leadership of the Birch Society overlaps heavily with the leadership of the organizations that successfully campaigned in 1958 for a right-to-work amendment to the State Constitution." Two of these leaders were principal speakers at NRTWC's National Seminar in Chicago in 1961. One of them is a JBS field coordinator and is chairman of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce's Labor Relations Committee. The other is a member of the JBS National Council and was for five years a director of the National Association of Manufacturers.

At least four other Birch Society leaders were active in the open shop fight in Kansas and JBS chieftains also have been active in state "right-to-work" movements in Missouri and Indiana.

WHAT YOU CAN DO. . . .

So the pattern becomes clear: the right wing is entrenched in the so-called "right to work" movement. It has roots, too, in other anti-union vendettas. It works in concert with the NAM and Chamber of Commerce at the national and state levels. It is substantially financed by big business.

Its trouble-making capacity cannot be underestimated. The legions who march under its banners are militant, dedicated and . . . busy.

Trade unions must respond to the threat by reaching out into the community and working with other like-minded organizations to overcome the onslaught from the right. Failure to do so can only result in calamity.

Your Check-List for Counter-Attack . . .

Every central council and State Federation office receives regular reports from COPE covering background and activity of right wing organizations and leaders. Check with your central council and read this material. Urge that it be reproduced and distributed more widely among union members and civic groups. Then, armed with the facts about extremist groups, help take the lead in fighting them.

- Alert democratic groups, PTAs, League of Women Voters, church, school, and other civic leaders, to the reality of right wing activity in the community. Establish a committee of concerned community leaders.
- If a public right wing meeting is scheduled, prepare and release to the press, radio and TV in advance of the meeting a statement by your committee exposing the nature and intent of it.
- Attend right wing meetings that are open to the public. If you get the chance, ask questions of the speakers. Invariably, they speak in generalities. Most of them are ill-informed. Often, they can be embarrassed and exposed for what they are simply by demanding specific answers to questions on their policies and programs.
- Action *after* a right-winger has disrupted the community is more difficult. It hinges on getting at least a few community leaders to stand up, speak out and be counted. Labor can provide real leadership in such a maneuver. Often, well-meaning community leaders are intimidated by right-wingers. It's up to you to help them fight.
- Editors and broadcasters should be provided with facts about right wing groups and leaders. They should be urged to publish these facts.
- Develop a pool of well-informed, readily-available speakers to address church groups; fraternal, civic and service organizations; schools. Indeed, be willing to use any reasonable forum.
- If a right wing spokesman appears on local radio or television in an interview, request equal time to rebut him.
- If you have access to a labor-sponsored or liberal farm organization-sponsored radio or TV program, use it to alert the community to right wing activity.
- Use the letters-to-the-editor column of your local newspaper when the occasion arises.
- Urge your minister, priest or rabbi to make right wing activity a sermon topic and to join your committee to combat the extremists.
- Undoubtedly, right wing literature is on the shelves of your community and school libraries. Try to get countering literature placed there as well.
- Beware of efforts to involve you and your union in some high-sounding project. Investigate it carefully before lending yourself to it. In many communities, right-wingers have tried to embroil union members and leaders in their programs.

* * * *

Begin now in your community to establish a coordinating committee to combat the right wing. Any and all of the above steps can be effective counter-blows against the ultra-reactionaries who want to destroy your union. If further information or suggestions are needed, please write to National COPE. Alert us to what the right wing is doing in your community. Send copies of the literature right-wingers are distributing and send any news clippings dealing with their activities.

The challenge has been hurled at us by men and organizations determined to wreck the trade union movement. It can be ignored only at our own risk.

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

AFL-CIO BLDG., 815 - 16th ST., N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 130

6,000 TIMES A WEEK, RIGHT WING MESSAGE BEAMED OVER RADIO, TV

Every week, in more than **500 communities,** right wing propaganda is beamed into the homes of Americans over radio and television. In all, more than **6,000 rightist messages** are broadcast weekly—attacking the federal government, the Supreme Court, the United Nations, the public school system, labor unions, the civil rights movement, liberal groups and individuals.

This map shows where these programs are carried. It includes most of the programs heard over multi-station networks. Not included are broadcasts by America's Future and by Harding College, both of which have numerous outlets.

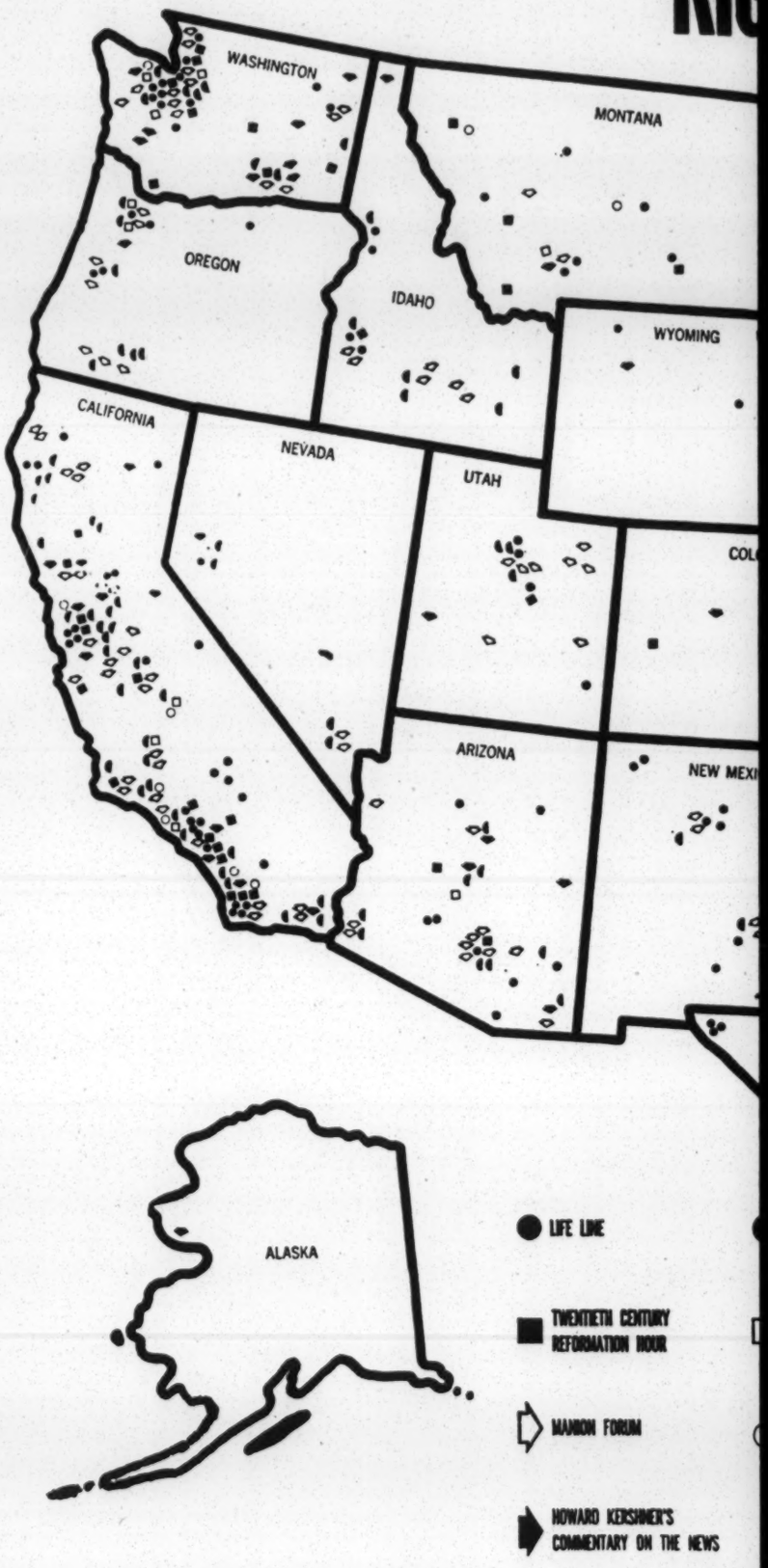
Of those shown on the map, Carl McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation Hour is heard over approximately 530 stations; Life Lines, underwritten by oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, 324; Manion Forum, 313; Billy James Hargis, 200; Howard Kershner, 148; Dan Smoot, 133; Church League of America, 14. Some, like McIntire and Life Lines, run five-day-a-week programs of 15 minutes or half-hour duration. Below are quotes which typify the material broadcast into millions of homes by right-wingers:

". . . **Earl Warren is a socialist** who thinks government has unlimited power to tax and spend for anything. . . . He has the same attitude toward the Constitution that communists and all other socialists have. . . . **There are ample grounds for impeachment, not only of Warren, but of all nine Supreme Court Justices.**"—Dan Smoot

"That amendment (16th amendment to the Constitution providing for an income tax) **is the very prescription given by Karl Marx** in his Communist Manifesto for income taxation to destroy private property and establish socialism throughout the world. . . . The tax law will go. . . . It cannot be enforced. **The communists want it.** Our political liberty is endangered by it."—Manion Forum

"The . . . United Nations has through the years been **used as a forum to advance communism** . . . the UN has become a monster violating its own charter in a manner so dangerous that every American should be deeply concerned about its actions and about the actions of the Mistaken who are promoting these UN excesses."—Life Lines

". . . since the end of the Civil War, the Negro has been treated on the basis of individual merit. . . . The arrogance of contemporary Negro leaders, the widespread violence against whites . . . are creating a general resentment of whites against Negroes. . . . The Negro in America will **soon realize that liberal politicians and agitators have led him into disaster.** The whole nation will suffer."—Dan Smoot



GHT WING BROADCASTS

LIST OF RIGHT WING PROGRAMS

ILLINOIS

CITY	STATION	PROGRAMS
Aurora	WKKD	Life Line, Christian Crusade, Church League of America
	WKKD-FM	Life Line, Christian Crusade
Chicago	WBEE	Manion Forum
	WGES	Life Line
	WVON	Life Line
Decatur	WTVP-TV	Life Line
Dixon	WIXN	Christian Crusade
Evanston	WEAW	Manion Forum, Life Line (2), Rev. Carl McIntire
	WEAW-FM	Manion Forum
	WNMP	Chruch League of America
Harrisburg	WEBQ	Rev. Carl McIntire
	WEBQ-FM	Rev. Carl McIntire
La Grange	WTAQ	Manion Forum, Life Line (2)
La Salle	WLPO	Manion Forum
Lawrenceville	WAKO	Rev. Carl McIntire
Lincoln	WPRC	Howard Kershner
Marion	WGGH	Howard Kershner
Mt. Vernon	WMIX	Manion Forum
Murphysboro	WINI	Rev. Carl McIntire
Ottawa	WCMY	Howard Kershner
Paris	WPRS	Life Line
Peoria	WPEO	Life Line
Rock Island	WHBF	Manion Forum (twice a week)
	WHBF-TV	Life Line
Rockford	WJRL	Manion Forum, Life Line
Sterling	WSDR	Manion Forum

MINNESOTA

Austin	KOAO	Dan Smoot
Benson	KBMO	Christian Crusade
Fairmont	KSUM	Howard Kershner
Minneapolis	KEVE	Manion Forum, Rev. Carl McIntire
	WPBC	Howard Kershner
	WPBC-FM	Howard Kershner
Rochester	KWEB	Rev. Carl McIntire
St. Paul	KSTP	Life Line
	WMIN	Life Line
Thief River Falls	KTRF	Christian Crusade (Sunday only)
Windom	KDOM	Howard Kershner

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WHBY	Manion Forum
Ashland	WATW	Manion Forum
Baraboo (Greenfield)	WWCF-FM	Manion Forum, Rev. Carl McIntire
Beloit	WGEZ	Manion Forum
Eau Claire	WEAQ	Manion Forum
Fond du Lac	KFIZ	Manion Forum
Green Bay	WJPG	Manion Forum
Janesville	WCLO	Manion Forum
Kenosha	WAXO	Manion Forum
LaCrosse	WKBT-TV	Life Line
Madison	WRVB-FM	Howard Kershner, Rev. Carl McIntire
Milwaukee	WMIL	Manion Forum, Life Line, Howard Kershner
	WTOS-FM	Rev. Carl McIntire
	WUHF-TV	Life Line
	WXIX-TV	Life Line
Neillsville	WCCN	Manion Forum
Plymouth	WPLY	Christian Crusade (2)
Poynette	WIBU	Manion Forum, Rev. Carl McIntire
Racine	WRJN	Manion Forum
Reedsburg	WRDB	Manion Forum
Shawano	WTCH	Manion Forum
Sheboygan	WHBL	Manion Forum
Watertown	WTTN	Manion Forum
Wausau	WSAU	Manion Forum
Wauwatosa	WTOS-FM	Howard Kershner
Wisconsin Rapids	WFHR	Manion Forum

INDIANA

Anderson	WHUT	Life Line
Bloomington	WTTS	Manion Forum
Boonville	WBNL	Rev. Carl McIntire
Connersville	WCNB	Howard Kershner
Elkhart	WCMR	Manion Forum, Howard Kershner, Rev. Carl McIntire
Evansville	KFIE-TV	Life Line
	WGBF	Manion Forum, Life Line
Fort Wayne	WGL	Manion Forum
Goshen	WKAM	Manion Forum
Hammond	WJOB	Manion Forum
Indianapolis	WFBM	Howard Kershner
	WFBM-TV	Life Line
	WIBC	Manion Forum, Christian Crusade
	WIRE	Life Line
	WTTV-TV	Life Line
Lafayette	WFAM-TV	Life Line
La Grange	WTAQ	Life Line (2)
La Porte	WLOI	Life Line
Michigan City	WIMS	Manion Forum
Muncie	WLBC	Life Line
	WLBC-TV	Life Line
North Vernon	WOCH	Rev. Carl McIntire
Portland	WPGW	Manion Forum, Howard Kershner
Richmond	WVOE	Howard Kershner
	WVOE-FM	Howard Kershner
South Bend	WSBT	Manion Forum
Terre Haute	WBOW	Life Line
	WVTS-FM	Howard Kershner

GROUP RESEARCH REPORT

Vol. 3, No. 5 March 16, 1964

Opponents of Urban Renewal get together

A protest meeting at Rockford, Ill., against the urban renewal program of the federal government has flung into the national press an issue which has been worked for several years by the organized right wing. Reporters discovered a few days before the meeting—held March 6, under auspices of the Rockford Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers Association—that letters of invitation included signatures of three leaders of the John Birch Society—T. Coleman Andrews, Wm. J. Grede, and Robert Love.

The press was also stimulated by the fact that the idea for the meeting ostensibly came from a group of nine members of Congress. In spite of public disclosure—or because of it—eight of the Congressmen attended and delivered prepared speeches in a well-coordinated attack on urban renewal and general encroachment by the federal government. They were: John Dowdy (D-Tex.), Bruce Alger (R-Tex.), John Kyl (R-Iowa), George Huddleston, Jr. (D-Ala.), John Anderson (R-Ill.), William Widnall (R-N.J.), Frank T. Bow (R-Ohio), and Thomas Curtis (R-Mo.).

Some of these are very powerful where urban renewal is involved. Only a few weeks earlier Congressman Dowdy, who is Chairman of a Subcommittee investigating urban renewal, had an article in the *Reader's Digest* entitled "The Mounting Scandal of Urban Renewal," which friends of UR alleged was ghost-written for him by S. Howard Evans, the urban renewal specialist at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Both Evans and Dowdy have denied any ghost-writing, but at least one of the Congressmen who went to Rockford (Curtis) told the Washington *Post* that his introduction to the meeting was through Evans.

A sidelight of the Rockford meeting was a speech by William G. Barr, Executive Secretary of the Washington-based National Parking Association and candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress from an Illinois district. In the audience was one of his group's members, D. F. Antonelli, Jr., described by the *Post* as "a dominant landholder" in a District of Columbia project before it was set up for urban renewal. Dowdy noted Antonelli's presence as he told a "horror story" about the project.

Among the midwest businessmen who signed the call for the meeting along with the three Birch leaders were several who have contributed to right-wing activities. For example, John Burkhart, President of the College Life Insurance Co. of Indianapolis, contributed $100 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; was president of the

Foundation for Voluntary Welfare, a subsidiary of the William Volker Fund which supports conservative academic projects; was a sponsor of Fred Schwarz's School of Anti-Communism at Indianapolis last fall; and contributed $100 to the Americans for Constitutional Action. Another participant, James Rogers, has been an instructor at The Freedom School, the ultra-right training ground near Colorado Springs.

Urban Renewal is an old target

Like other objects of extremist attack, such as the Supreme Court or the United Nations, urban renewal can also be criticized legitimately from all political directions. For instance, the use of the power of eminent domain to clear poor people out of slums is an exposed nerve which can be rubbed by social workers, property owners, dispossessed minorities, city planners, politicians and many others. The right-wingers have been rubbing it for several years, chiefly in the form of resistance against Federal encroachment. Here are some of the hard-core opponents of UR:

—*Human Events,* which published an attractive 16-page special supplement last April called "The Case Against Urban Renewal." Titles of articles included "Corruption Unlimited" and "Bulldozers and Boondoggles" (by Congressman Alger). In addition, the newspaper has almost made anti-UR articles a regular feature.

—Dan Smoot has devoted several entire issues of his *Report* to the subject, using titles such as "Urban Renewal and A Soviet America."

—The John Birch Society, which printed an article by Prof. Revilo P. Oliver last fall that included this statement: "Every observer of criminal activities must admire the neatness with which urban renewal simultaneously accomplishes its four objectives. . . . "

—Daughters of the American Revolution, which has distributed anti-UR material, some of it reprinted from Willis E. Stone, the chief advocate of repealing the Federal income tax through the "Liberty Amendment."

—Kent and Phoebe Courtney, publishers of *The Independent American* and numerous pamphlets, one of which says of UR: "Significantly, the abolition of the right to own private property is one of the goals set forth in the Communist Manifesto."

—We, The People!, which devoted part of a program last year to attacks on UR, one by Dr. Hugh Ramsey, who is active in numerous far-right groups and is a Birch endorser.

—The Congress of Freedom, a Nebraska-based group on the far-right who were among the earliest critics of urban renewal.

—H. L. Hunt's Life Line, which has devoted several broadcasts to UR.

—The Foundation for Economic Education, a conservative organization which publishes *The Freeman,* from which *Reader's Digest* reprinted an article in 1961 entitled "The Fallacy of Urban Renewal."

News of organizations

Young Americans for Freedom, the pro-Goldwater group, has started publishing *Report on the Left,* a newsletter by William Schulz, who has been an officer of YAF, member of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, reporter for *Human Events,* and aide to commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Dr. Fred Schwarz's **Christian Anti-Communism Crusade** is featuring a tape recording of Lee Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, made during Oswald's debate in New Orleans with Castro opponents. And Billy James Hargis, head of **Christian Crusade,** is touring with Carolos Bringuier, who debated Oswald.

The 20th Century Reformation Hour, run by Rev. Carl McIntire, is mailing pleas signed by his son, Carl Thomas, to pressure Congress into over-riding the Supreme Court's prayer decisions. The son signs for International Christian Youth and says contributions are tax deductible.

The **National States Rights Party,** meeting at Louisville, nominated arch-segregationist John Kasper as its Presidential candidate but politely ejected George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, because "he calls his group a national socialist party" and "anybody who is a socialist is also a leftist."

Thurman J. McCormick, Executive Director of the **Association for Freedom of Choice,** which led a drive in Kansas City, Mo., to force a public accommodations ordinance to a vote, admits he is a member of the John Birch Society. He says such proposals come from the Communists.

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists is the latest group to join the "Hall of Free Enterprise" building project at the New York World Fair, started by the **American Economic Foundation.** ISI continues to attract speakers from the right wing of the academic world to its numerous campus seminars.

Human Events, which has officially remained aloof from the Birch argument, is getting more ads from companies run by Birch leaders. Recent examples: Grede Foundries (William Grede), Rock Island Oil & Refining Co. (Fred C. Koch) and Spindale Mills (A. G. Heinsohn). The weekly is also featuring appeals for funds headed by a committee which includes many Birch stalwarts.

The **Black Muslims** have been split by the announcement of Malcolm X, a top leader of the Negro group, that he is forming a black nationalist organization aimed toward more political action and protest.

Manion Forum, Inc., which had failed for 8 years to file annual reports required by Indiana law (p. 81, 1963), has complied with the order to do so—at least to some extent. Reports have now been furnished for the years 1956-59. However, it is contended that since 1959 the radio program-newsletter have been operated through the Manion Forum Trust, instead of the corporate entity, and that the Trust is not required to file reports. The

reports filed showed a steady growth in budget from $150,000 in 1956 to over $385,000 in 1959. While official figures for more recent years are not available, an article a year ago in *The Progressive* said the Forum's expenses "cannot run less than $600,000 a year by the most conservative estimate."

Eisenhower comments on Birch charges

General Eisenhower's attitude toward the pro-Birch activity of his former Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, has come to light in the form of a letter to Congressman Ralph Harding (D-Idaho), who criticized Benson late last year.

In the letter, published without permission, Eisenhower expressed gratitude for Harding's speech and said: "Your honest and unselfish effort to set the record straight is something that warms my heart." Harding had reproached Benson, a fellow Mormon, for refusing "to defend that courageous President" who had "defended him through 8 stormy years."

POLITICAL NOTES: Americans for Constitutional Action has published a special 20-page supplement to its "ACA-Index" asserting that President Lyndon Johnson "compiled one of the most 'liberal' voting records in the Congress during his last six-year term as a United States Senator." . . . The advertising firm selected by the Goldwater for President Committee—Fuller & Smith & Ross—was previously a volunteer agency for Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge . . . when Joseph Martin, Jr., resigned as Republican National Committeeman for California to work for Rockefeller, he said he had a desire to prevent the GOP in that state from "becoming a mere branch of the John Birch Society" . . . retired Navy Captain William R. Anderson, who resigned as Vice President of Freedoms Foundation to help set up a "domestic peace corps," is running for Congress in Tennessee . . . Congressional candidates from Maryland include two right-wingers, John H. Hiser and Brent Bozell. . . . Donald Jackson, former member of the House Un-American Activities Committee and now head of the Anti-Communist Voters League, is running in the GOP primary for Senator from California.

Group Research Report is published semi-monthly by Group Research, Inc., Room 422 1404 New York Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

October 1, 1965

Mr. George Guernsey
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

A quick note on two items. One, your work on the NILE program looks good. I'll be sending something from my end soon. Kehrer and I will go to Athens on October 4 to see Leathers, new coordinator Watkins, facilities, and to meet a few faculty members on whom we have promising leads.

Secondly, I wanted to let you know that I will be in Hot Springs for the first part of the week of the Advanced School. I will sit in on Don's Advisory Committee meeting. It also seems like a convenient time to see you, Don, Kehrer, and Marshall regarding the staff institute. I am mainly interested in just sitting in on sessions to watch the general give and take, but if you come up short-handed and need my kind of help, let me know. All I ask is time to prepare since I have a testimony against labor educators not doing so.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

Guernsey —

October 8, 1965

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education
American Federation of Labor
and Congress of Industrial Orgs.
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

Glad to hear about Jewell.

Could you send me about twenty copies of the Federationist reprint on the staff institute?

Will a little stimulation of interest, for students, with CWA, UAW, and ILGWU upset anything you already have going?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

October 6, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Director of the Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I'm glad you'll be able to come to Hot Springs. I haven't spoken to Don Slaiman about his meeting on Sunday; I'm not sure I can get in on time for it. I'm assuming that you will be staying for a couple of days and that we can get together and talk about the NILE program.

I've been able to get Professor Malcolm Jewell to do a session, probably on Monday night, in Hot Springs on "Politics of Reapportionment in the South." I spoke to Sam Ezelle and found that Jewell had taught at the Kentucky Labor School, so we start with someone who has had some contact with the labor movement. And he seemed quite anxious to come.

I'll see you in Hot Springs at the Avanelle Motor Hotel.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio

Have you checked on Tibbetts or Rusk Allen. a letter should go to Dan Pallett and Ray Marshall.

File

10 December 1965

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

I now have your letter of December 6. I think your suggestion in it and by phone last night about the number of changes -- implying that something is going on beyond the agreed upon framework -- is unwarranted.

Our earliest conversations on program said that we would have labor law, civil rights, Southern labor history, arbitration, organizing, and reading as main topics. All of these items were included and still stand. Beyond that we had agreed to use Marshall for a second week. We had hoped to use Allen the same way and this was the only reason for my agreeing to drop Tibbetts even though I hold Russ in very high regard. Subsequently, and I think quite unfortunately for our program, Allen has flunked out during the second week. We later agreed that there should be economics (which was really understood all along) and Southern economic problems. Both of these are in the program and with the people we thought best to fill the slot. The agreement on subject areas is confined by your September "Preliminary Program Announcement". We have, as of now, only omitted the matters that we had hoped Feister would handle and the session(s) on trends in collective bargaining which we

wanted Russ to do. Perhaps whoever comes from Research can supply this latter session.

At our last meeting we agreed, though you now make it appear that you did not accept that agreement, that Don would have the responsibility for the civil rights part of the program and I for the political sections. We had asked for suggestions and received some. Further than this, it was recognized that though it was not the most desirable way to handle a course that we would be able to use a variety of people in the political courses with me as coordinator and that this would give us flexibility in the program and still keep some continuity. The guidance given by you and Don, and accepted by me from the first, was that sufficient time be spent on legislative issues, the campaigns in 1966, and on practical problems of coalitions. All of this is in the program as it now stands. I continued in the program the matter of an introductory political science session simply titled the American Political System. We agreed to as much in Washington. I also have scheduled a session on state governmental problems. This, too, was agreed on.

This brings us to the point of having now two topics that had not been agreed on since fairly far back in the planning. One is the speech by Roy Wilkins and the other is the matter of Southern justice. The latter is clearly within the purview of the political science end of the program. The former is a substitute for the appearance of Woodward who declined to come. The choice of Wilkins was a matter of a good bit of deliberation and since it was in the civil rights area, a matter of detailed discussion with Don. We, of course, do not know that he will accept.

As to Nat's participation. I have agreed all along that it would be the best answer to our problem in handling the general presentation on economic policy. We scheduled him for the final week which had general agreement as a matter of program balance from you and Don. When you said that he had to come prior to the 18th, I shifted his participation with the organizing, and only changed it back after our phone conversation in which you agreed that it broke the balance in the program and that you would reapproach Nat to see what could be done or else take an acceptable substitute. Based on this conversation, I changed the schedule just before sending it to you and the others. Though we will clearly survive changing it back, I have a strong feeling that the balance of the program and the timing

of the more practical courses is better served by having organizing in the first week and economics at some other time. Though I want Nat and would have hoped that you had reapproached him, I personally think it would be better to keep organizing early and take a really good substitute out of the Research Department. Your suggestion that we attempt to get Powell and Weightman into the program at an earlier date for pruposes of their getting to know the group is well taken. Similarly, the suggestion to not have Ramsey and Henry come so late as to not give time for recouping if necessary is a good one. I will attempt to do what I can about this, but wish that one of us had caught this problem at the time we were agreeing that the political courses would fall mainly in the last week.

I hope that this letter helps get us all in agreement as to where we now stand and as to what remains to be done. I strongly urge that we do as little juggling as possible and not tamper with schedules that have already been agreed to by the faculty. We are dealing with a basically good program that we have all contributed to in thought and energy. Let's settle the remaining matters within the limits of schedule and funds and get the remainder of the program set.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

cc: Joe Mire
Don Slaiman

10 December 1965

Miss Jill Guernsey
83 Pemberton
Cambridge, Massachussetts

Dear Miss Guernsey:

At your father's request we are sending to you copies of our magazine, New South and copies of various other of our publications. These publications are being sent under separate cover via third class mail.

Yours truly,

Joan C. Browning
Secretary, Labor Program

/jb

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

December 8, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgai

Dear Emory:

I wonder if you would send my daughter, Jill (83 Pemberton, Cambridge, Massachusetts) back copies of the magazine New South.

And, can you arrange for her to be placed on a mailing list of the New South, free of charge?

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cem
oeiu #2
afl-cio

Joan:
Send 4-5 back issues plus
Encounter with the Future, Southern Justice
and publications list.
E.Z.V.

..... ETU:

Book is now being toiled & troubled over by B. Morrison of Research;

RA is making check, to be signed Monday by P. A.

JB

ok File

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

December 14, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Under separate cover we've sent you a copy of the paperbound edition of Toil and Trouble. You now owe me $1.30.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio

Joan:
See Ruth A. about paying this. Make check to Geo. G. Charge to Labor Program. Have back stamped SRC (in Ref.) and returned to me. Thanks,
E.F.V.

February 10, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Associate Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Would you send me such charges as you have to make against N.I.L.E. funds regarding the Institute. I am thinking specifically about the cost of the two books, Toil and Trouble and Congressman from Mississippi. To whom should the money go?

We will of course be charging the reading manual and the notebook against the registration fee. I now assume that there will be money enough for a further book, but request that you hold off until I have all of the University's bills in and Joe and I have compared notes.

Things continue awhirl here but my sense of a basically successful Institute remains. It was good working with you on it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

January 3, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Associate Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

The enclosed letter and indicated enclosures has gone to each of the persons on the attached list except Wallace and Early.

At Joe's request I am sending copies of the items enclosed and of my letter for him to send to the new registrants.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

February 14, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Associate Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N W
Washington, D C

Dear George:

Please send 30 copies of "Education in the Fifty States"
They will be most useful.

The Hangmen's following seems most enthusiastic though a
trifle expensive. Best of luck to them and you.

Sincerely,

Emory F Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

File

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RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

February 11, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I'm enclosing a copy of "Education in the Fifty States" which I used in my two sessions. I didn't have enough copies at the NILE Institute to give you one.

By the way, more of these are available if you would like them for your state people.

I'm enclosing a copy of a story on my son's record.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

Also a "News"

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

February 17, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Under separate cover I'm sending you 30 copies of the publication "Education in the Fifty States."

The pictures arrived this morning, thank goodness. I'm talking to PAI about doing a story for the Labor Press and hope to have a story worked out by the middle of next week for the News. It may take a couple of weeks to get the kind of picture story which I think would be most effective.

I'm sending out this week a copy of the enclosed reprint from the Saturday Evening Post and the mimeographed article on the Norfolk training project to the NILE delegates.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosures: 2

The Watkins letter!!!

Counseling Helps Trainees and Wives Adjust Better

Mrs. Ewing went beyond counseling and referring. She organized the trainees' wives into a club; helped them to budget for low-cost, ourishing meals and to organize their households; arrange picnics; attempted to relieve the fears of some of them that their husbands might develop a yen for the co-eds at the college; and repeatedly planted the idea that they should be proud of their husbands and of themselves.

One faculty member, who praised Mrs. Ewing for her achievements, nonetheless expressed misgivings; "I wonder," he said, "how these men will react when they have to show up on the job on the dot every day and stay steady, without her to hold their hands when they have troubles." Thus far, his doubts have not been justified.

What Were Some of the Problems in Placement?

For all the spirit and confidence that had developed by graduation time ("The hall was packed and the undergraduates cheered; you'd have thought they were graduating from Harvard," said one professor), it took two months to get thirty of the trainees hired and two more to bring that number up to fifty. The Navy, which had been expected to hire nearly all of the electronics and sheet-metal workers, was stymied by a reduction in the civilian work force of the entire Defense establishment. The weather had turned cold, and so had the bricklayers' prospects.

Eight months after the end of the project, the Navy has managed to hire only one trainee. Even so, sixty-six of the ninety who earned certificates are working at their trades -- including fifteen of the sixteen bricklayers -- or at related jobs. Twelve others have found work in different fields. One of them, the sixteenth bricklayer, exemplifies an important side benefit of the training; the self-discipline that comes with having seen something through. His big handicap always had been a violent temper, which flared up a few times early in the training and rendered his future dubious. He learned to control it, and because he had, was recommended to an agency that supplies guards for stores. Not long after being hired, he broke his hand while defending a supermarket against young hoodlums who have been vandalizing it, and became something of a local hero.

Trained Men Break Through the Segregation Barrier

Especially striking was the impact of the project on segregation. One graduate became the telephone company's first Negro lineman in Norfolk at $72 a week. A previously all-white automobile assembly plant took on four trainees, two for the assembly line at $3.50 an hour and two for maintenance work at $2.52 an hour. One of the assemblers made $200, with overtime, his first week on the job.

To be sure, some members of the unusual graduating class have not been so fortunate. It is believed that one trainee was fired from a good job because he refused to change an elaborate hair style that his white co-workers found offensive. Another joined the Black Muslims upon graduation. Eight of the trainees found jobs at a plant in North Carolina, only to be laid off in short order for reasons that have not been made clear.

But on balance, the project must be reckoned a worthwhile experiment. In a recent progress report, Dr. William M. Cooper, who directed the project, wrote: "We are continuing our efforts to place and upgrade trainees. Co-operation of the employment offices has been good. The employment situation is fluid and ever-changing. Our trainees are responding to these changes to better their employment and pay ... Our hope is that this report will help in promoting the total manpower effort."

At the very least, it looks like a step in the right direction.

9 March 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Thanks for the interview transcript. It was a good job.

You have a copy of Volk's letter. Enclosed is a copy of a brief note from Guy Johnson.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

March 24, 1966

Mr. Otto Pragan
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Otto:

Thanks for sending the digest of speeches, discussions and panel presentations of the National Conference of Labor Representatives. Keep me on the list.

Please send a copy of the digest to Mr. Cleveland Dinnard, George Washington Carver Vocational School, 1275 Capitol Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

April 6, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Your suggestion in Detroit that we meet with some of the union education people regarding the southern staff institute and other related matters certainly meets with my approval.

You suggested the latter part of this month. This would suit me fine if we could dodge the 18th through the 20th.

I hope you are able to set it up. With a little warning I'll make every effort to be there. In the meantime I hope you get some good vacationing in.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

April 15, 1966

Mr. Larry Rogin, Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Larry:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal that I sent to Bill Allen and the other Florida AFL-CIO officers following a recent visit to Tampa. It lays out some of the ideas which we will be suggesting to state and local central bodies and internationals.

I wanted you to see this for several reasons. One is to get your response to it; two, to let you know what I am doing in areas where the Education Department might be having programs.

There is no sure way to prevent overlapping of persons or subject matters between the Department's and my efforts. In the main I don't think this presents much of a problem since the subjects can use frequent airings, especially when coming from a variety of instructors. And I will be sensitive to the dates of ongoing Department programs to avoid setting up anything too close to them. Where appropriate I hope that the Department's schedule and interest will be such that they can join in on programs which I have initiated.

You will hear from me about such programs that the state bodies decide to sponsor. In turn, it would be helpful for me to know of programs planned by the Department in the region so that I can dodge those dates.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure
cc: George Guernsey

April 15, 1966

Mr. Larry Rogin, Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Larry:

It was good to talk with you today. Montague is calling a meeting for Wednesday at 10:00 a.m. The full-time education people in the state will meet together with him and me. This would include CWA, UAW, and IAM. This is one of the first times that Montague has shown an active interest in education. Herb Green has helped. But so did the Detroit meetings! What did you do to those guys?

My function is to explain to them the variety of programs possible, to sound out some tentative strategies, and tell them what I know of possible interest from the three schools with special emphasis on Georgia State College. As I told you, both the chairman of economics and an associate dean of business have expressed a beginning interest.

You will hear from me following the meeting. I will urge the involvement of national education people before many more steps are taken and certainly make it a requirement before any formal approach is made to a school.

This may be a situation where a few ad hoc programs of various sorts should be attempted before actually pushing the idea of a labor education program. I am not especially optimistic, but I do think that stirring the idea around a bit is timely.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: George Guernsey

April 28, 1966

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I have your two letters written in absentia for April 25-26. The Tri-State Labor School schedule for Tuesday night and Wednesday morning suits me fine. I am not firmly decided about using the Mitchell film; right now, I am inclined not to use it but I would be happy for you to have it on hand. I would also be pleased to have you share with me any special thoughts regarding its use.

Regarding the Florida proposal, you are basically right concerning the length of the Institutes. Both the Florida AFL-CIO and I are quite aware of the dates of the AFL-CIO Labor School there. You understand of course that I have had no response regarding my proposal for any of the three areas and though I am hopeful I would be at least mildly surprised if any of the three comes off.

The Kentucky School dates and topic are o.k. Henry Lake spoke to me some time ago and I indicated that I would be available. I doubt that I mentioned this to you in the rush of events.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

April 26, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Larry and I talked about the Florida program that you're working on as well as the Georgia meeting. I told Larry that when I spoke to you, you were planning a conference for the Tampa area, that this would be a weekend. I assume that the other conferences will be held over weekends too? You should know that the Florida State AFL-CIO Labor School is being held July 31 to August 6.

I'd be interested in what happened at the Georgia meeting? I may try to call you from the University of West Virginia where I am all this week and talk to you about both these programs. If you want to reach me, I'll be staying at the Morgan Hotel, Morgantown.

I spoke to Henry Lake of Kentucky and went over the school program. He is counting on you to teach someting called "Developing Union Leadership." As soon as we know what staff from here will be at the Kentucky school, July 10-16, I'll have that person get in touch with you.

Fraternally yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Director, Dept. of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

April 25, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

We have worked out using you at the Tri-State Labor School on Tuesday night, May 17. I assume you'll talk on the "Changing South." Do you want to use the Mitchell film?

We also want to use you for a session from 9-12 on Wednesday morning with the "advanced group." Part of this could be on reapportionment and part might be a follow-up on the Tuesday night discussion.

I'll be calling you on this.

Sincerely yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: Hal Boyd, Virginia State AFL-CIO

JB - pick up
Monday
"Face of the Dalai"
ADL

Let's reserve this
film for use in
N.C. on 5/17/66

To be picked up so
I will have it going to
Asheville on Tuesday -

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PAUL JENNINGS
RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 2, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Stuart Brock from our staff will be working on the Tri-State School. I think he'll be in touch with you very soon.

I assume that you can bring the Mitchell film.

I think Jack Sessions will be at the Kentucky school. You might want to get in touch with him even though the program will be planned directly by Henry Lake.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: S.Brock, AFL-CIO

just returned from the second week in West Virginia. It went better.

May 5, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Please look this over and compare with your final copy of the program (which we reconciled -- yours and mine -- long ago by phone). I seem to have lost my corrected copy and I am wondering what is omitted.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: NILE Institute program

Labor Ed

May 6, 1966

Mr. Larry Rogin, Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Larry:

We had the meeting about the possibility of approaching a state college regarding labor education programs on April 20 in Montague's office. George Warner of the CWA and Bill Clitheroe of the IAM, Montague and I were present. Herb Green of the UAW was unable to attend but you will recall that he is one of the initiators of the interest in this whole project.

Montague wanted you to be kept abreast of all developments but he may have decided to leave this task to me since he knew I would be in touch with you in any case. What kind of an approach should be made to Georgia State College will await my informal sounding out of a faculty group there. The associate dean of business, John Lewis, who has expressed an interest in this development, will be selecting a group of interested people to meet with me in the near future simply to review the kinds of programs conducted by other schools.

I will be in touch with you and with the other local labor people after this meeting.

Montague assured those of us attending the meeting that he and the state AFL-CIO were greatly interested in labor education and in one way or the other would do everything in its power to see that such programs are developed. I think he really is convinced that the state body is lagging on this score and must do something. This is a good change on his part whether or not anything develops from the approaches to the schools here.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: George Guernsey

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 9, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your report on the preliminary meeting regarding labor education programs.

As I indicated to you over the phone, at some point I think it would be very important that a representative of our department be involved in a meeting between the university and the labor movement. This assumes, of course, that your informal discussions indicate a sufficient interest to go ahead.

Sincerely yours,

Larry

Lawrence Rogin, Director
Department of Education

LR:ng
opeiu#2 afl-cio
cc: W. H. Montague
George Guernsey

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Geo Meany

May 11, 1966

TO: Delegates, 1966 NILE Southern Staff Training Institute

Recently, I was talking to Professor Ray Marshall about a study he is doing on minorities and apprenticeship training. In the process, Ray told me that the figures he gave you on union membership in the South were incorrect. He asked me to send you the enclosed table which corrects the one he gave you at the Athens, Georgia, Institute.

You'll be interested in knowing that I've spent a couple of weeks at the West Virginia University where 100 local union members from ten Appalachian states are being trained to work in local community action programs. This is being paid for by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. We had two delegates from the Rome (Georgia) Central Body; I've sent Fred Robinson a letter suggesting that he give them some help.

I've checked on whether or not your union used the picture and/or story which I sent to them. I don't have a complete list, but I do have stories from the Lithographers magazine; ACWA, OCAW, RWDS newspapers. IUE is to use the material in its next issue. If your international used the picture and/or story and I haven't mentioned it, would you send me the date of the issue so that I can get a copy for our files?

Recently I have had two excellent reports on the Athens Institute from Fred Cory of Textile and from Hugh Owen of the ICWU.

I assume you have been pondering the results of the Alabama election.

Drop me a line on what your new activities have been.

Fraternally yours,

George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

P.S. I'm enclosing a COPE story on the '66 elections.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 11, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Aug 21-26 or 14-19

I was glad to get the background of the Georgia meeting. I'm hoping that we can push the state body to work on recruiting for the Gulf Coast School. This is to be held the third week in August, Mobile, Alabama.

Barny Weeks called today. We're planning to work out some recruiting material for Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi and have it available for mailing by the first of June. I'll be in touch with Montague when the material is ready.

Will you be available for a couple of days during the week of this school? I will probably start working on the staffing and program around the end of June.

Have you turned in a report on the NILE Institute? I saw Don hurriedly the other day but forgot to ask him.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 24, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Union & State Body Education Directors

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director, Department of Education

SUBJECT: 1966 GULF COAST LABOR SCHOOL

As many of you know, the AFL-CIO's Department of Education has given unusual service to our Southern state bodies in helping them develop education programs. Resources available to state bodies in other parts of the country are not available in the South. State labor bodies, through the Southern Labor School, an organization of Southern states, have developed an excellent program.

This year the Southern Labor School is again sponsoring the Gulf Coast Basic Institute, which is open to delegates from local unions in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, from August 14-19. We're especially anxious to have this school well attended. As some of you know, it was held in Georgia two years ago and in Mississippi last year. This year it will be held at the Sheraton-Battlehouse Hotel, Mobile, Alabama. The charge will be $85 per person, two to a room. ($95 for a single.) This still does not cover the minimum cost of running the school. This cost is partially absorbed by the Southern Labor School.

Mr. Barney Weeks, President, Alabama Labor Council, 604 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama, 35203, will receive all registrations for this 1966 school.

We're working out an intensive recruiting drive for the Gulf Coast School and hope to get a minimum of 75 delegates from the three states. Would you be willing to do a mailing of a recruiting folder on this school to all of your locals in the three states?

Could you send me the name and address of the person in charge of these three states within your union?

G.T.G.

RETURN TO: Mr. George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

The name of the person in charge of the Alabama-Georgia-Mississippi area, within our (union/state body) is: _____

_____
(street)

_____
(city) (state) (zip code)

I would like _____ copies of the promotional leaflet on the Gulf Coast Labor School.

NAME: _____ UNION or STATE BODY _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP CODE: _____

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
May 24, 1966

May 25, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I have your letter on the Gulf Coast School. I would be happy to be with you for some part or all of that school. Let me know.

When you speak of the third week in August, do you mean from the 14th-19th or from the 21st-26th? It's a tricky month.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AFL-CIO

Edu Rept

DEAD

Mr. Carter

May 27, 1966

Mr. Wayne Craddock
Recording Secretary
Local 488
584 Ashton Avenue
Franklin, Virginia

Dear Mr. Craddock:

The film "Heart of the Union" which deals with local union meetings is available from the AFL-CIO Education Department at 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

I will send a copy of this letter to the Education Department and request that they send you a list of films and their costs. You will find the Education Department a valuable source of information regarding local union education programs.

I thought the Norfolk Institute was a good one and am happy that you were able to be there. If my own program here can ever be of service to you please feel free to be in touch with me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: Miss Jacqueline Kienzle
Staff Representative
Education Department, AFL-CIO

May 27, 1966

Miss Jacqueline Kienzle
Staff Representative
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Jackie:

I thought you might be interested in this. Could you send him a film catalogue and whatever else you have on the subject.

Incidentially, I don't seem to have a film catalogue. Could you send one to me?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: letter to Wayne Craddock

May 10/1966

Dear Mr. Via,

I'm writing for Local 488 in Franklin, Va. A member of the United Paper Makers and Paperworkers. I was at the AFL-CIO week end institute in Norfolk, Va. April 16/17.

Our members would like to get the film on how to hold a union meeting" to show at our regular meeting. Our local will be glad to pay for the use of the film. If it is possible to get the film for us please send it to me. WAYNE CRADDOCK

REC. SEC. LOCAL 488
584 ASHTON AVE.
FRANKLIN, VA.

Thank you for all the help you can give,

Wayne Craddock
Rec. Sec.

May 27, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Feel free to use my name in connection with the Gulf Coast Labor School. Vernon Jordan will also be available during the week of August 14-19, but you should confirm with him as soon as possible the exact date.

I thought the Tri-State School went very well. It was a good group and a good program.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET. N.W.
WASHINGTON. D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 24, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I'm enclosing an announcement on the Gulf Coast Labor School. I'm going to work up a tentative program sometime during the next two weeks. I'd like to use your name as one of the invited resources. I'd also like to use Vernon Jordan's name. Could you check to see whether or not he would be available?

ok if firmed soon
Aug 15

I haven't had a chance to check the NILE program you sent to me. But I will this week and return it to you. How is the report coming?

I'll be sending you a sheet to fill out on the Tri-State School. Stuart Brock thought it was pretty good.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Dept. of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Department of Education
June 6, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

We sent Wayne Craddock a film catalogue and also a discussion guide for "Heart of the Union" so he could get a better idea of how the film could be used. A film catalogue is also on its way to you.

You might be interested in the enclosed reprint of a series of articles which appeared in The Washington Post on the implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We are using it as a reading at some schools.

Best regards.

Fraternally yours,

Jacqueline Kienzle
Staff Representative

JK/dc
opeiu #2 afl-cio

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Department of Education
June 6, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I will write you about the Gulf Coast School later. Thanks for sending the letter to Montague.

I am going to give Barney a rough program so that he can get a mailing ready for sometime during the next week.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

Still trying to send you the OK on the NLE program. The band has a new record coming out next week. Tell Al.

June 15, 1966

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Please see that the billing for the film, "The Inheritance", is sent to me at the Southern Regional Council. The film got to Tampa in good time, but as luck, human frailty, and planning would have it, the Steelworkers showed up with a copy in good order. This led me to bring the film back to Atlanta and call together, hastily, a small group of civil rights types and our own staff to preview the film.

I was interested in two things: one, to expose folks to a high-quality film that dealt with labor history and the other to seek from them reactions regarding its possible use with non-labor groups. In this regard I think you might be interested for your own considerations in one comment which summarizes some of what I feel about the film as well as several others. This note was written to me by Pat Watters as a reaction to having seen the film.

> "I don't know how it might be done, but I think the chief value of this film for right now would be in countering nationalist and separatist tendencies among Negroes. It is an irony that what struck me most was how it said very effectively that whitey has gotten his lumps too, that injustice, etc. is not reserved for Negroes only. On a deeper level, it should convey, too, to Negroes sensitively enough attuned to such, some of the roots in brutalization and the fight for survival of present-day unfortunate traits of whitey -- including his

materialism. Anyhow, it is as thought-provoking a piece of propaganda as I have seen since the old I&E days in the army."

George, do we know anything about the film's use with civil rights groups? The last couple of showings of the films with southern labor groups that I have been in on made it clear, I feel, that there were some interesting parallels between labor activity and civil rights activity.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Southern Regional Council, Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Although it's very much against our policy, I'm canceling the billing on THE INHERITANCE. I'm hoping that out of the showing you had at the Southern Regional Council we'll be able to get some bookings outside the normal labor groups which we're now reaching.

I was quite interested in Pat Watters comments. Generally speaking, the film creates among labor people a sympathy for civil rights goals. In a few cases, labor people object to the militancy of the film, both in labor and in civil rights situations. These, however, are quite rare.

I'll be writing to you later on the Gulf Coast Labor School.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2
afl-cio

June 22, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Would it be possible to have someone send a copy of the discussion guide for the film "The Inheritance" to the following persons:

Earl E. Flous
316 Tulane Bldg.
New Orleans, Louisiana

William Edwards
316 Tulane Bldg.
New Orleans, Louisiana.

Thanks and best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 23, 1966

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Thanks so much for absorbing the cost for THE INHERITANCE. I certainly had not meant to get the Education Department into an awkward position. I do feel that the film was put to good use here and I trust that a broader audience will be considering its further use.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 24, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Jack Fingler, University of Minnesota
Phillips Garman, University of Illinois
Helmut Goiatz, Pennsylvania State University
Frank Lyons, University of Wisconsin
Joseph Samlen, University of Connecticut
Morris Tibbetts, University of Wisconsin
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

George

SUBJECT: 1966 MANUAL

Under separate cover I'm sending you a sample copy of one of our summer school manuals. The material was prepared around May 10th so that we have since revised some of the legislative materials. However, it will give you an idea of what our summer school manuals contain. We're doing these for 20 separate summer schools.

I'd appreciate any comments you would care to make on it.

GG:cm
opeiu #2 afl-cio

July 25, 1966

Mr. Stuart Brock
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Stuart:

Enclosed are two sheets which summarize our latest estimates of white and Negro voter registration in the Southern states. Let me add a few interpretive comments which may be of help.

1. The Arkansas figure is back up to 104,000 for Negro registration after having taken a sharp dip as the result of a new registration law.

2. The Negro registration for Georgia stands at about 265,000 today and by the end of the registration period on July 26 may have reached as much as 300,000 since a number of voter registration projects are currently in operation. We will not have a report on this for a while yet.

3. We have revised figures in today which wouldiindicate the Negro registration in Mississippi is at approximately 145,000. The earlier figure which you have indicating 147,000 was evidently an over-estimate.

4. You should note especially for North Carolina and Texas that these figures are rougher estimates than the others. No official figures are available to use from those two states.

We do feel that the two figures on the enclosed sheet are fairly accurate. You will note that the Texas Negro registration figure has been revised downward to 400,000.

5. It could be that the Virginia Negro registration has now exceeded 185,000 but we cannot say what the new figure should be since we have not received our own reports on that situation.

6. You will recall that the voting age in Georgia is 18. This gives that state a slightly different base from the others.

Let me know if there is anything further we can do to be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

August 3, 1966

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Where are you? Don't complain, just talk to the Machinists. Yesterday I sent a copy of the NILE Institute report. How about that?

The report is in draft form although I would hope not to have to do too much more to it. There are several things which I feel you should pay special attention to, and I would greatly welcome your comments inggmeral.

Let me simply list a few of the specifics which you may wish to consider:

1. What is the best way to shorten the whole report?
2. The project reports on poverty and urban renewal need to be enlivened. Would you undertake this?
3. Has there been further labor press coverage?
4. Would you look over the chart which gives some data on the students? There are some blanks which perhaps can be filled in from the information which you have. In the final report I think it would probablybbe unwise to identify the partécipants by name on this particular sheet. What are your reactions on this, and is there a more useful way to summarize some of this data?
5. Would you please compare my version of the final program schedule with yours and make any needed corrections?

I am embarrassed to ask you to look at the report right away, but Joe has waited so long for me to perform that he now has to get it into shape for use as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

kSame letter sent to Fred Robinson, Rome, Georgia

5 August 1966

Mr. Guy Johnson
RFD 2
Broxton, Georgia
c/o Jesse Harper

Dear Guy:

Enclosed are copies of information relating to the Gulf Coast Institute. As you will note, the school includes Georgia. To be quite candid, the Georgia representation will be very small.

I am writing because I think over the years this school has proved to be very valuable and because the idea of union education in Georgia will spread only if we get local leaders actually involved in programs.

I realize how short the time is, but would you make an effort to interest some of your local leaders in attending this institute?

If you find your way to Atlanta, please look me up.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

S O U T H E R N L A B O R S C H O O L

GULF COAST INSTITUTE FOR STATES OF ALABAMA, GEORGIA AND MISSIPPI

S P E C I A L C A L L

To Officers of
City Central Bodies, Trades Councils
and Local Unions in
Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi

Notice is hereby given of the 1966 Gulf Coast Institute for the States of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi.

Place: Battle House Hotel, Mobile, Alabama
Dates: August 14-19, 1966
Course of Study: "Labor History," "Labor's Role in Poverty Programs," "Using the South's Resources for the People," "Collective Bargaining Problems," "Issues of the '66 Elections," plus films.
Workshops: "Union Administration," and "Parliamentary Procedures."

Teachers & Speakers: Assistant Education Director George Guernsey; Dr. Ray Marshall, Professor of Economics, University of Texas; Emory Via, Director of Labor Studies, Southern Regional Council; TVA Commissioner Frank Smith; E. T. Kehrer, Southern Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; Staff Representatives of the AFL-CIO Research Department; Daniel A. Powell, COPE Regional Director, and others.

Credentials: Attendance is limited to Officers, Business Agents, Shop Stewards, Committeemen of Local Unions, WAD's, Central Bodies and Councils in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. Each delegate must be duly credentialed by the body represented. Credential blank is enclosed. It should be returned to the address below not later than August 5.

Cost: $85.00 for Board, Room and Tuition--two persons to a room. Those desiring a private room, add $15.00 for week's costs. A check in full must accompany the credentials. Cost of all meals is included. Tips to waitresses and maids are included in the above tuition. First meal served will be dinner Sunday night.

Registration: Delegates should plan to arrive at the Battle House Hotel in Mobile, Alabama, by not later than 5 p.m. on August 14. First meal will be served at 6:30 p.m. on that date.

Communications: Send all correspondence to Barney Weeks, President, Southern Labor School, 604 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama 35203.

Fraternally yours,

Barney Weeks

Barney Weeks, President
Southern Labor School

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

C R E D E N T I A L

SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL
Battle House Hotel
Mobile, Alabama
August 14-19, 1966

CREDENTIAL FOR LOCAL UNION OFFICERS

TO GULF COAST INSTITUTE OF THE SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL, AFL-CIO

This is to certify that the following officers have been designated by this organization to attend the Gulf Coast Institute of the Southern Labor School to be held at the Battle House Hotel, Mobile, Alabama, August 14 - 19, 1966:

Name	Office	Address

Signature _____

Date _____ Office _____

Name of Organization _____

City and State _____

Return Credential to: Barney Weeks, President
Southern Labor School
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Check for $85.00 for each delegate must accompany credential, to cover room, board and tuition--two to a room. Those delegates desiring a private room should remit $15.00 additional.

Make checks payable to Southern Labor School.

Registration begins 1:00 p.m, Sunday, August 14, 1966

OPEIU-18

Southern Labor School

August 5, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey, Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

As of today, we have received 69 credentials to the Southern Labor School, 58 of which are paid. The five delegates from Steelworkers Local 1466, Bessemer, Alabama, listed in my letter of July 29, to you, will not attend since officers of this local will have to be in Chicago at that time due to contract disputes. Due to the Governor's race in that state, Treasurer Louise Dean will replace W. H. Montague as delegate from the Georgia AFL-CIO. Following is a list of the credentials:

Ala. State Assoc. of Barbers	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Walter B. Boyd
Georgia State AFL-CIO	Atlanta, Georgia	Mrs. Louise Dean
Montgomery Central Labor Coun.	Montgomery, Alabama	Joe F. Garrard
Pulp Sulphite Local 157	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	David V. Johnston A. E. Davidson O. W. Stokes
Steelworkers Local 3574	Birmingham, Alabama	John T. Cole J. R. Shelton L. B. Hallmark
Glass Bottle Blowers 196	Montgomery, Alabama	Henrietta Nobles Kelpie Tremontana Frances E. P. Taylor
Clothing Workers Local 910	Andalusia, Alabama	Merrill Petty Paul Whitehurst
UAW Local 1155	Birmingham, Alabama	Charles Mays E. M. Peoples R. B. Martin T. V. Armstrong
ILGWU 378	Florence, Alabama	Marvella Snoddy
Clerks Local 761 (RWDSU)	Huntsville, Alabama	C. A. Byrd James Elkins

Alabama Labor Council	Birmingham, Alabama	Barney Weeks William E. Mintz A. G. Trammell
Textile Workers L465	Mobile, Alabama	Edley Oden Clifford Shirah Amelia P. Lloyd
Machinists Dist. Lodge 178	Anniston, Alabama	Hollis W. Wilson
RWDSU Local 102A	Mobile, Alabama	James L. White
IBEW Local 1264	Mobile, Alabama	J. C. Burns
Steelworkers Local 320	Mobile, Ala.	Max W. Morgan John E. Bridges John Doss Thomas McKinstry
Steelworkers Local 1151	Birmingham, Alabama	Leroy Bridges Carl Powell
Machinists Local 372	Bessemer, Alabama	Frank E. Hyde
ILGWU	Florence, Alabama	Ed Sharp
Butchers Local 215	Montgomery, Alabama	James R. Lee
Chemical Workers 754	Atlanta, Georgia	Coleman Lynn, Jr. Daisy M. Mann Mary L. Gurley Josephine Callier
Laborers' Local 145	Jackson, Mississippi	Tommie Griffith
Chemical Workers 125	Anniston, Alabama	Joseph E. Mundy William T. Cambron
Brick & Clay Wkrs. 554	Meridian, Mississippi	Aaron Hopkins Arthur Darden
Tobacco Workers 334	Cullman, Alabama	W. A. (Joe) Buckelew
Office Emp. Local 52	Sheffield, Alabama	Catherine Akin
Iron Workers 92	Birmingham, Alabama	J. L. Harlon
Steelworkers Local 1109	Birmingham, Alabama	Emmitt Hicks Oliver Harper
Pulp Sulphite Local 602	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	James Fulghan
Longshoremen 1752	Pascagoula, Mississippi	Ronald K. Robinson
Aluminum Workers Local 200	Muscle Shoals, Ala.	Coolidge B. Hatton Travis O. Dawson Rufus B. Marthaler

Bookbinders Local 96	Atlanta, Georgia	Truitt L. Crunkleton
ILGWU Andraw Knit Local	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Syble Neal Ola Mae Cork
ILGWU Local 527	Town Creek, Alabama	Mary Green Jimmie Doris Kelly
Atlanta, Ga. Regional Office	Atlanta, Georgia	Frank C. Gullatte Paid 8-8-66
Laborers' Int'l Union	Mobile, Alabama	Elbert Robinson
" " "	Meridian, Miss	J. H. Townsend
Rubber Workers	Cottondale, Ala.	James O. Elliott
Mobile, Ala. Regional Office	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Clifton King
United Papermakers & Paperworkers	Mobile, Ala.	Al Dunaway
	Memphis, Tenn.	Jack Hydrick

The last eleven listed above are those which have not as yet paid their registration fee. However, Truitt L. Crunkleton of the Bookbinders 96 in Atlanta, Georgia, is waiting to receive my letter of today letting him know the cost of tuition only and said he would mail his check on in.

The Atlanta Regional Office of the Laborers' International Union sent a letter with their credential stating that tuition had been paid direct from their Washington office, but we have not as yet received the check from Washington.

We received a letter from the Regional Office of the Papermakers stating Representative Jack Hydrick would pay his fee upon arrival, making no mention of the other two representatives listed on their credential.

All other credentials stated registration fees would be paid on arrival at the school.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Barney Weeks
President

BW

OPEIU-18

8-8-66

Carpenters 438	Mobile, Ala.	George W. Roberts
ILGWU 567	MARION, Ala.	Betty Colburn Viva Lou Barnette
CLU	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Nora Weaver Ruth Weed

cc: Emory Via

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

August 25, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I spoke to Larry Rogin for a couple of minutes on Monday. He called Joe Mire and explained that I couldn't possible look at the NILE report until after Labor Day.

I'm now in New York and then, next week, in Arkansas. I will call you when I'm back in the office and able to get into the report.

Sincerely yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Dept. of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

September 7, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
c/o Mr. Norris L. Tibbetts
School for Workers, University Extension Division
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

I find that you'll have about one hour and 20 minutes at the D.C. airport--from 9:32 to 10:50 a.m. If all goes well, I'll meet you at the airport for an hour's talk about the NILE report.

If for some reason you change your plans, call me--at the office on Friday or at home: WH 2-3145, AC 301. I'd rather not make a trip to the airport in vain.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

AIR MAIL

October 31, 1966

Mr. Stuart Brock
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Stuart:

The A. D. L. here in Atlanta wants to know where its copy of "Face of the South" is. You will recall that it was sent to washington for your use in Baltimore.

Can you help me out?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

AFL-CIO Edu Dept.
1965-1966

November 1, 1966

Mr. George Guerrsey
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet Know Your Rights which we discussed by phone. I have nearly exhausted my supply even though it is fresh off the press. However, other copies will soon be available.

I would be interested in your reactions to it. The A.C.L.U. of Georgia will be distributing it also and promoting the idea of classes using a filmstrip and resource person to go along with the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

November 4, 1966

Mr. Holgate Young
Education Director
Communications Workers of America
AFL-CIO
1925 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Hoagy:

A vote of thanks is never an adequate expression for a job well done. Let me add my personal voice to that of Local 189 for your having tended to its necessary and important business over the past several years. You did much to hold the organization together and make it grow.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

EDUCATION IN THE FIFTY STATES

Department of Education

AFL-CIO

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D.C.

Third Revised Edition
1966
oeiu#2 afl-cio

INTRODUCTION

This third edition of Education in the Fifty States has been completely revised and reorganized to include up-to-date figures and a great deal of new material. The various charts bring together information about education throughout the nation and in each of the fifty states.

As an illustration of how to use this handbook, we might take the state of Pennsylvania. From these charts one can learn that Pennsylvania is slightly above the national average in per capita income (Column A), but slightly below average in per pupil expenditure for elementary and secondary education (Column B). Pennsylvania therefore ranks low in "effort," that is in school expenditure as a percentage of personal income (Column C). Pennsylvania spends only 3.65% of its personal income on elementary and secondary schools, compared to the national average of 4.74%. By glancing through the chart, it can be seen that Pennsylvania is among the lowest states in effort. Pennsylvania, more easily than many states, could maintain adequate levels of educational expenditure. By committing 6.09% of its income to elementary and secondary education, less than several states are already doing, Pennsylvania could raise its per pupil expenditure to $800 (Column D), enough to pay teachers an average of $8,000 a year and to match New York State's average expenditure for other current needs. The average state would need to spend 7.83% of its income to accomplish the same result, and many states would need to commit more than a tenth of their income to education.

The state government provides 43.4% of educational expenditures in Pennsylvania, slightly higher than the national average (Column N), but considerably less than many other states do. Local communities pay 53.6% of school costs and Federal assistance accounts for only 2.8% of school costs. It should, of course, be noted that these figures are for a school year prior to the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Inadequate support for education is reflected in several ways. Teachers' salaries in Pennsylvania are below the national average (Column E), considerably lower than they should be in view of the resources of the state. A surprising 58.2% of the schools in Pennsylvania have no school library (Column G). Classroom shortages in Pennsylvania are severe. The state now has 79,500 classrooms in use (Column I), but 19,800 new classrooms are needed to replace substandard classrooms now in use (Column J) and an additional 16,900 classrooms are needed to bring class size down to 25 elementary and 20 secondary pupils to a room (Column K), making a total of 36,700 new classrooms needed in the state (Column L).

Dropouts in Pennsylvania are fewer than for the nation as a whole, with 80.8% of the ninth graders in public school going on to graduate from the twelfth grade (Column H). Columns R, S, and T tell the story of what happened to a typical group of 1000 Pennsylvania students who entered the ninth grade, either in public or non-public schools, in the fall of 1960. In 1964, 815 of them graduated from the twelfth grade, 185 of them having dropped out somewhere along the way. Of those who graduated, 309 entered their freshman year of college in the fall of 1964. In Nevada 528 of the original 1000 would have entered college and in California 724 of the original 1000 would have started college. These figures, computed by the AFL-CIO Education Department, have not been published prior to their appearance in this handbook.

With regard to higher education, Pennsylvania's per capita public expenditure is considerably below average, $6.29 as compared to the national average of $14.12 (Column U). Perhaps this partially explains the fact that fewer of Pennsylvania's high school graduates enter college than is the case in the average state, 38% in Pennsylvania as compared to 51% in the nation (Column V). Of the Pennsylvanians who do enter college, 22.4% go outside the state for their education, as compared with only 9.8% in Michigan and 5.4% in California (Column W).

Since the last edition of Education in the Fifty States, several important new programs of federal aid to education have been enacted. Some of the authorized appropriations for 1966 under these programs are given on pages 16 and 17. Pennsylvania is authorized to receive $56,501,000 for improving educational opportunity of disadvantaged children under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; $9,410,000 under the Vocational Education Act of 1963; and $27,539,000 for student aid, academic facilities, and community extension services under the Higher Education Act of 1965.

As can be seen from the charts, many states with much less income are doing much both absolutely and relatively than Pennsylvania in elementary, secondary and higher education. Using these charts, this same kind of information can be obtained about each of the states. Some states, it will be discovered, are straining their resources to support their schools; others could do more. All in all, these charts add up to compelling statistical justification for full federal partnership in financing education from the elementary schools to the universities.

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Personal Income (1964)	Current School Expenditure Per Pupil (1964-65)	Effort: State and Local School Expenditure as % of Personal Income (1964-65)	% of Income Needed to Raise Expenditure to $800 per Pupil
UNITED STATES	$2,550	$484	4.74%	7.83%
Alabama	$1,737	$277	4.52%	13.05%
Alaska	$3,128	$683	6.68%	7.82%
Arizona	$2,218	$478	6.12%	10.24%
Arkansas	$1,633	$317	4.88%	12.31%
California	$3,092	$565	5.71%	8.08%
Colorado	$2,591	$470	5.38%	9.15%
Connecticut	$3,250	$600	3.87%	5.16%
Delaware	$3,426	$539	4.24%	6.29%
District of Columbia	$3,515	$498	2.87%	4.61%
Florida	$2,280	$412	4.88%	9.47%
Georgia	$1,933	$330	4.31%	10.44%
Hawaii	$2,579	$418	4.59%	8.78%
Idaho	$2,012	$341	4.87%	11.42%
Illinois	$3,003	$551	3.97%	5.76%
Indiana	$2,529	$490	4.87%	7.95%
Iowa	$2,370	$464	4.80%	8.27%
Kansas	$2,311	$487	5.21%	8.55%
Kentucky	$1,811	$324	4.04%	9.97%
Louisiana	$1,864	$418	5.61%	10.73%
Maine	$2,130	$371	4.39%	9.46%
Maryland	$2,888	$503	4.59%	7.30%
Massachusetts	$2,922	$528	3.40%	5.15%
Michigan	$2,733	$510	5.29%	8.29%
Minnesota	$2,373	$534	5.90%	8.83%

more.....

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Income	Expenditure Per Pupil	Effort	% of Income to Raise $800 Per Pupil
Mississippi	$1,444	$273	5.34%	15.64%
Missouri	$2,595	$449	3.81%	6.78%
Montana	$2,183	$570	6.76%	9.48%
Nebraska	$2,302	$407	4.58%	9.00%
Nevada	$3,248	$543	5.95%	8.76%
New Hampshire	$2,343	$440	4.41%	8.01%
New Jersey	$2,962	$607	4.36%	5.74%
New Mexico	$2,010	$475	6.71%	11.30%
New York	$3,139	$790	4.84%	4.90%
North Carolina	$1,900	$322	4.50%	11.18%
North Dakota	$2,012	$424	5.81%	10.96%
Ohio	$2,623	$465	4.53%	7.79%
Oklahoma	$2,095	$366	4.63%	10.12%
Oregon	$2,602	$569	5.77%	8.11%
Pennsylvania	$2,575	$479	3.65%	6.09%
Rhode Island	$2,479	$514	3.72%	5.78%
South Carolina	$1,647	$284	4.66%	13.12%
South Dakota	$1,832	$444	6.07%	10.93%
Tennessee	$1,852	$300	4.25%	11.33%
Texas	$2,175	$396	4.77%	9.63%
Utah	$2,174	$407	6.89%	13.54%
Vermont	$2,144	$522	4.80%	7.35%
Virginia	$2,224	$380	4.36%	9.17%
Washington	$2,634	$534	5.88%	8.80%
West Virginia	$1,962	$327	4.30%	10.51%
Wisconsin	$2,492	$543	4.91%	7.23%
Wyoming	$2,475	$554	6.16%	8.89%

	E Average Annual Salary, Classroom Teachers (1964-65)	F Percent of Children (5-17) in Families with Income under $2,000 (1960)	G Percent of Public Schools with no School Library (1962)	H Public High School Graduates (1964) as % of 9th Grade Enrollment (1960-61)
UNITED STATES	$6,220	12%	51.7%	73.1%
Alabama	$4,700	25%	58.8%	59.8%
Alaska	$7,016	9%	74.7%	64.2%
Arizona	$6,700	11%	45.1%	66.5%
Arkansas	$4,200	29%	38.8%	69.5%
California	$7,900	6%	56.1%	90.6%
Colorado	$6,025	8%	50.5%	75.2%
Connecticut	$6,975	4%	42.9%	80.1%
Delaware	$6,800	7%	35.6%	75.3%
District of Columbia	$7,450	10%	54.1%	56.3%
Florida	$6,140	13%	22.1%	70.4%
Georgia	$5,050	21%	19.3%	59.1%
Hawaii	$6,024	6%	14.2%	83.0%
Idaho	$5,100	7%	44.9%	70.2%
Illinois	$6,809	7%	52.4%	71.6%
Indiana	$6,530	7%	49.9%	66.3%
Iowa	$5,747	11%	59.4%	87.1%
Kansas	$5,587	8%	56.2%	78.0%
Kentucky	$4,700	24%	65.0%	63.8%
Louisiana	$5,175	21%	34.6%	73.5%
Maine	$5,200	8%	74.7%	66.8%
Maryland	$6,727	7%	30.8%	72.1%
Massachusetts	$6,950	4%	65.1%	79.1%
Michigan	$6,700	7%	53.6%	72.6%
Minnesota	$6,463	9%	64.9%	86.2%

more.....

	E	F	G	H
	Teachers' Salaries	Children in Families Under $2,000	Schools with no Library	Graduates as % of 9th Graders
Mississippi	$4,103	37%	37.3%	60.6%
Missouri	$5,660	12%	70.5%	67.1%
Montana	$5,600	8%	61.4%	76.8%
Nebraska	$4,893	11%	83.6%	76.4%
Nevada	$6,530	5%	55.9%	75.0%
New Hampshire	$5,435	5%	73.2%	78.2%
New Jersey	$6,698	5%	49.8%	79.2%
New Mexico	$6,200	14%	55.6%	59.8%
New York	$7,800	6%	27.6%	81.0%
North Carolina	$5,022	24%	14.6%	58.4%
North Dakota	$4,800	13%	60.2%	80.5%
Ohio	$6,025	7%	49.2%	75.8%
Oklahoma	$5,160	15%	56.2%	69.8%
Oregon	$6,420	6%	42.1%	78.0%
Pennsylvania	$6,150	7%	58.2%	80.8%
Rhode Island	$6,251	7%	60.0%	82.6%
South Carolina	$4,500	28%	35.0%	62.1%
South Dakota	$4,475	17%	81.2%	81.8%
Tennessee	$4,850	23%	56.5%	64.7%
Texas	$5,463	16%	38.6%	61.9%
Utah	$5,945	5%	37.7%	71.3%
Vermont	$5,362	8%	78.6%	72.5%
Virginia	$5,450	17%	39.3%	62.2%
Washington	$6,400	5%	23.4%	78.7%
West Virginia	$4,590	20%	82.7%	66.6%
Wisconsin	$6,125	6%	65.6%	77.9%
Wyoming	$5,975	6%	32.6%	66.6%

	Classrooms Now in Use (1964-65)	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard Classrooms	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Bring Class Size Down to 25:1 and 20:1	Additional Classrooms Needed: Total
	I	J	K	L
UNITED STATES	1,536,500	352,000	285,900	637,900
Alabama	28,000	6,800	7,100	13,900
Alaska	1,900	700	200	900
Arizona	13,700	2,000	2,600	4,600
Arkansas	15,000	3,200	2,600	5,800
California	130,700	50,100	33,500	83,600
Colorado	18,100	3,500	3,600	7,100
Connecticut	21,000	4,200	2,000	6,200
Delaware	4,100	200	500	700
District of Columbia	4,900	1,000	1,100	2,100
Florida	39,300	6,500	10,000	16,500
Georgia	37,200	5,200	9,600	14,800
Hawaii	5,800	2,400	1,200	3,600
Idaho	6,900	2,100	1,100	3,200
Illinois	76,000	17,800	13,500	31,300
Indiana	40,400	9,600	7,300	16,900
Iowa	28,500	9,500	3,500	13,000
Kansas	25,200	4,700	2,700	7,400
Kentucky	23,400	4,500	4,400	8,900
Louisiana	32,000	6,200	5,600	11,800
Maine	8,300	4,100	1,100	5,200
Maryland	25,700	4,200	6,600	10,800
Massachusetts	36,400	12,100	5,000	17,100
Michigan	64,500	9,200	14,700	23,900
Minnesota	33,000	8,000	3,800	11,800

more....

	Classrooms Now in Use	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard	To Reduce Class Size	Total
	I	J	K	L
Mississippi	20,900	2,100	5,500	7,600
Missouri	34,100	7,300	4,900	12,200
Montana	8,600	2,800	900	3,700
Nebraska	17,300	6,100	1,500	7,600
Nevada	3,500	500	600	1,100
New Hampshire	5,200	1,500	700	2,200
New Jersey	46,000	10,800	6,500	17,300
New Mexico	10,200	1,200	1,600	2,800
New York	118,100	22,000	22,900	44,900
North Carolina	45,000	7,600	8,100	15,700
North Dakota	7,400	2,400	800	3,200
Ohio	83,200	16,900	15,100	32,000
Oklahoma	25,800	4,800	3,100	7,900
Oregon	18,900	7,500	2,200	9,700
Pennsylvania	79,500	19,800	16,900	36,700
Rhode Island	5,900	1,700	1,100	2,800
South Carolina	23,200	3,500	5,700	9,200
South Dakota	8,600	3,700	600	4,300
Tennessee	31,400	7,400	6,700	14,100
Texas	92,000	13,600	13,300	26,900
Utah	10,100	2,400	2,300	4,700
Vermont	3,700	1,600	300	1,900
Virginia	34,500	5,800	7,800	13,600
Washington	29,200	7,900	4,300	12,200
West Virginia	17,100	5,500	4,000	9,500
Wisconsin	32,600	7,300	4,900	12,200
Wyoming	4,500	800	400	1,200

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			Percent of Persons Over 25 yrs. old with Less Than 5 yrs. of Schooling (1960)
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
UNITED STATES	4.3%	38.7%	56.5%	8.3%
Alabama	9.1%	60.5%	20.7%	16.3%
Alaska	27.2%	46.8%	26.0%	8.2%
Arizona	7.7%	34.9%	57.3%	10.0%
Arkansas	8.2%	45.5%	46.1%	15.4%
California	3.6%	37.0%	59.4%	5.7%
Colorado	7.5%	21.9%	70.5%	4.7%
Connecticut	2.9%	35.2%	61.7%	6.3%
Delaware	3.7%	79.9%	16.3%	6.6%
District of Columbia	14.6%	0.0%	85.0%	7.2%
Florida	5.7%	52.2%	41.3%	9.2%
Georgia	7.1%	66.3%	26.3%	17.6%
Hawaii	14.0%	67.5%	17.9%	15.0%
Idaho	7.6%	29.6%	62.5%	3.3%
Illinois	2.6%	19.8%	77.4%	6.3%
Indiana	2.9%	30.7%	66.3%	4.9%
Iowa	3.5%	11.3%	85.3%	3.0%
Kansas	5.6%	21.9%	72.6%	3.7%
Kentucky	6.7%	56.0%	37.1%	13.8%
Louisiana	4.7%	66.9%	28.4%	21.3%
Maine	6.7%	26.5%	66.6%	4.7%
Maryland	5.1%	36.3%	57.9%	7.7%
Massachusetts	4.8%	22.9%	72.3%	6.0%
Michigan	2.6%	41.0%	55.9%	5.8%
Minnesota	3.0%	38.4%	57.7%	4.0%

more.....

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			% of Persons Over 25 with Less Than 5 yrs. Schooling
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
Mississippi	7.3%	57.6%	34.5%	18.8%
Missouri	4.4%	33.7%	61.8%	7.1%
Montana	6.3%	27.2%	66.6%	4.1%
Nebraska	5.9%	5.9%	87.6%	3.6%
Nevada	7.9%	51.3%	40.6%	3.9%
New Hampshire	6.3%	6.9%	86.4%	4.4%
New Jersey	2.4%	22.9%	74.7%	7.0%
New Mexico	12.4%	76.5%	11.1%	12.2%
New York	2.4%	41.4%	56.1%	7.8%
North Carolina	5.8%	70.4%	22.9%	16.5%
North Dakota	6.9%	28.0%	64.7%	6.0%
Ohio	3.1%	26.7%	~~29.3%~~ 69.3%	5.4%
Oklahoma	8.3%	27.7%	63.9%	8.6%
Oregon	4.0%	28.4%	67.3%	3.3%
Pennsylvania	2.8%	43.4%	53.6%	6.9%
Rhode Island	5.9%	31.0%	63.0%	7.4%
South Carolina	8.2%	66.5%	25.3%	20.3%
South Dakota	8.3%	8.9%	81.9%	4.1%
Tennessee	7.9%	56.4%	35.3%	14.8%
Texas	4.5%	49.8%	44.5%	13.4%
Utah	5.5%	48.3%	46.0%	2.8%
Vermont	3.8%	26.2%	69.5%	3.8%
Virginia	9.1%	40.2%	50.1%	13.1%
Washington	5.3%	62.4%	31.9%	3.4%
West Virginia	4.3%	53.5%	42.1%	11.0%
Wisconsin	3.6%	25.0%	71.4%	5.3%
Wyoming	5.3%	46.9%	46.2%	3.6%

WHAT HAPPENED TO AN AVERAGE 1000 NINTH GRADERS (1960-64)
(Public and Non-Public Schools)

	Ninth Grade 1960-61	Failed to Graduate From High School	Graduated From High School 1964	Entered College 1964
	Q	R	S	T
UNITED STATES	1,000	258	742	378
Alabama	1,000	393	607	194
Alaska	1,000	360	640	300
Arizona	1,000	330	670	408
Arkansas	1,000	300	700	329
California	1,000	106	894	724
Colorado	1,000	250	750	412
Connecticut	1,000	178	822	476
Delaware	1,000	218	782	352
District of Columbia	1,000	368	632	379
Florida	1,000	291	709	439
Georgia	1,000	400	600	234
Hawaii	1,000	150	850	416
Idaho	1,000	298	702	435
Illinois	1,000	266	734	455
Indiana	1,000	327	673	296
Iowa	1,000	132	868	416
Kansas	1,000	215	785	423
Kentucky	1,000	346	654	307
Louisiana	1,000	258	742	348
Maine	1,000	305	695	215
Maryland	1,000	264	736	382
Massachusetts	1,000	178	822	435
Michigan	1,000	262	738	324

more.....

	Ninth Grade	Failed to Graduate	Graduated	Entered College
	Q	R	S	T
Minnesota	1,000	145	855	393
Mississippi	1,000	387	613	318
Missouri	1,000	309	691	338
Montana	1,000	230	770	446
Nebraska	1,000	229	771	416
Nevada	1,000	245	755	528
New Hampshire	1,000	143	857	325
New Jersey	1,000	206	794	420
New Mexico	1,000	398	602	294
New York	1,000	185	815	383
North Carolina	1,000	410	590	212
North Dakota	1,000	191	809	404
Ohio	1,000	243	757	333
Oklahoma	1,000	301	699	377
Oregon	1,000	222	778	420
Pennsylvania	1,000	185	815	309
Rhode Island	1,000	117	883	397
South Carolina	1,000	377	623	211
South Dakota	1,000	185	815	415
Tennessee	1,000	342	658	276
Texas	1,000	376	624	355
Utah	1,000	284	716	400
Vermont	1,000	250	750	255
Virginia	1,000	359	641	301
Washington	1,000	215	785	447
West Virginia	1,000	327	673	249
Wisconsin	1,000	216	784	337
Wyoming	1,000	334	666	419

HIGHER EDUCATION

	U Per Capita Public Operating Expenditures for Higher Education (1964-65)	V Residents of State Entering College (1963) as % of High School Graduates (1963)	W % of Students Who Leave Home State for Under-graduate College (1963)
UNITED STATES	$14.12	51%	---
Alabama	8.99	32%	18.0%
Alaska	24.31	47%	51.8%
Arizona	19.05	61%	11.0%
Arkansas	10.62	47%	14.8%
California	19.83	81%	5.4%
Colorado	18.61	55%	18.2%
Connecticut	7.16	58%	38.8%
Delaware	13.47	45%	49.7%
District of Columbia	---	60%	40.1%
Florida	13.10	62%	18.5%
Georgia	9.95	39%	20.2%
Hawaii	19.63	49%	34.0%
Idaho	17.04	62%	31.1%
Illinois	14.19	62%	22.2%
Indiana	16.64	44%	16.0%
Iowa	17.54	48%	24.0%
Kansas	20.37	54%	15.2%
Kentucky	13.74	47%	16.1%
Louisiana	18.94	47%	8.1%
Maine	10.00	31%	31.1%
Maryland	11.60	52%	27.7%
Massachusetts	3.99	53%	22.2%
Michigan	17.10	44%	9.8%

more.....

HIGHER EDUCATION

	U Per Capita Public Operating Expenditures for Higher Education (1964-65)	V Residents of State Entering College (1963) as % of High School Graduates (1963)	W % of Students Who Leave Home State for Under-graduate College (1963)
UNITED STATES	$14.12	51%	---
Alabama	8.99	32%	18.0%
Alaska	24.31	47%	51.8%
Arizona	19.05	61%	11.0%
Arkansas	10.62	47%	14.8%
California	19.83	81%	5.4%
Colorado	18.61	55%	18.2%
Connecticut	7.16	58%	38.8%
Delaware	13.47	45%	49.7%
District of Columbia	---	60%	40.1%
Florida	13.10	62%	18.5%
Georgia	9.95	39%	20.2%
Hawaii	19.63	49%	34.0%
Idaho	17.04	62%	31.1%
Illinois	14.19	62%	22.2%
Indiana	16.64	44%	16.0%
Iowa	17.54	48%	24.0%
Kansas	20.37	54%	15.2%
Kentucky	13.74	47%	16.1%
Louisiana	18.94	47%	8.1%
Maine	10.00	31%	31.1%
Maryland	11.60	52%	27.7%
Massachusetts	3.99	53%	22.2%
Michigan	17.10	44%	9.8%

more.....

	U Per Capita Expenditures	V College Entrants as % of High School Graduates	W Students Leaving State for College
Minnesota	$15.66	46%	14.5%
Mississippi	11.32	52%	9.6%
Missouri	10.71	49%	20.0%
Montana	18.38	58%	19.3%
Nebraska	12.88	54%	15.9%
Nevada	16.30	70%	28.5%
New Hampshire	7.89	38%	38.9%
New Jersey	6.91	53%	42.5%
New Mexico	18.88	49%	21.9%
New York	12.79	47%	22.1%
North Carolina	10.80	36%	11.6%
North Dakota	19.10	50%	19.3%
Ohio	6.71	44%	15.7%
Oklahoma	13.78	54%	9.5%
Oregon	22.77	54%	16.5%
Pennsylvania	6.29	38%	22.4%
Rhode Island	10.11	45%	31.2%
South Carolina	7.75	34%	21.8%
South Dakota	17.43	51%	18.7%
Tennessee	8.46	42%	16.8%
Texas	11.22	57%	6.3%
Utah	9.13	56%	5.1%
Vermont	13.35	34%	36.3%
Virginia	9.36	47%	32.5%
Washington	24.48	57%	11.7%
West Virginia	13.23	37%	14.6%
Wisconsin	14.73	43%	14.5%
Wyoming	19.84	63%	30.1%

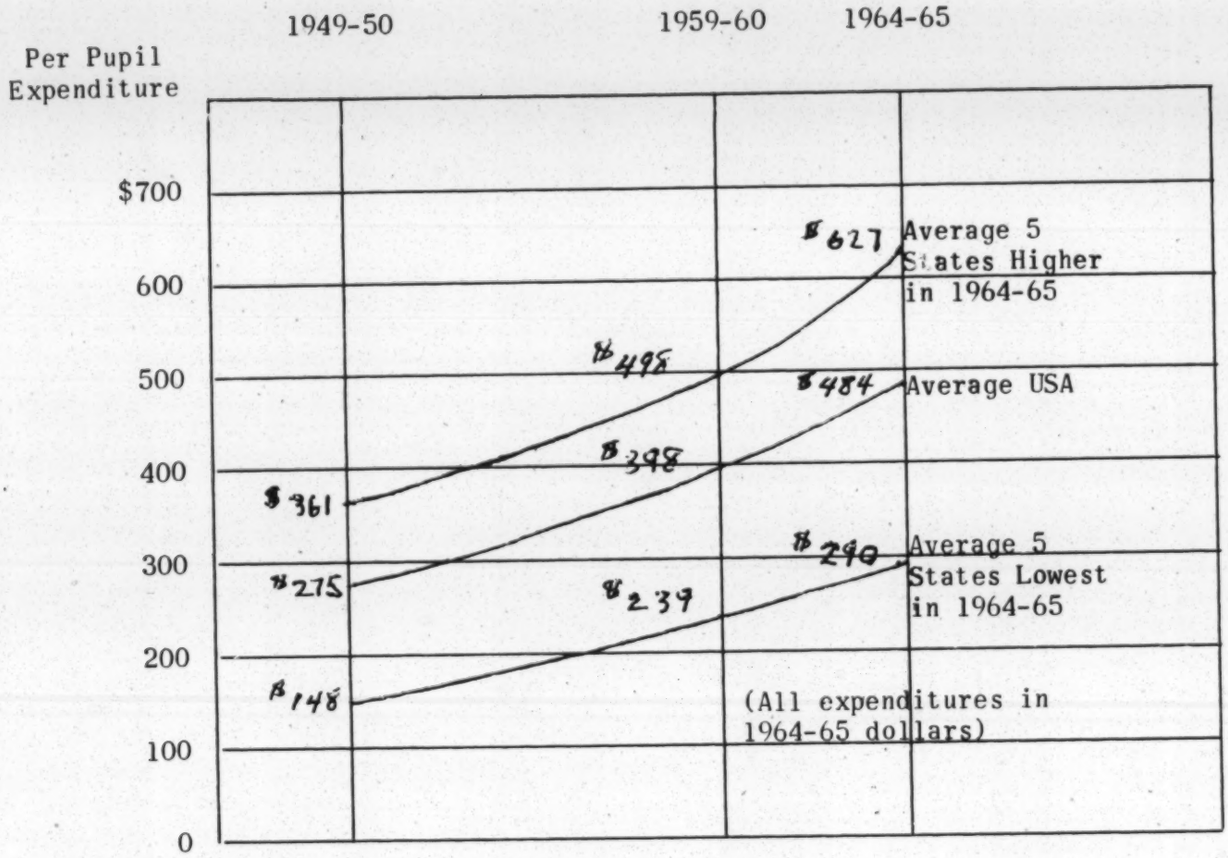
AUTHORIZED FEDERAL FUNDS FOR 1966

	X Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I	Y Vocational Education Act of 1963	Z Higher Education Act of 1965
UNITED STATES	$1,151,390,000	$156,518,000	$495,314,000
Alabama	34,981,000	3,752,000	8,950,000
Alaska	1,710,000	187,000	455,000
Arizona	10,464,000	1,296,000	4,866,000
Arkansas	22,826,000	1,982,000	5,576,000
California	78,665,000	10,811,000	48,037,000
Colorado	9,684,000	1,496,000	5,854,000
Connecticut	7,286,000	1,652,000	6,082,000
Delaware	1,995,000	298,000	1,136,000
District of Columbia	5,436,000	544,000	3,050,000
Florida	27,754,000	4,603,000	12,660,000
Georgia	37,716,000	4,576,000	10,489,000
Hawaii	2,399,000	630,000	1,848,000
Idaho	2,471,000	731,000	2,105,000
Illinois	61,707,000	6,840,000	24,029,000
Indiana	18,562,000	4,165,000	12,811,000
Iowa	18,839,000	2,538,000	8,488,000
Kansas	10,588,000	2,005,000	6,967,000
Kentucky	30,433,000	3,442,000	8,495,000
Louisiana	38,728,000	3,592,000	10,254,000
Maine	4,054,000	1,014,000	2,447,000
Maryland	15,402,000	2,482,000	7,698,000
Massachusetts	16,705,000	3,759,000	15,051,000
Michigan	35,075,000	6,463,000	21,203,000
Minnesota	24,754,000	3,110,000	10,875,000

more.....

	X	Y	Z
	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Vocational Education Act of 1963	Higher Education Act of 1965
Mississippi	31,203,000	2,547,000	7,116,000
Missouri	30,157,000	3,695,000	11,781,000
Montana	3,668,000	646,000	2,137,000
Nebraska	6,989,000	1,255,000	4,364,000
Nevada	959,000	196,000	749,000
New Hampshire	1,467,000	555,000	1,863,000
New Jersey	24,806,000	3,908,000	11,949,000
New Mexico	9,888,000	1,058,000	2,888,000
New York	110,736,000	10,920,000	39,881,000
North Carolina	53,354,000	5,514,000	13,848,000
North Dakota	5,272,000	697,000	2,333,000
Ohio	39,578,000	7,790,000	24,455,000
Oklahoma	17,550,000	2,495,000	7,722,000
Oregon	8,248,000	1,496,000	5,703,000
Pennsylvania	56,501,000	9,410,000	27,539,000
Rhode Island	4,080,000	769,000	2,407,000
South Carolina	27,754,000	2,990,000	6,796,000
South Dakota	6,962,000	712,000	2,367,000
Tennessee	32,528,000	4,065,000	10,740,000
Texas	78,300,000	9,844,000	27,054,000
Utah	2,849,000	970,000	4,203,000
Vermont	1,749,000	411,000	1,438,000
Virginia	30,925,000	4,464,000	9,855,000
Washington	10,801,000	2,370,000	8,800,000
West Virginia	17,161,000	2,071,000	5,288,000
Wisconsin	18,211,000	3,417,000	11,581,000
Wyoming	1,478,000	282,000	1,030,000

INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PERSISTS



Although significant gains have been made in education over the past fifteen years, inequality of educational opportunity nevertheless persists. The above chart plots educational expenditures over a fifteen year period in the five states which were highest in their per pupil current expenditure in 1964-65 and the five states which were lowest in per pupil expenditure. As can be seen from the graph, the difference in the average expenditure of the five lowest and five highest states in 1949-50 was $213; by 1964-65 school year the difference had actually widened to $337. Per pupil expenditures in the five lowest states were $127 below the national average in 1949-50. By 1964-65 they were $194 below the national average. Dollar for dollar, inequality of educational opportunity has widened rather than narrowed over the last fifteen years.

(Note: All of these figures have been adjusted to constant dollars of the 1964-65 school year.)

NOTES AND SOURCES

Column

A — U. S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, April, 1965.

B — U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

C — U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

D — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

E — U. S. Office of Education, Fall, 1964 Statistics of Public Schools.

F — U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

G — U. S. Office of Education, National Inventory of School Facilities and Personnel, 1964.

H — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: The difference between the percent of ninth graders grading four years later and 100% will give an approximate indication of the percentage of school dropouts. In the United States as a whole, for example, 73.1% of the ninth graders of 1960-61 graduated in 1964. This means that approximately 26.9% of the ninth graders dropped out of school before graduating. However, certain factors other than dropping out are included. Among them are death and in some instances migration from the state.

I-J-K-L — U. S. Office of Education, Condition of Public School Plants, 1964-65, 1965.

M-N-O — U. S. Office of Education, Statistics of State School Systems, 1961-62.

Note: These are the most recent dependable figures. However, more recent estimates indicate that the figures have changed little through the school year 1964-65

P — U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

Q-R-S-T — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: Column S differs slightly from Column H because Column H includes only students enrolled in public schools whereas Column S includes students enrolled in both public and non-public schools.

Column	
U	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
V	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
W	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
Y-X-Z	U. S. Office of Education.
Page 18	Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

* * *

General Note: In using all charts which give dollar figures, it should be remembered that because of the high cost of living in the state of Alaska, a truer comparison will be obtained if dollar figures for Alaska are reduced by approximately 25%.

Ed Dept

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

January 4, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Fred Corey came through town about a week ago with his wife. We spent an hour talking about the institute. He was on his way to New Jersey for a vacation.

I notice that both of us did a mailing to the NILE delegates. In my mailing, I included the November issue of The American Federationist. I had a letter from Jimmy Stewart about it. He asked for some extra copies to distribute to trade unionists in the Louisville area. Fred Corey also said he was going to ask for some extra copies. He sent your report out to about 20 people including Ron Donovan of Cornell. I got a letter from him yesterday in which he said some nice things about the report.

I spent a day at the University of Maine helping to start the new labor program there.

Thanks for the contribution to Larry's present. We gave him a round-trip ticket to California to visit his son in Berkeley and a round-trip ticket to Michigan to visit his son in Ann Arbor.

My son has a new album out called "Bittersweet." It is put out by Monument Records. The number is Monument 8077 or if you prefer stereo, the number is 18077. I am appointing you and Al Kehrer to handle the Atlanta distribution.

Sincerely and fraternally,

George T. Guernsey jo

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

cc: Al Kehrer
Dictated but not read

January 13, 1967

Mr. George T. Guernsey,
Assistant Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Guernsey:

Enclosed are four copies of "What Happened in the South, 1966". Because of the large demand for this report there are very few copies left.

If you wish to have the 100 copies there will be a small cost of $.15 per copy to cover the cost of printing more copies.

I am sorry that the office has such a small supply of these reports left and will be unable to fill your request. Do let us know if you want the other copies.

Sincerely,

Jane S. DeLung, Secretary
Labor Program

/jd

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

January 10, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I meant to ask you in my letter the other day for 100 copies of the December 14 report entitled "What Happened in the South, 1966." If you cannot spare this many, could you spare 25?

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

Dear
H.

Jane: Please indicate in your response if I am out of town.
Thks
Emory

January 24, 1967

Mr. George Guernsey
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

As you know I recently sent a mailing of the November Federationist. One of the responses requested the department's pamphlet on "Films on Civil Rights". Would you send a copy to

Miss Anne Hamilton
Department of Education Library
State Office Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 27, 1967

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George,

Under separate cover I am sending you a packet of materials put together by our Urban Planning Project under the direction of Moreland Smith. I thought you would like to see them as a group so that you could determine which of them had any special relevance to your interest.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

March 6, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for the material on the Urban Planning Project. As you know, I am still trying to develop three Staff Training Programs for the West, the Mid-West and the East on problems of metropolitan areas. We have had three meetings thus far. Our next step is to talk to the Ford Foundation. Don Slaiman and I hope to do this within the next two weeks.

As soon as I have the dates for the southern schools, I will send you a copy. the TRI-State is May 21-26.

I am trying to do something for a group of staff people under the sponsorship of the Tri-State School. If we are able to pull this off, it will be held April 6-9 in Greensboro, North Carolina. It will be co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Organizing Department.

I am also trying to put together a 1967 Southern Staff Training Program. I had a meeting with Ralph Campbell when he was in town. There is some money available from NILE if we can pry it loose.

My son's rock and roll album "Bittersweet" by the Hangmen, Monument Records, #8077, has sold about 10,000 copies in the Washington area. He is not getting rich, but he is making somewhat of a living. He is now playing in Clearwater, Florida with the band for a week; they will then be coming back to Washington for two weeks.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

Hello to Al! Drop me a line.

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

March 29, 1967

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Asst. Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Thanks for your informative letter of March 6th. You still sound busy! I am glad that you got the Urban Planning Materials. I trust that my "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit" has reached you by now.

The Metropolitan areas proposal sounds good. Did N.I.L.E. ever receive an answer from Field on their proposal?

I would be pleased to hear the details of the Tri-State School. Let me know if I could help out.

I hope you are able to get something worked out in Greensboro for Southern staff. April 6-9 is awfully close; again, let me know if there is anything I can do either in terms of materials or instruction. My schedule is a bit tight about then.

Another Southern Staff Training Program!? You never get enough. Still an excellent idea. Good Luck!

I still haven't heard "Bittersweet". We will stry to stimulate the Atlanta market.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

April 4, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We have changed the date of the Southern Staff Tri-State Program to May 11-14. I will write you later.

Sincerely,

George Guernsey jr

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio
dictated but not read

April 13, 1967

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I do not know that you plan to make any use of me for the Southern Staff Tri-State Program, but I will be unavailable for the dates May 11-14. I am sorry to miss out on it and trust you will have a very successful program.

Will the staff come out on Mother's Day?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

May 22, 1967

Mr. Walt Davis, Director
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Walt:

I plan to be in Washington on May 31, and perhaps for June 1 as well. I would like very much for a chance to talk with you. I will call your office after I get in town to see if we can work out a convenient time.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

(dictated but not read)

June 19, 1967

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 - Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of June 6. It was good to see you in Washington and, as you now know, I thought the Tri-State School went quite well.

Any follow-up that you do on Tri-State over the years would be of real interest.

I will not be available for the School in Mobile August 13 - 18. I am sorry for this because I would like very much to participate in that School.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

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MAX GREENBERG

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 6, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for the hard work which you did at the Tri-State School. Stuart and others have told me that it was an extremely successful school.

I am going to try to do some kind of a follow-up on the Tri-State School showing how many delegates have attended it in the last nine years and work out a questionnaire to send to those who have attended in the last two or three years.

I understand that the Advanced School went extremely well this year.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio

Are you available for Alabama Aug 13-18, Mobile?

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

February 14, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the summary which you sent me on the Galveston meeting.

Did you ever get any "readings" on the book GROWING UP IN MISSISSIPPI?

Also, could you find out for me what your people think of the new novel BLACK JACOB by William Mahoney. It was just published by Macmillan and sells for $5.95. Mahoney is apparently the managing editor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference newspaper.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

Asking for a service!
Did you buy a print of
"Hunger in America"?

February 26, 1969

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Nothing new on "Growing Up in Mississippi."

No one here has read "Black Jacob" yet. John Lewis knows William Mahoney and thinks he is a good fellow. However, he is probably no longer at SCLC.

Our print of "Hunger in America" has just arrived. If the Education Department already has a discussion guide for it, would you please send me a copy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

March 11, 1969

Mr. George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Our print of "Hunger in America" has arrived. We are giving it to the Atlanta Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia, to handle distribution.

You can refer requests for the film either directly through me or to the ADL. If we set a lower rental fee than $7.50 we could still see that your referrals are billed at the $7.50 rate.

Please give my regards to Jackie Kienzle and that I hope she comes out of her stint in the hospital feeling O.K. It would be helpful to have her discussion guide even if we prepare one of our own. I hope that a "fact sheet" can be put together which will update some specifics in the film.

Our copy of "Black Jacob" has just arrived and I have asked some people to read it and give

me a response.

I hope you will get to read "Still Hunger in America" by Robert Coles with photographs by Al Clayton and introduction by Edward M. Kennedy. It is published by The New American Library, Inc. in association with The World Publishing Company, 2231 West 110th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44102. This book was a direct outgrowth of our own programs and we hold the contract with the publisher.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

March 6, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Let me know about the book BLACK JACOB. I am trying to get a copy.

How will your print of "Hunger In America" be distributed? We are charging a rental of $7.50 per showing. I would like to refer some of our showings in your region to you and you could bill them the $7.50. Would this be alright?

On the discussion guide, Jackie Kienzle who does our guides is in the hospital for three weeks. I hope we can get it done the first week when she returns.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

Dictated but not read

March 24, 1969

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I came through Washington on Sunday and Wednesday night and did not have your letter until I returned to Atlanta.

I trust we can see each other or talk by phone soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

March 14, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I see that you are scheduled to be at the Human Resources Conference next week. If you are in Washington at all on Tuesday, would you give me a call.

There is no reason for you to set a rental of $7.50 on "Hunger In America" just because we do. It would help though if the rentals were the same and we could just simply refer some of our southern request to you.

I will check on the book "Still Hungry In America".

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

May 21, 1969

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

These are just off the press. Your regular copies will arrive later but I thought you might want to see them as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosures - 2

June 6, 1969

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I thought you might find the enclosed pamphlet, "The Will To Survive," of special interest. In a sense it is the other side of the story I sent you recently, "John Willie Reed," in that this is the tale of those rural folks who did not come to the city but stayed on the farm.

It is being sent to the press today with a release date of June 16.

Inadvertently the printer left off the union bug on these advance run copies. However, it will appear on the remainder.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

(202) 387-7050
Coordinate
Training & Urban Ed Specialists
Visit local

September 24, 1969

Fred B.
Human Rels
Poverty
Specialist
Employment Services
FDR Center
SRC
Letter on Central Body
support Miami
running for Congress.

Dear Gregory Vice —

As you know, the AFL-CIO has developed four OEO labor training projects. The most recent one to be funded by the national OEO is the University of Minnesota program which will work in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Indiana.

Recently, Julius Rothman and I attended a meeting in Milwaukee with Jack Flagler and Emil Starr of the University of Minnesota program and the presidents of the three state bodies. The training program will run for one year and will train approximately 100 local union leaders to work more effectively on the poverty program.

The person whom we thought would become ~~president~~ director of the project, at the last minute, has had to withdraw. The salary for this position is $18,500 with the normal travel expenses and health coverage but no pension. Although this program is for one year, Jack Flagler thinks he can guarantee a second year of employment at the university. If you know anyone who would be interested in this position, would you have him get in touch with Jack Flagler, Head, Labor Education Program, Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55455, or myself. He should be a fairly experienced person who knows something about workers' education and understands the operation of our local central body. We hope to fill this within the next two or three weeks.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

opeiu 2 afl-cio

Al Bettrich
Jim Wolf

* * *

LABOR COLLEGE starts enrolling union staffers for its first year of classes.

The new AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center will open its doors to students Dec. 1. Distribution of enrollment material at the convention gives unionists their first chance to sign up for one of the 17 three-week courses offered during the 1969-70 school year. Fred K. Hoehler Jr., the former Michigan State industrial relations professor who heads the center, terms the initial response "excellent."

The staple of the Washington-based center's curriculum is a broad course in "staff development." Other courses cover a wide variety of social and economic subjects: Pollution, health-care planning, ways to increase participation of minorities in union leadership. "We'll get into controversial subjects," vows Hoehler, "because that's the job of an educator."

One of the center's future goals: To train union leaders for stints of government service.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: Atlantic City suffers from comparison with Miami Beach, site of the AFL-CIO's 1967 convention, in the view of many delegates. They grumble about aging hotels and the few diversions available beyond a quiet boardwalk stroll. . . . Adding to the gold drain: Meany presents two British trade unionists attending as guests with "solid gold" convention badges. . . . The Atlantic City Bartenders Union distributes a "please-don't-patronize" list of restaurants that includes some of the best ones in town.

10-7-69
Wall St Jnl

December 9, 1969

Mr. Walter Davis, Director
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Walt:

It was very good to see you in Washington on my recent trip. I want to thank you for your time and interest regarding the tax bill.

I look forward to continued opportunities to cooperate with you and the department in southern progress and any other programs in which our services may be of use.

Best personal wishes,

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

December 9, 1969

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I can send you 40 copies of our tax study. However, is there any way that you could pay us a rock-bottom, subsidized charge of 25¢ each? Incidentally, the 25¢ figure will be the one that the Labor Program will offer to any state AFL-CIO. I have not heard further from Giles regarding his interest in the study. However, he has called me for advice and assistance on another matter. A good sign, I think.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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A. J. DeANDRADE
JOHN H. LYONS
C. L. DENNIS
THOMAS W. GLEASON
FREDERICK O'NEAL
JERRY WURF

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

November 25, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for coming to the Advanced Southern Labor School. All in all, I thought it went well.

Is there any chance you can give me forty or fifty copies of your tax job, free-of-charge? I could use them in some of my contacts with the labor movement in the south.

Let me know whether Giles goes through with the idea of mailing it to the Georgia State Legislature. Also, the price per copy you would have to charge him.

You will be glad to know we had 32 people at our closing luncheon. This did, however, include five wives.

Sincerely,

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

DELEGATES TO YOUNG TRADE UNIONISTS INSTITUTE

Raleigh, North Carolina
May 3 - May 8, 1970

Roy L. Allen
UPP Local 297
3217 2nd Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Leonard Barrier
Local Union 1109
225 Bingham St., Apt. A
Greensboro, North Carolina 27402

Roger W. Bradley
OCAW Local 3-495
RFD #3
Blacksburg, Virginia

Claire Brown
RWDSU, Hospital Division
18 Filix Street
Charleston, S. C. 29403

~~Joseph Caleb~~
~~Laborers Local 476~~
~~1688 Meridian Ave.~~
~~Miami Beach, Florida 33130~~

Anita C. Cannon
ILGWU Local 581
18 Smythe Street
Spartanburg, S. C. 29301

David M. Clark
UPP Local 870
Rt. 2, Kester Mill Road
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27103

Lonnie Crow
ILGWU Local 581
Route 2
Forest City, North Carolina

Earl S. Dapp II
Carpenters' Local 1308
4982 Cambridge St.
Lake Worth, Florida 33460

Tommy Gill
Tobacco Workers
Greensboro, North Carolina

Betty White
CWA - N. Carolina

Alfred Hazel
Laborers' Local 58
202 Fifth Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Edward M. Herrington
UPP Local 407
22 Goebel Ave.
Savannah, Georgia 31404

Bennie A. Holliman
URW Local 748-Columbus, Miss.
Route 1
Kennesly, Alabama

Frank A. Horton, Jr.
UPP Local 639
Route 1
Knightdale, N. C. 27545

Edward P. Hubbard, Jr.
Communications Workers Local 3060
454 Monmouth Street
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27107

Roy Jones
IBEW Local 776
403 Berckman Rd.
N. Charleston, S. C. 29406

Jimmy McCracken
United Rubber Workers
Clyde, North Carolina

William M. McMillan
Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Route 2, Box 403-B
W. Columbia, South Carolina

Sidney Mitchell
CWA Local 13
Raleigh, North Carolina

Robert Parhan
Decatur Labor Council
221 12th Ave., S.W.
Decatur, Alabama 35601

Wm. Clough
CWA - South Carolina

Eugene Rhodes
ACWA Local 503
Charleston Heights, S. C.

Johnny Spears
United Bounding Company
Intl. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Paw Creek, North Carolina

E. T. Sutton, Jr.
Operating Engineers Local 500
Route 3, Box 429
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T. J. Warren
Tobacco Workers
Greensboro, North Carolina

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AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department
815 16th Street, N.W., Room 301
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William Shipes
National Council of Churches
Migrant Project
723 West Johnson Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603

Emory Via
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SOUTHEAST SCHOOL FOR YOUNG TRADE UNIONIST

Sponsored by:
The Southern Labor School and
The AFL-CIO Department of Education

Sir Walter Hotel
Raleigh, North Carolina

May 3 - 8, 1970

PROGRAM

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7:45-9:00 a.m.		BREAKFAST ----------				
9:00-12:00		Film Showing: "Do Not, Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate"	Labor History	The Changing South and New Welfare Problems - Emory Via & 1:30-3:00	Organizing Problems of The South - Al Kehrer	9:00-11:00 Structure of the AFL-CIO 11:00-12:00 What Have We Learned
12:00 noon		LUNCH ----------				GRADUATION Speaker: Barney Weeks
4:00 p.m.	REGISTRATION					
1:30-4:30 p.m.		Young Workers Look at Today's Issues	Young Workers Look at Today's Issues	Labor and the '70 Elections - Al Kehrer	Collective Bargaining and Inflation - Richard Prosten	
6:00 p.m.	DINNER ----------					
7:00-8:30 p.m.	ORIENTATION	Fighting Poverty - James Harris and William Shipes	Film Showing: "Hunger In America"	Program to be announced	Film Showing: "The Inheritance"	

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SOUTHWESTERN SCHOOL FOR YOUNG TRADE UNIONISTS

University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

June 14 - 19, 1970

Sponsored by
Southern Labor School
and
AFL-CIO Education Department

DELEGATES

Anthony Bacile
Meat Cutters Local 327
1622 Toldeano
New Orleans, Louisiana 70115

Douglas M. Bonds
Steelworkers Local 6357
217 Davis
Conway, Arkansas 72032

Mary Bryant
Machinists Local 921
119 Fairfax
N. Little Rock, Arkansas 72117

Charles Chandler
Transport Workers Local 514
11929 E. Pine Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74116

Leanne Craig
Restaurant Emplys. Local 246
406 Armstrong
Moore, Oklahoma 73060

Bob Ecton
IBEW Local 1141
3056 S. W. 67
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73159

Charles Fitch
Plumbers Local 176
1502 E. 2nd Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74120

Troy Henderson
Steelworkers Local 6357
Route 1
Conway, Arkansas 72033

Phillip Hopper
Transport Workers Local 514
11929 E. Pine Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74116

Freddy Hughes
Steelworkers Local 6794
Route 3, Box 438
Malvern, Arkansas 72104

Herman LaZare
Laborers, Local 207
319 Kirkman
Lake Charles, Louisiana

Etroy Lyons
IWA Local 5-298
2913 Cross Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Ronald C. McKee
Laborers Local 648
1347 Hortense
Dallas, Texas 75216

Pat McKinney
USA, S559
3118 Ware Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204

Kenneth J. Miller
Operating Engineers Local 670
303 Pine Street
Ardmore, Oklahoma

Eddie Mae Moore
Machinists Local 921
5324-B Fourche Dam Pike
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Waylon G. Outlaw
UPP, Local 369
902 Fairview Road
Crossett, Arkansas 71635

Erbey Rendon
Amalg. Meat Cutters Local 171
502 Cupples Road
San Antonio, Texas 78437

William E. Tucker
Operating Engineers Local 381
1603 W. Block
Eldorado, Arkansas 71730

Fred Wilmeth
IBEW Local 2021
1425 N. Rockwell
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

STAFF

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Education Department, AFL-CIO
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United Papermakers & Paperworkers
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Albany, New York 12201

J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
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Henry L. Likes, President
Oklahoma State AFL-CIO
111 Northeast 26th
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Emory Via, Director
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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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Julius Gordon, Staff Representative
University of Houston
OEO Labor Training Program
College of Business Administration
University of Houston
Houston, Texas 77004

Clint Hampton, Director
OEO Migrant Project ~~Ark~~ ANM College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Paul Brinker, Professor
Department of Economics
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Thurmond White, Vice President
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

SOUTHWESTERN SCHOOL FOR YOUNG TRADE UNIONISTS

Sponsored by:
Southern Labor School
and the AFL-CIO
Department of Education

University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

June 14 - June 19, 1970

Completed Program 1970

#15

FINAL PROGRAM

p 2

SUNDAY, June 14

4:00 P.M.	REGISTRATION
6:00 P.M.	DINNER
7:00 P.M.	ORIENTATION George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education

MONDAY, June 15

7:45-8:45 A.M.	BREAKFAST
8:45-11:45 A.M.	Film: "Do Not Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate" Allen Morrison, United Papermakers & Paperworkers
12:00 Noon	LUNCH
1:45-4:30 P.M.	YOUNG WORKERS LOOK AT THE ISSUES --- FILM George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education
6:00 P.M.	DINNER
7:00 P.M.	FILM: "Hunger In America" Julius Gordon, University of Houston OEO Project Paul Brinker, University of Oklahoma

TUESDAY, June 16

7:45-8:45 A.M.	BREAKFAST
8:45-11:45 A.M.	NEW TRENDS IN UNIONS --- The Gus Tyler Tape Paul Brinker, University of Oklahoma Allen Morrison, United Papermakers & Paperworkers
12:00 Noon	LUNCH
1:45-4:30 P.M.	YOUNG WORKERS LOOK AT THE ISSUES -- "What Do You Think?" George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education
6:00 P.M.	DINNER
7:00 P.M.	THE WORK OF THE STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES J. Bill Becker, Arkansas State AFL-CIO Henry L. Likes, Oklahoma State AFL-CIO George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education

WEDNESDAY, June 17

7:45-8:45 A.M.	BREAKFAST
8:45-11:45 A.M.	THE WAR ON POVERTY OEO Migrant Project Clint Hampton, OEO Migrant Project, Pine Bluff, Arkansas Labor Training Program Julius Gordon, University of Houston Film: "The Inheritance"
12:00 Noon	LUNCH
1:45-4:30 P.M.	THE CHANGING SOUTH --- New Welfare Programs Emory Via, Southern Regional Council
6:00 P.M.	DINNER
7:00 P.M.	NEW COLLECTIVE BARGAINING GOALS FOR YOUNG MEMBERS Paul Brinker, University of Oklahoma Henry Likes, Oklahoma State AFL-CIO J. Bill Becker, Arkansas State AFL-CIO

THURSDAY, June 18

7:45-8:45 A.M.	BREAKFAST
8:45-11:45 A.M.	LABOR FACES THE 1970 ELECTIONS J. Bill Becker, Arkansas State AFL-CIO
12:00 Noon	LUNCH
1:45-4:45 P.M.	REPORTS FROM DELEGATES LABOR HISTORY George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education
6:00 P.M.	DINNER

FRIDAY, June 19

7:45-8:45 A.M.	BREAKFAST
8:45-11:45 A.M.	REPORTS FROM DELEGATES LABOR HISTORY George T. Guernsey, AFL-CIO Department of Education
12:00 Noon	GRADUATION Speaker: Thurmond White, Vice President University of Oklahoma

AFL-CIO- Dept of Ed

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

June 22, 1970

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for making that hurried trip to Norman, Oklahoma. Next time, I hope you will come for at least two days.

I am enclosing a corrected copy of the mailing list.

Remember, you promised to send the delegates a copy of "The South Today" with a special article on welfare. Send me a copy of your covering letter.

I am off for a short vacationbut will check with you on the Tri-State school, August 2-7, and the Florida School, August 9-14, when I return. I am sorry you can't come to the school at Huntsville, Alabama.

Fraternally and Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

Enclosure

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 26, 1970

TO: Those who attended the Southwestern School for Young Workers.

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council.

Enclosed is a copy of South Today which has two articles related to welfare on pages 4 and 5. You may recall that at the end of my session with you, I promised to send this along. I hope that you will take time to read these brief articles.

I am sorry that my stay at the School was so limited, but altogether you looked like an outstanding group. I wish you well and for your continued constructive role in the union movement.

If I can ever by of assistance to you or your union please let me know.

MEMO FROM GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

File 1

September 23, 1970

Emory Via:

I would like your ideas returned to me no later than October 3.

George.

MERKLE PRESS INC.
832-6420

Energy

September 23, 1970

AFL-CIO Education

NOTES on MEETING WITH BARNEY WEEKS, SEPTEMBER 16,
Washington, D. C.

Ideas for the program for the Advanced Southern Labor School:

1. Get Richard Scanlan or Angus Campbell to speak on an indept analysis of the southern voter.

2. Report on the four young worker schools sponsored by the Southern Labor School in 1968 and 1970.

3. Show and discuss the North Carolina light show which was a report on state AFL-CIO activities used at the state convention.

4. Report on the housing projects that the Alabama AFL-CIO is sponsoring.

5. Plan a panel of activities at local community level including Billy Henderson, South Carolina, who worked on school desegregation in Hampton County, S. C.

6. Get Nat Goldfinger (no one else) for an analysis of a recession.

7. Jim Pierce on the work of the Share Croppers Fund and the migrant programs.

8. A program on organizing using Scott Hoyman, TWUA Southern Director; Harold McIver, IUD Coordinator in Charlotte, North Carolina; and James Craven, Director of the IWA Victory in Oklahoma and Arkansas.

9. A state-by-state report on the 1970 elections, including the COPE southern staff.

10. Consider Saul Miller to talk about AFL-CIO publications and how to use them.

11. Two special programs for international union representatives where the state body officers and the international representatives would meet separately.

These are suggested ideas for programs. The resources are incomplete. Please give me any additional ideas that you have.

George

George T. Guernsey

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Sunday by
Oct 5 !!
thanks!

September 25, 1970

Mr. George Guernsey
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815-16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear George:

Here are some suggestions for you to consider for the Advanced Labor School.

1. Take a new look at "Guaranteed Income in Practice" by having an interim report from the director of the pilot project in North Carolina. (This is a rural counterpart to the New Jersey experiment.) Details on who to ask can be had from Harold Watts, Director of the Institute for Reseach on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, or from Ray Munts, the Assistant Director.

2. What can unions do directly or indirectly to educate public management regarding collective bargaining? Are there ways to stimulate collegs and universities, personnel associations, civic groups, city councils, etc? There is a special need for this in the South and I do not feel that unions should rely soley on organizing and collective bargaining techniques.

3. The delivery of health services is, of course, coming in for a new round of attention. Any topic from National Health Insurance, the continuing problems of the poor and lower-middle class in getting health service, to reorganizing and reallocation of health resources. (For example, why transplants and
k kidney machines or probably even cancer research as against providing substantial fundamental health care for large numbers of people.)

4. The relation between ecological and environmental interest and the overwhelming need in the South for industrial and economic development. There are some excellent ecologists in the region, but I am sorry not to know someone who properly meld these two interests.

5. Some aspects of population studies, growth, and related problems. There is a man at the University of North Carolina Population Studies Center who had a good reputation. I do not know him as an adult educator. He is Moye W. Freymann.

6. Something on planning, whether it be regional, urban suburban, or rural. Again the University of North Carolina had a man of good reputation whom our Housing and Planning Director feels whould do a good job with an advanced labor school. He is David R. Godschalk, Editor of the Journal of the American Institue of Planners, Department of City and Regional Planning, New West Building, University of North Carolina.

7. New ideas in education. (As you know, better than most, some of them are quite old.) To some degree this would be an attempt to get labor leaders to go beyond the problems of desegregation to an interest in direct quality in education. It seems to me we might be talking about everything from philosophy, techniques, educational organization, to financing. I do not have a southern name to suggest but feel we could give you some help in uncovering a good person.

8. The development and problems caused by private segregated acadamies. Reese Cleghorn on our staff would be one good resources in this area.

9. Penal reform, including the need for significant job training and job placement services.

10. A general presentation on the South. You might want to look at Pat Watters book and consider him for a somewhat different session that you have had in the past on this topic. He has worked recently with NET on a film to present a look at the South for a more populat understanding.

Let me know if any of these are of special interest and if further assistance would be of use.

November 25, 1970

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815-16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear George:

Five copies of Gaston's book have already been sent to you with Gaston's signature affixed, and our invoice for $23.85.

Paul wished he could have spent more time with the Advanced Southern Labor School. Although it would be dangerous to let the participants know this, he found them to be good fellows indeed.

You will recall that you and I agreed to an honoraium for this undertaking. Will you please follow up on that. My program here will cover his expenses.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

December 1, 1970

DEC 7 REC'D

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a copy of the program for the Advanced Southern Labor School and a list of the delegates. Actually, the program Thursday and Friday took hold and gave us a good finish. I am enclosing a copy of Bob Eckhardt's speech and his study of the press. You ought to use him when you can.

I am forwarding the bill for the five books to Bill Becker. He will send you a check. I have also told Bill to send Gaston a $100 honorarium.

I spoke to Kim Pittman again and suggested he sit down and talk to you and Al.

Fraternally,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

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Enclosures

Get me that CWA question-
aire and the results soon.

December 16, 1970

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815-16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear George:

I am pleased that you were interested in our mailing our publications to CWA staff in the South. They also go to selected headquarters staff. The arrangement was worked out over a year ago through their education department. We agreed to at least a one year trial with the subscriptions paid for by the union.

Each person received the quarterly New South, the monthly South Today, and all of our other pamphlets and special reports.

We felt that they were good materials for people working in responsible positions in the South. It was our hope that they would:

1. Be useful in dealing with membership reactions to changing conditions

2. Assist the individual staff person in his own understanding of the region

3. At least keep the staff people informed about the availability of certain kinds of information.

We, SRC and the union, realized from the start that it was unlikely that any staff person would look at all the materials. However, we did think it important for them to see what is available and to be able to choose for more detailed reading

those things felt to be most relevant.

It is my fault that we did not provide an adequate way to follow up on the non-respondents to the questionnaire. In any case, I am pleased with the results.

A copy of a summary of the responses in enclosed.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

February 11, 1971

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

These are Barney's comments on the Advanced Southern Labor School. I thought you would be interested in a copy.

We are doing our mailing to the Advanced Southern Labor School delegates saying that you will send them a kit of materials. As soon as the letter goes out, I will send you a copy and you can follow-up.

Fraternally,

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

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Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

328-2164 • 1018 SOUTH EIGHTEENTH STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35205

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
DEC 11 1970

December 9, 1970

Mr. George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I am sorry that the accumulation of business when I returned to the office after the school has delayed my writing you about the school. I don't think there's any doubt at all that each year this Advanced Institute improves and that this was the best one we've held yet.

I think there were several things about the school that were unique and that contributed to its overwhelming success. I received more comment about thesession on new programs for state bodies with strong statements that we ought to have something like this every year. Of course, I realize the almost utter impossibility of coming up with a different presentation along the same lines each year, but if there's any way at all to work it in even if we have to bring state council officers from Washington and Oregon and Maine to do so, I believe it's a must.

I know your feelings on labor law in one of these schools and I certainly share them. I know you can't make labor attorneys out of every representative of organized labor, but this always goes over so good, attracts delegates and contributes to the overall enthusiasm. At the same time, it gives these people an opportunity to ask questions concerning some phases of labor law, the NLRB, etc. that are on their minds that they haven't been able to get answers for. Jim Youngdahl is the best one I've seen for this and I'm in favor of bringing him back again and again.

Although Professor Paul Gaston started off slow, he was great, and the school would not have been complete without him. I hope we can impress upon Nat Goldfinger the importance of him making more of these schools in person. He did an outstanding job and I hope that if you're able to get him back for another one that we can get him a little deeper involved with the students if he has a little more time.

Having Congressman Bob Eckhardt for the graduation was ideal and it's worth the expense that we try to do something like this each time.

Other subjects and instructors were equally good. I have only attempted to comment on some of the new things that we tried to do that I got so much favorable reaction from.

s/ Barney Weeks

MAR 4 1971

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Education Policy

February 16, 1971

President Nixon in his 1972 budget message proposes to consolidate federal funds available under present aid to education programs into block grants which would be made available to state authorities to spend as they see fit. The AFL-CIO regards this proposal as a blatant effort to repeal the wide range of federal aid to education legislation which was enacted with our complete and whole-hearted support during the years of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Among the hard won laws which would be destroyed are the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the impact aid program, all programs for the education of the handicapped, and the school lunch program. Funds from these programs would, under the Administration plan, be consolidated under a new bill, "The Education Assistance Act," which would provide block grants to the states "in four broad areas of national interest."

Existing programs of categorical aid, that is federal grants to state and local authorities for specific purposes spelled out by Congress in the legislation, came about as a part of a creative solution to specific problems.

State and local school authorities, while responsive to general needs, have tended to slight the serious educational needs of various minority groups, whether they be racial minorities, economically disadvantaged children, non-English speaking children or physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped children. Congress has sought to pinpoint these areas of neglect and correct them by providing specific grants to states and localities which can be used to meet these special needs and for no other purpose. Under the Administration proposal these federal funds would become diffused in the total school budget. Vocational education might very well fall back into the state of neglect which preceded the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Economically disadvantaged children could again become the victims of the superior political power of more affluent parents. Handicapped children might again find their needs ignored because their parents constitute a small minority in the community.

The Administration's block grant program solves no existing problems. It provides virtually no additional funds for education and would primarily consolidate existing funds. The total funding proposed, $3 billion for the first full year, is actually less than the present authorization simply for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

But the block grant program does open up the possibility of serious new problems. Block grants would reopen the difficult question of aid to non-public schools, an issue which would have to be separately resolved by each state. States would determine how the funds would be distributed, with no assurances that the critically pressed urban school systems would receive their fair share. The responsibility for using federal funds in non-discriminatory ways would fall upon the states, many of which have long-established records of school segregation and racial discrimination.

It is undoubtedly true that among existing categorical aid programs there is some overlapping and duplication of effort. The AFL-CIO would welcome sincere efforts to re-examine these programs with the aim of bringing about useful consolidation. But to eliminate the categorical programs altogether and to finance loosely restricted block grants to the states would be a step backward rather than forward. That we are not prepared to accept.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to firmly reject any educational block grant proposal of the Administration and to fulfill existing federal commitments by fully funding present programs at the levels of authorization which Congress itself deemed necessary.

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MAR 4 1971

February 26, 1971

TO: University Labor Education Advisory Committees

FROM: Walter G. Davis, Director of Education WGD.

I am enclosing for your information an extensive background paper dealing with the Nixon Administration's proposed changes in existing programs of federal aid for education. This paper was prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Education for the recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting.

I am also enclosing a copy of the policy statement adopted by the Council in response to the background paper.

I am sure that you will find both of these documents useful in thinking about these issues. If I can help you with any additional information about the materials covered, please let me know.

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Send a copy to each State Council director:

Thought this background paper from the AFL-CIO ~~on~~ education would be of interest to you

THE ADMINISTRATION ROLE IN EDUCATION

A Background Paper

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Education
for the AFL-CIO Executive Council
February, 1971

The Administration's strategy in education is becoming clearer as a result of the President's State of the Union message and his 1972 budget proposals. But the specific shape of the Administration plan will not become clear until a legislative proposal emerges.

Ambiguous and sometimes contradictory language in the budget message suggests that, as of this moment, the Administration itself is not clear as to how far it can go, but the general direction is by now quite evident. The Administration will try to move as far as possible in the direction of ending existing federal programs in education and shifting the funds which have been available under these programs into block educational grants which would be made available to state and local authorities to spend as they see fit.

In the words of the budget message: "An important element of the Administration's reform of federal grant programs will be a proposal to

adopt a new and expanded program of special revenue sharing for elementary and secondary education. This proposal will draw together the wide array of overlapping and confusing authorities for categorical grants into four broad areas of national interest."

United Press International reports that, subsequent to the budget message, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson explained that the Administration would seek to merge all of the various education acts into three new ones. According to Richardson, President Nixon will ask Congress to pass an "Educational Assistance Act" to consolidate all federal funding operations for public schools. The budget message indicates that the legislation would include the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the impact aid program, all programs for the education of the handicapped, and the school lunch program. A second new act, the "Education Renewal Act," according to Richardson, would cover all research, experimental and reform programs. Later, Richardson stated, the administration will present a third bill dealing with higher education.

These proposals have not suddenly emerged from nowhere. They are rather the latest phase in an education strategy which Mr. Nixon has been shaping since he assumed the presidency.

The Nixon proposals and their implications can best be understood in the framework of the past history of federal education legislation.

Achievements of the Kennedy-Johnson Years

During the years of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, a wide range of laws were passed making the federal government for the first time a full partner in financing education at every level ranging from early

childhood education, on through elementary and secondary education, higher education, and adult education. The AFL-CIO has played a major role in winning the passage of all of these laws which have improved the educational opportunities for all Americans, wherever they may live, whatever their income, race or creed.

The Head Start program authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act has been an innovative beginning in early childhood education that has stimulated the growth of other pre-kindergarten school and day care center programs.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, largest of the new federal programs, both in funds and in the number of students it serves, has brought new resources to bear in schools serving economically disadvantaged children, has provided funds for innovative educational programs, and placed textbooks and library books into schools where the former were outdated and in short supply and where the latter were frequently non-existent.

The Vocational Education Act and the 1968 amendments to it, drafted in considerable part as a result of efforts of the AFL-CIO, have brought substantial new funds into vocational education and, even more important, it has resulted in new flexibility of funds and a strong mandate that programs be realistically related to the world of work. To ensure the fulfillment of these goals, the law established strong national and state advisory committees.

The Higher Education Act has provided a wide range of student financial aid programs which have made higher education a reality for countless young people who could not otherwise have entered college. The act has also made it possible for colleges and universities, both public and private, to provide the new facilities needed to make higher education available to hundreds of thousands of students for whom there would otherwise have been no

room and, of particular importance, the act has stimulated the establishment of community colleges throughout the nation, bringing a wide range of college programs within commuting distance of the students they serve.

The "Cold War G. I. Bill" has opened up possibilities of higher education and job training for returning Viet Nam veterans. Former Senator Ralph Yarborough, chief sponsor of the bill, has publicly credited the AFL-CIO with being the only major national organization to give him help in securing its passage.

The Adult Education Act has expanded educational opportunities for adults, especially those seeking basic education. Other funds have become available for adult education through the Higher Education Act and the Manpower Training and Development Act.

These are only a few of the important legislative victories which the AFL-CIO has helped win in the field of education. Altogether these programs of federal support for education have had a significant effect. The acute teacher shortage of a few years ago has all but disappeared, and teacher salaries, although still below the earnings of many professionals, have improved in most areas. Educational innovation is flourishing as never before and throughout the nation dramatic new methods are being used to reach disadvantaged children who have been largely neglected by the schools of the past. Some of these methods have produced disappointing results, others have resulted in significantly improved student achievement. As a result of federal aid programs, there is now a wealth of experience from which educators can develop future programs.

Critical Needs Still Remain

Impressive as the progress has been, it must nevertheless be said that

the expectations of the educational community and of organized labor have not been fulfilled.

American education is still in a state of deepening crisis. On the one hand, the problems facing the schools have intensified. Virtually every city in America faces critical financial troubles; the costly problems of the inner-city have escalated and the tax resources have been drained away.

Adding to the erosion of tax resources has been the success which business and industry have experienced in reducing their share of the state and local tax burden. Figures compiled by the Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations show that in 1957, business taxes accounted for 34.2% of total state and local tax revenues. By 1967, the business community had reduced its share to 29.3%. If the business community had continued to maintain its relative share, the financially pressed state and local governments would have had another $4.5 billion in 1967 tax revenue, $3 billion of which would have been from the property tax which is the single most important source of public school financing.

At the very same time that educational costs have been rising sharply and that local and state tax crises have intensified, the federal government has been curtailing its commitments to share in the financing of education.

In fairness, it must be said that the process of cutting back on federal commitments to education had already begun before Mr. Nixon became President. President Lyndon Johnson will unquestionably be remembered in history for his ability to break through the century-old deadlocks which had frustrated efforts to legislate federal aid to education. It is nevertheless equally true that President Johnson did not always follow through

on the legislative victories which he had contributed so much toward winning. Never did President Johnson seek federal funding for education at the level of full authorization, and the AFL-CIO did not hesitate to criticize him for this failure.

Under President Nixon, however, the gap between legislative authorizations and funding have widened even more. Appropriations for 1966 under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act constituted 96% of the amount authorized under the legislation. For 1969 and 1970 appropriations were only 45% of authorization, and for 1971 they were 48% of authorization, a slight increase forced by Congress on a reluctant Administration.

Vocational education has suffered a similar fate. Appropriations for 1966 under the Vocational Education Act constituted 91% of full authorization. For 1969 appropriations were 52% of authorization, for 1970 they were only 45% of authorization, and for 1971 they were 46% of authorization.

Appropriations under the Higher Education Act were 91% of authorization for 1966. For 1969 they were only 48% of authorization and for 1970 they reached a low of 27% of authorization. For 1971 they rose slightly, against the wishes of the Administration, to 29% of authorization. (See table, p. 7)

Efforts in Congress to increase federal funds for education resulted in vetoes of the appropriation bills for both 1970 and 1971. "These increases," the President argued in the first of these veto messages, "are excessive in a period of serious inflationary pressures."

The very words indicating that education should bear the brunt of the fight against inflation, indicated the relatively low priority which the Administration has placed on education.

President Nixon had, in fact, been in office for over a year before he issued any message at all to Congress concerning education. That first

FUNDING HISTORY OF

THREE FEDERAL EDUCATION LAWS

(in thousands)

Statute	Year	Congressional Authorization	Budget Request	Congressional Appropriation	Appropriation as % of Authorization
Elementary & Secondary Education	1966	$ 1,329,300	$ 1,240,600	$ 1,271,450	96%
	1967	1,920,564	1,430,110	1,432,860	75%
	1968	2,776,636	1,707,000	1,641,157	59%
	1969	3,249,059	1,561,703	1,475,993	45%
	1970	3,615,727	1,525,876	1,614,398	45%
	1971	3,877,741	1,614,693	1,846,968	48%
Vocational & Adult Education	1966	$ 277,491	$ 260,041	$ 252,491	91%
	1967	349,991	287.952	297,416	85%
	1968	369,991	341,261	313,100	85%
	1969	592,091	322,156	304,591	52%
	1970	935,650	336,377	419,046	45%
	1971	1,073,150	440,046	494,196	46%
Higher Education	1966	$ 1,079,750	$ 522,808	$ 978,931	91%
	1967	1,134,950	383,950	1,173,551	103%
	1968	1,554,950	1,117,744	1,149,394	74%
	1969	1,694,377	733,677	806,353	48%
	1970	3,107,441	899,859	850,913	27%
	1971	3,387,620	857,525	967,880	29%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare

message, when it finally came on March 3, 1970, was entitled "Education Reform," and it provided the rational for his future efforts to limit federal spending for education and to scuttle most of the existing programs. The message consisted largely of sweeping generalizations about the supposed failures of federal programs in the field of education. "Most of them," the President said, "are not yet measurably improving the success of poor children in school."

The principal authority cited by the President as evidence of the failure was the Coleman report of 1966, Equal Educational Opportunity. There are two significant facts about this. One is that the Coleman report does not constitute any judgment whatever about the Elementary and Secondary Education Act because the survey upon which it is based was conducted in 1965, prior to the time that schools had received any funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Secondly, the central thesis of the Coleman report is that the one factor which most improves the learning of minority children is for them to be in racially balanced classrooms. Mr. Nixon in his message on Education Reform drew back from this conclusion. He used the Coleman report to discredit existing federal programs which it had not considered and then he rejected the central findings of the report.

The presidential message on Education Reform introduced other notes which have been key elements in the education plans of the Administration. Charging that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act had not fulfilled the promises of its supporters, the President called for greatly increased educational research, "fundamental studies that should lead to far-reaching reforms before going ahead with major new expenditures for 'more of the same.'"

Arguing that past federal support for education was based upon dollars, not reform, Mr. Nixon said, "Somehow it seemed reasonable to assume that the amount of dollars invested in education was all that really mattered." Precisely who ever made such an assumption is not clear. Certainly it was not the authors of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act who authorized under Title III more than half a billion dollars specifically earmarked to fund innovative and exemplary education programs.

Although the President took pains to demolish assumptions that no one ever assumed, he carefully avoided discussing the most reasonable assumption of all, namely that the existing federal programs have not completely succeeded for the simple reason that none of them have ever been funded at the level Congress determined was necessary to fulfill their purposes.

Mr. Nixon called for the establishment of a National Institute of Education to undertake major research projects. We know so little about what makes good education, he suggested, that more research is needed before increasing expenditures. The New York Times editorially likened this to telling a drowning man that you will try to rescue him as soon as you can find out why he can't swim.

In line with the views set forth in the message on Education Reform, the Administration proceeded to establish a series of task forces, commissions, and study projects. These appear to be excuses for delaying necessary funding rather than significant searches for facts.

Among these study groups was the Task Force on Urban Education, chaired by Wilson Riles of California, which reported that federal expenditures of between $5 billion and $7 billion a year were needed just to meet the needs of the large urban school systems. The report has been totally unheeded and

never even officially released.

Another study group is the President's Commission on School Finance charged with making a study of long-range financial needs of both public and non-public schools. The commission was instructed to have its report ready in the Spring of 1972, which, of course, is after the President will have submitted the budget for the last year of this Administration.

A Task Force on Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is expected to report in the summer of 1971, after the President will have presumably introduced his proposed legislation to dismantle the entire ESEA program.

And while these and other task forces go on with their work, Mr. Nixon and Administration spokesmen continue to support more research rather than necessary funds.

There is an abundance of research which has already been completed but which remains unused. Mention has already been made of the never-issued report of the Task Force on Urban Education. The two-volume report of the Task Force on Occupational Training in Industry, jointly sponsored by the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce, has been ignored and finally scrapped altogether. The list could be extended at length. The computerized ERIC information retrieval system established by the U. S. Office of Education has gathered together a prodigious amount of research which is accessible to anyone who wants to use it. Unquestionably there is a great deal of educational research which still needs to be done, but the Administration could utilize the findings of research which has already been completed.

Higher Education

Shortly after his message on Education Reform, Mr. Nixon issued a

second message to Congress, this one dealing with Higher Education. In the message, the President expressed commendable concern for the problem of providing greater financial assistance to low-income students, but he proposed to do so by ending federal aid programs which had been benefiting other students and which had provided desperately needed federal funds for the construction of higher education facilities.

Higher education is in a state of crisis. Enrollment has increased by an average of 9% a year for the last decade and it will continue to increase for the foreseeable future. Costs have gone up while federal funds and private contributions have decreased. Tuition and required fees in higher education have more than doubled during the past ten years and they continue to rise. Four years at the average state university costs $6,000 and as much as twice that for students from outside the state. At private universities a four-year education can cost as much as $18,000 to $20,000. This means that students from moderate income families are increasingly finding the costs of higher education an intolerable burden.

In the face of this situation, President Nixon proposes to concentrate student aid programs entirely on low-income students. He has asked for an end to subsidized interest on student loans for all except low-income students and, for the first time, he would require students to pay interest on loans for the years during which they are in school. The result could well cost thousands of dollars to a union family trying to put its sons and daughters through school.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 provided a variety of student aid programs designed to realistically meet the financial needs of a wide range of students. The Administration has been determinedly whittling away at these,

and especially at those which are most helpful to union families.

The Administration, despite the increasing college population, has also called for an end to federal grants for the construction of higher education facilities. It is a measure of the Administration's lack of concern for federal aid to higher education that appropriations under the Higher Education Act for 1971 are only 29% of full authorization, and even this figure was more than President Nixon wanted.

The Administration and School Desegregation

The record of the Administration on school desegregation is one of compromise, vacillation and political expediency. While the President has frequently talked of his commitment to enforcing the law, he has failed to give leadership on this issue.

The exercise of the power to terminate federal school funds, provided by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, was abandoned after the first six months of this Administration. The burden of enforcing the law was shifted to the courts and delaying tactics soon surfaced.

Early in July, 1969, the Attorney General and the Secretary of HEW eased the guidelines to extend the September, 1969, deadline for compliance if "bonafide educational and administrative problems" warranted delay. A month later, Secretary Finch intervened in a school suit to ask delay in the withdrawal of HEW approval of plans for 33 school districts in Mississippi. (Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education.) For the first time since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the federal government aligned itself with the recalcitrant southern school districts. When the case reached the Supreme Court, the Court, in a unanimous decision, told the South and the Administration

that the time for delaying was over.

Again, in the case involving the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, the Justice Department joined with the school board in appealing a federal court decision ordering the board to take positive steps to bring about racial balance in the schools. (Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education.) In presenting the government brief, the U. S. Solicitor argued that "the 14th Amendment does not require as a matter of law racial balance in all public schools or integration of every all-white or all-Negro school."

On March 24, 1970, President Nixon issued a major policy statement on school desegregation. The President declared his support for the various court decisions outlawing de jure school segregation, but he took great pains to distinguish between de jure segregation, segregation arising out of state or local laws, and de facto segregation, segregation arising as a result of neighborhood housing patterns.

"In the case of genuine de facto segregation, "Mr. Nixon said, "school authorities are not constitutionally required to take any positive steps to correct the imbalance... Residential housing patterns may result in the continued existence of some all-Negro schools even in a system which fully meets constitutional standards. But in any event, local school officials may, if they so choose, take steps beyond the constitutional minimums to diminish racial separation."

The President went on to suggest that special weight should be given to "the special needs of racially-impacted schools where de facto segregation persists and where immediate infusions of money can make a real difference in terms of educational effectiveness."

This statement is, of course, in direct contradition to other statements of the President who has taken great pains to argue that spending more money doesn't make any real difference in educational effectiveness. If spending more money will improve the effectiveness of de facto segregated schools, it would seem that more money would provide even greater effectiveness in integrated schools.

Education and Private Enterprise

While the Administration has been seeking to cut back the federal role in financing education, it has also been seeking ways of increasing the role of private enterprise in the field of education, particularly through the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U. S. Office of Education.

One of the devices by which federal funds are being used to increase the role of private enterprise is through performance contracting. Under this kind of arrangement, school systems contract out certain parts of their curriculum -- most often reading and mathematics -- to private enterprise firms, with the level of payment depending upon the contractor bringing students up to pre-determined levels of achievement.

The Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity have both encouraged the development of performance contracting. Among the first performance contracts was one funded by the Office of Education between the Texarkana, Arkansas, Board of Education and Dorsett Educational Systems, Inc. Recently, OEO funded $6.5 million worth of performance contracts involving 18 school districts and six private corporations.

Even before it was under way, the Texarkana-Dorsett program was hailed as a major breakthrough in education, but a team evaluating the project

discovered that the Dorsett firm had been seeking to increase its profits by teaching pupils the answers to test questions which were being used to determine the level of payment. As a result of these irregularities, the Texarkana School Board announced that it would not renew its contract with Dorsett.

An even more drastic departure from public control of education is the voucher plan which is being promoted through the Office of Economic Opportunity. Under the voucher plan, all parents would receive education vouchers for each of their children: they could then enroll their children in any school of their choice, public or non-public, and use the vouchers to pay the tuition. The school would then submit the vouchers to obtain reimbursement.

At least two presidential advisers, Roger Freeman and Donald Rumsfeld, have strongly urged trying the voucher plan in a few selected communities. Both Freeman and Rumsfeld opposed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act when it was first passed by Congress.

Although the voucher plan has been proposed as a way of improving educational opportunity for children from low-income families, it would solve no old problems but would bring new chaos. Hardsell hucksters could promote their private educational ventures with the reckless disregard for facts now used by the makers of detergents. Alleged religious sponsorship could become the excuse for increasing numbers of racially segregated schools. Costly and tragic damage could be done to the public schools unable to compete with the glittering promises of private enterprise educational salesmen, greedy for a lion's share of vouchers.

Teaching to the test, as happened in Texarkana, is only one of the devious

practices encouraged by performance contracting and voucher plans. Many critics see teaching to the middle as another. So far this particular problem has not been discovered in existing performance contracts, but it would be most surprising if it is not revealed in future contract evaluations. The principle is very simple. If compensation depends upon results, then teaching energy becomes concentrated where it will get the most results. Children who are doing badly need a maximum amount of attention if they are to pass their tests. Children who do well will presumably pass the test one way or another. So, in order to maximize profits, teaching energy is directed to students in the middle.

This is not a new phenomenon. Ontario from 1876 to 1882 used a system of "payment by results," with financial aid from the province depending on the number of students who passed their final examination. Charles Philips, the distinguished Canadian historian of education has described the results:

> The effect was, of course, to narrow all school efforts to the cramming of content most likely to be tested in the subjects prescribed for examination. The system also caused teachers to concentrate on the average and slightly below-average pupils, with whom their efforts would pay dividends through a larger percentage of passes, and to neglect other students -- the bright because they would pass anyway, the dull because they were hopeless or at best a poor risk in terms of expenditure of time.

Donald Rumsfeld, when he was director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and one of the most vocal supporters of private enterprise education schemes, repeatedly protested that all he wants is to conduct some experiments along these lines. He seems to hold that the government ought to be willing to try anything at least once, even if the subjects of the experiment are children and not guinea pigs.

When one contemplates an experiment he does not proceed blindly to gather data. He develops a hypothesis and tries to anticipate the probable and possible consequences. America has the theoretical ability to test out various biological warfare devices on the surface of the moon, but few scientists would be mad enough to try it because the probable consequences are so terrible that they overweigh any possible knowledge that might ensue.

In the framework of the general Nixon Administration strategy of using the need for research as an excuse for putting off necessary funding, there is another significant aspect of the voucher plan. The crisis in education is immediate and it is nationwide. Nothing in the voucher plan is addressed to this crisis. What is being proposed is a five to eight year trial demonstration of the voucher plan for a few thousand students in a small handful of communities. Even if the trial demonstrations were to produce useful information, it would be at least ten years before that information could be put to general use. The voucher plan is therefore another device which is calculated to delay the day when the federal government measures up to its full responsibility in the field of education.

Block Grants

In his 1972 budget message, President Nixon has set forth the next steps in his educational strategy. They constitute nothing less than the complete dismantling of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the federally impacted aid program, the education for the handicapped programs, and the school lunch program.

Already in his 1970 message on Education Reform, the President charged that the federal government has not had a cohesive educational policy, that "federal education programs are largely fragmented and disjointed." At that time he promised to "recommend to the Congress plans for consolidation of

grants into packages that are truly useful to states and localities receiving them."

In the 1972 budget, the Administration proposes "to draw together this wide array of overlapping and contradictory authorizations into a new special revenue sharing program for elementary and secondary education."

Mr. Nixon proposes to fund this educational block grant program at three billion dollars for its first year. This amount for the total funding package is actually less than the present authorization just for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The specifics of this revenue sharing proposal will become clearer, presumably, when new legislation is introduced which will, according to Secretary Richardson, merge the various education acts into two new ones, an "Educational Assistance Act," to consolidate all federal funding operations for public schools and an "Educational Renewal Act" to cover all research, experimental and reform programs.

It is unlikely that the Administration proposal to put existing programs of categorical aid into block grants will be received with favor by Congress, and there is good reason for this. Categorical aid consists of federal grants to state and local authorities for specific purposes spelled out by Congress in the legislation. Funds for the school lunch program, for example, can be used only for a school lunch program and nothing else. Under the Nixon proposals, a local school board would be able to transfer the funds which it has been receiving for the school lunch program to its textbook funds.

Categorical aid programs did not happen simply by accident. They came about as a part of a creative solution to specific problems.

One of the most critical of the problems which gave rise to categorical

aid was the century old impasse over federal aid to education. There was for years a general recognition in Congress and among the champions of education that federal aid to the schools was necessary. The problem became more intense in the years following World War II with the enormous increase in school age population. Between 1940 and 1970 school enrollment has jumped from 28 million pupils to over 52 million pupils. This mushrooming growth placed unmanageable strains on local school authorities, particularly in areas where there were meager sources for additional state and local tax revenue.

There were a long series of efforts in Congress to enact programs of general aid to education. But each time, the legislation floundered over the question of what to do about the non-public schools. There were those who argued that federal aid to parochial schools would constitute government subsidization of religion in violation of the Constitution. Others were equally determined that they would oppose any program of federal aid which did not include aid to non-public schools within its scope.

By shifting the emphasis from general aid to education to one of categorical aid for specific programs, Congress was at last able to break through the impasse. The National Defense Education Act of 1958, passed during the Eisenhower Administration, was one of the first applications of the principle of categorical aid. It established financial assistance to both public and non-public schools to upgrade their teaching in mathematics, foreign languages, and science and later in a wider range of "secular" subjects. This approach was successful in satisfying both the public and non-public school adherents.

A similar approach proved successful when the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 was passed. This legislation made federal assistance

available to church related institutions of higher education, provided the funds were used for the construction of facilities used only for secular purposes.

Building on this experience, Congress shaped the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with the strong support of organized labor. By using the categorical approach, Congress was able to achieve an intricate balance between what had historically been conflicting interests. If the legislation was not perfect, it at least succeeded in resolving a century old impasse in a way that met urgent needs without doing violence to the American principle of separation of church and state.

Under the Administration block grant proposal it would remain for each state to determine how much, if any, and what kind of aid would go to the non-public schools. Inevitably the old public-parochial school controversy would flare up again, as it has already done in those communities in which school boards have held public hearings on the Administration's voucher plan. The Washington Star on January 31, 1971, quotes an HEW official as saying, "We thought the church-state issue was laid to rest five years ago, but all that may change now with revenue sharing."

Too much progress has been made in shaping a workable program of federal support for education to endanger it by reopening old wounds that have apparently healed.

There is a second important reason why categorical programs have come about. Congress has reacted to certain specific educational needs for the very reason that, important though they are, they have in the past been largely neglected by state and local authorities. It is the assumption of the Administration's block grant proposal that state and local authorities

are better able to establish priorities for spending available funds according to needs than is the federal government.

There is abundant evidence that this is not always true. State and local authorities inevitably make decisions in terms of the various social and political pressures around them and these pressures are not necessarily consonant with the needs. A conspicuous example of this is the deplorable state of affairs which existed with regard to vocational education in most school systems prior to the enactment of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It is an unmistakeable conclusion that the parents of college-bound students carried more political weight with school authorities than did the parents of vocational students. In writing the Vocational Education Act, Congress was thereby in a sense helping to correct this political imbalance.

In drafting Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Congress reacted to the mounting evidence that in most school systems there was no meaningful equality of educational opportunity between schools serving economically disadvantaged children and those serving children of the middle and upper class. School boards everywhere had tended to be most responsive to the political power of the more affluent parents. Congress responded by directing that Title I ESEA funds be used exclusively to meet the educational needs of economically disadvantaged children.

A similar situation has given rise to federal programs to aid in the education of the handicapped. Handicapped children have serious needs for special educational programs, but these needs had been largely neglected because their parents constitute a small minority in the community. Their appeals to school officials for help had been drowned out by the understandable concern of the large majority of parents of non-handicapped children that

what funds were available be used to improve the schooling of their own children. Again Congress helped to restore a kind of political balance by granting funds which could only be used to aid the education of handicapped children.

An illustration of a well working program which could be seriously imperiled by the Administration's block grant proposal is the school lunch program. The funds for this program are among those which the Administration would put into the block grants, permitting school authorities to use the money for other purposes.

The relationship between learning and good nutrition has been firmly established. The 1970 amendments to the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act make it possible for every poor child to receive free school lunches. Even so there are still 18,000 schools serving 10 million children in which school authorities have failed to participate in the lunch program. The school lunch program is specifically designed to meet needs of disadvantaged children. There is already abundant evidence that in many school districts the funds for this program, if placed into block grants, would be diverted to other purposes which were more politically popular.

School authorities in general welcome categorical aid because it permits them to plan constructive, creative and needed programs free of the political pressures which might otherwise destroy them.

Finally, there is a third reason that categorical aid programs have been established and that is that the national interest in a specific educational problem may transcend local interests. The National Defense Education Act, for example, was adopted in considerable part because it was more important to the nation to have an increased number of scientists and

technicians than it was to individual school districts. As a nation we have a concern which is greater than that of localities that there be more doctors and nurses. Categorical aid programs have been one of the ways in which this national interest has been expressed and supported.

It is undoubtedly true that among existing categorical aid programs there is some overlapping and even duplication of effort. The AFL-CIO would welcome efforts to examine these programs with the aim of bringing about useful consolidation. But to do away with the categorical programs altogether and put the money into block grants to the states would be a step backward rather than a step forward. It would channel the funds where the political pressures are greatest rather than where the need is greatest. It would reopen the church-state controversy in a way that could only be harmful to the cause of American education. And it could destroy the progress which we have made up to now.

In reviewing the Administration's education program, the AFL-CIO speaks from a background of more than one-hundred and fifty years of demonstrated concern by organized labor for the public schools.

Early in the nineteenth century, workers became convinced that the responsibilities of a democratic society made it essential that all citizens be educated. The Workingmen's Party, organized in New York in 1829, included as one of the principal planks in its platform a demand for a school system "that shall unite under the same roof the children of the poor man and the rich."

The children of union members constitute a substantial part of America's school population. Concern for their own children and concern for their nation has led union members to serve on hundreds of school boards throughout the nation and led local and state labor bodies to work tirelessly to win better

financial support for the schools. This concern was formalized at the founding convention of the AFL-CIO which included in its Constitution as a statement of one of its major goals its "interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels."

The AFL-CIO therefore approaches the Administration education proposals from the perspective of a deep historical commitment. In the light of this perspective, the Administration appears intent upon the destruction of the constructive gains which have been won over the past years.

March 4, 1971

Mr. Walter G. Davis
AFL-CIO Education Department
815-16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Walter:

Thanks for sending the copy of the background paper on the Federal Government's Relation to Education and the Executive Council's policy statement.

Would you please send me ten (10) extra copies of each.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

March 15, 1971

MAR 19 1971

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am happy that you found the background paper on the Administration Role in Education useful, and I am sending you the ten extra copies which you requested.

You may also be interested in seeing my report on the Office of Education Regional meeting in Philadelphia, a copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Jack

John A. Sessions
Assistant Director of Education

JS/bt
Enclosures
opeiu#2 afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

March 22, 1971

MAR 24 1971
MAR 25 1971

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I thought the March issue of THE SOUTH TODAY was quite good.

If you can spare 50 copies, I would be glad to mail them to some of the key people in our summer schools who may not see the paper. If they subscribe to this separately, what does it cost?

Have you heard from any of the delegates from the Advanced Southern Labor School?

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

File

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

March 24, 1971

Mr. John A. Sessions
Assistant Director of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jack:

Thanks for sending me extra copies of the background papers of the Administration's Role in Education, and for your own report of the office of education regional meeting. It would please me greatly if you would share with me any future reports dealing with problems of education.

My thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

March 24, 1971

Mr. George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Guernsey:

Enclosed are fifty copies of the March Issue of South Today. The subscription cost for one year is $2.50 and for $7 per year subscribers can receive copies of South Today (monthly tabloid paper), New South (quarterly publication), and all special reports of the Council.

Mr. Via is not in the office today but as soon as he returns you will be receiving further correspondence regarding the delegates from the Advanced Southern Labor School.

I trust that persons in your summer schools will find South Today interesting as well as informative.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Resources Development Center

HAROLD BAUMAN, Treasurer
Workman's Circle

40 Marietta St., N.W. Suite 1422

ORGANIZED LABOR and WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

Awards Banquet

E. T. KEHRER, Treasurer
AFL-CIO

Atlanta, Ga. 30303 525-8549

CO-CHAIRMEN

T. D. ARCHER
Building Trades Council

NICK BONANNO
Ladies Garment Workers

OMA BARTON
Amalgamated Clothing Workers

ROY BOND, JR.
Machinists' Union

SAMSON GARRETT
Laborers Union

GEORGE CAUDELLE
Building Trades Council

ED COUCH
Plasterers Union

BUD CROSS
Carpenters Union

TRUITT CRUNKLETON
Bookbinders Union

IRVING GORDON
Workmen's Circle

HERBERT C. GREEN
United Auto. Workers

JAMES HAMPTON
Chemical Workers

DAVE HERMAN
Hotel & Restaurant Workers

JAMES HOWARD
State, County & Municipal Employees

JOSEPH JACOBS
Jewish Labor Committee

W. N. JENKINS
Retail Clerks

MARION LEE
Plumbers Union

HERBERT MABRY
State AFL-CIO

GID PARHAM
Teamsters

OLIVER SINGLETON
A.F.L.-C.I.O.

ROY WILLIAMS
Meat Cutters

JOHN WRIGHT
Central Labor Council

MARTHA TRUE
Communication Workers

Partial List

E. L. ABERCROMBIE, Chairman
Laundry Workers Union

Please make out interest payment form.

April 12, 1971

APR 15 1971

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to the annual Labor Awards Banquet, Wednesday, May 12, 1971, to be held at the Regency Hyatt House.

The dinner will be in honor of President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland and the members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, who will be meeting in Atlanta during this period.

"Labor Man of the Year" awards will be presented to R. E. Shadix, Regional Director of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and to Weldon Mathis, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 728.

A reception for the honorees, and for members of the Executive Council will be at 7 p. m., with dinner at 8 p. m.

Proceeds from the dinner will go toward expansion of the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University.

Since Tickets will undoubtedly be quickly sold out, you are urged to mail the enclosed reservation form together with your check at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely and fraternally,

E. L. Abercrombie

E. L. Abercrombie,
Chairman

P. S. Table reservations may be requested in blocks of ten.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

File

April 13, 1971

APR 15 1971

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We are working on another young workers school to be held in the Southeast at Nashville, Tennessee. I am enclosing several folders on it. If you know any young members of AFL-CIO unions that you could send this to, send it in a hurry. I would appreciate it.

I think we should have approximately 18 to 25 delegates.

Do you think it would be possible for John Lewis to spend a day at the school? Maybe just being part of the group, maybe I could work him into the program?

I will be on vacation until the 19th of April and will call you about this on that date.

Fraternally,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio
Dictated but not read

J.L. 25, 6, 7

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

Gene: what happened? E.M.

DATE: October 22, 1971

TO: Emory Via

OCT 26 1971

FROM: E. T. Kehrer

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS: GS

See if this will xerox — let me have copy of 15th page even if rest won't print.

Thanks

(Revised August 4, 1971)

Estimated Construction Employment - Total and Nonwhite
Atlanta Area
1960 and 1970

Occupation	1960 Total	1960 Nonwhite	1970 Total	1970 Nonwhite	
Total Construction Industry: All Occupations	26,469	6,065	41,472	9,501	22%
Boilermakers	12	0	20	0	
Carpenters	3,811	294	4,801	370	
Cranemen, Hoistmen, etc.	111	12	182	20	
Electricians	944	13	1,604	22	
Plumbers & Pipe Fitters	1,120	81	1,504	108	
Tinsmiths, Coppersmiths and Sheetmetal Workers	279	5	439	7	
Masons, Tile Setters, etc.	1,713	628	2,272	883	
Painters and Paperhangers	1,712	269	2,051	322	
Glaziers	78	12	55	9	
Plasterers	282	239	247	209	
Cement, Concrete Finishers	267	226	426	361	
Structural Metal Workers	138	9	222	15	
Asbestos, Insulator Workers	54	INA	80	INA	
Excavating, Grading Machine Operators	887	INA	1,287	INA	
Roofers and Slaters	223	INA	314	INA	
Craftsmen and Kindred, N.E.C.	154	17	284	31	
Drivers and Deliverymen	884	325	1,218	448	
All Other Occupations	13,800	INA	24,466	INA	

Source: 1960 Total Construction Employment and occupational distribution based on Table 125 of 1960 Census of Population. The total nonwhite employment in construction was taken from Table 129.

The nonwhite distribution by occupation in 1960 was based on the nonwhite percentage shown for employment by occupation in Table 122. The 1970 nonwhite distribution was based on the same percentage used in 1960.

Georgia Department of Labor
Employment Security Agency
Manpower Resources Section

August 11, 1971

Mr. William U. Norwood, Jr.
Regional Manpower Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Norwood:

We have received complaints from Atlanta area contractors and construction craftsmen unions that quotas for the hiring of nonwhite construction craftsmen imposed by the U. S. Department of Labor upon Atlanta area contractors are unrealistically high and constitute an undue burden on the employers because qualified workers simply are not available.

These quotas apparently were based on estimates prepared by the Georgia Agency at the request of the Regional Office and submitted by Mrs. Maria Mallet at the OFCC hearing held in Atlanta March 31, April 1 and 2, 1971. We have reviewed the estimates and find that the data submitted in Exhibit E for employment of nonwhite construction craftsmen were indeed far too high for most occupations!

Our over-estimating employment of nonwhite construction craftsmen can be blamed in large part on the crisis manner in which the U. S. Department of Labor attempted to obtain these data and on the unclear instructions that were furnished this Agency. This is not the first instance that we have had to furnish minority data for OFCC use that were of doubtful validity and for which we received no instructions or inadequate instructions. In some cases employers were instructed to come to us for minority data, but we had not even been informed that we were going to be asked for such information.

A review of the correspondence, methodology and other circumstances pertaining to the estimates is in order.

On April 8, 1970, our Research and Analysis Section received a telegram from the Regional Office requiring within 30 days projections of occupational requirements for the construction industry for Georgia and Atlanta. Procedures and background information for making the projections were to be mailed directly from Washington shortly. On April 13, 1970, we called the Regional Office to inquire about the procedures. We were told the methodology would be mailed that day. It was not received until April 22, 1970, although dated April 16. On April 23, we received corrections to the procedure by telephone.

August 11, 1971

Mr. William U. Norwood, Jr.

Your letter 4 MG-MBR dated Wednesday, April 29, 1970, with instructions attached directed this Agency to prepare a great deal of data on minority employment in the construction industry in Atlanta for an OFCC hearing. We were instructed to bring the data to the Regional Office the following Monday. This left little time for preparation and review of the data.

Nine persons were engaged in hastily gathering and preparing minority data for the Regional Office meeting Monday, May 4, 1970. Other persons were involved in typing and proofreading. No time was available for checking out every detail. The miscalculation that caused the faulty nonwhite estimates for the 1971 hearing was in the data for 1960 hand delivered to the Regional Office May 4, 1970. Updating the estimates for the 1971 hearing simply carried the basic error over. In explaining the error below, we are using the electrician occupation as an example.

The Atlanta Plan states on page 12 that "there are substantial numbers of non-union employees and self-employed minorities currently employed throughout the [construction] industry, including 435 electricians...". The U. S. Department of Labor may have updated the incorrect data we furnished in Exhibit E. Our estimate for 1970, as stated above, was an update of the 1960 error.

The 1960 estimate for nonwhite electricians was obtained by taking 21.4 percent of the 944 construction electricians. This produced an estimate of 202 nonwhite electricians in construction, compared to the 25 nonwhite electricians for all industries shown in the 1960 Census.

The error was due to our interpretation of the instructions attached to your letter 4 MG-MBR dated April 29, 1970, under Table 2, item 2 on page 2 that a constant ratio of 21.4 percent for nonwhites computed from Census total employment in all industries should be applied to each selected construction occupation. These instructions are quoted below:

> "2. <u>Nonunion Minority Workers, Selected Occupations - Total.</u>
>
> Tables 125 and 129 of 1960 Census of Population (appropriate State volume) provide data on the total number of workers in specific occupations who are employed in construction. Estimate the number of nonwhite construction workers in 1960 in each selected occupation on the basis of total employed all industries who were nonwhite, as shown in Table 122."

Table 122 of the 1960 Census gives the following information for total employment in all industries in the Atlanta SMSA.

August 11, 1971

Mr. William U. Norwood, Jr.,

	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Employment, all races	395,190	250,180	145,010
Nonwhite	84,565	47,198	37,367
Percent of Total	21.4	18.9	25.8

Table 122 also provides data for employment of men, but not of women, in a number of craftsmen occupations. The data for electricians employed in all industries, including construction, are:

Employment of electricians, all races	1,801
Nonwhite	25
Percent of Total	1.4

The percent that nonwhites are in each selected occupation should be used for that occupation instead of a constant ratio that was derived from data that included men, women, teenagers, laborers, farmers, domestic servants, and every other occupation as well as construction craftsmen.

If the correct percent of 1.4 for electricians were applied, the number of nonwhite construction electricians in 1970 would be 22 instead of the 333 shown in Exhibit E. This is a far cry from the 435 said to be available in the Atlanta plan.

However, in order to test the actual availability of electricians, extensive recruiting has been intensified in the Atlanta area by contractors. This includes listing jobs with the GTES offices combined with the planned use of paid newspaper want ads.

We are sending a copy of this letter and revised Exhibit E to Mr. Arthur A. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, for his use.

Sincerely,

Walter O. Brooks, Director
Employment Security Agency
Georgia Department of Labor

Attachment: Exhibit E, Revised 8/4/71

cc: Mr. Arthur A. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor
Mr. John L. Wilks, Director
Office of Federal Contract Compliance

(Revised August 4, 1971)

Estimated Construction Employment - Total and Nonwhite
Atlanta Area
1960 and 1970

Occupation	1960 Total	1960 Nonwhite	1970 Total	1970 Nonwhite	
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Georgia Department of Labor
Employment Security Agency
Manpower Resources Section

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

November 16, 1971

File - Courtesy

BA

What are we doing on this? as far as I know - not anything

BA

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a clipping on the black vote in Mississippi in the last election which appeared in the New York Times November 15.

Does John Lewis have anything on this problem? If so, I would appreciate any material.

I see Pat Waters' book "Climbing Jacobs Ladder" is out in high-price paperback. I amy put a few copies in Guernsey's underground bookstore. Is the Southern Regional Council going to handle sales on the book at a discount? Maybe some of the state bodies would consider buying it.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio
Enclosure

MEMO FROM

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

March 14, 1972

Emory:

I thought you would be interested in this announcement of the renewal of the grant to the Lee County Clinic.

Allen Noah represented the Clinic at our meeting in Hot Springs.

I am also enclosing the story from the New York Times.

George

MERKLE PRESS INC.
832-6420

from
the
Office
of
Economic
Opportunity

JW. BA BO
Please return to EV

MARCH 1, 1972 MAR 16 1972

ARKANSAS HEALTH CLINIC GETS OEO SUPPORT TO SERVE 10,000 RURAL POOR

Ambulatory health care will be furnished to approximately 10,000 rural poor persons residing in Lee County, Arkansas, under a grant announced today by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

#60080/01

OEO Director Phillip V. Sanchez stated that the $1,201,692 grant to the Lee County Cooperative Clinic in Marianna, is for 18 months. The clinic will demonstrate how family-oriented medical care can benefit the poor by providing services to improve and maintain good health continuously, instead of just during times of medical crisis.

Three health care teams will provide clinic medical care and Lee Memorial Hospital and the University of Arkansas Medical Center will be used for hospitalization and special medical services.

Mid-level practitioners, like nurse clinicians and child health associates, will be used to allow for maximum use of physician manpower. Environmental health education is an important component of the program.

Mr. Olly Neal, Jr. is the project director.

####

a 72-191

NEWS
from
the
Office
of
Economic
Opportunity

PRESS ADVISORY

In announcing the grant for the Lee County Cooperative Clinic Phillip V. Sanchez, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, pointed out that the grant is not intended to further exacerbate tensions within the Lee County community. Instead, Mr. Sanchez said, the program will provide a means of continuing urgently needed quality health services for the poor, while simultaneously facilitating closer and broader community ties. Mr. Sanchez pledged the support of OEO in using the program as a vehicle in assuring a total community effort to the mutual benefit of all Lee County citizens.

-30-

3/1/72

Lee County Clinic's Strength Is Giving Poor a Voice, Doctor Says

By JEROL GARRISON
Of the Gazette Staff

The strength of the Lee County Co-operative Clinic at Marianna rests in the fact that the poor people of Lee County have a voice in its operation, Dr. Irwin Redlener, the Clinic's medical co-ordinator, said Monday.

Dr. Redlener said the Clinic differed from most clinics set up to provide free medical care to the poor in that "it is actually run by a board elected by the patient population — the poor people — through neighborhood action councils."

"The poor in Lee County feel that the Clinic is their clinic, and they are right about that," Dr. Redlener said. "They don't want it to leave, and we are just going to be here one way or the other."

Dr. Redlener was interviewed by telephone on the role of the Clinic in Lee County. He is to address the pediatric faculty and students of the University of Arkansas Medical School at 8 a.m. today on that topic.

The Clinic caused a hostile reaction from the medical profession of Lee County when it was established in March 1970 and recently some whites have blamed staff members of the Clinic for causing racial dissension in the county. Lee County has been plagued with racial troubles and a six-member task force appointed by Governor Bumpers is seeking to mediate the issues.

The Lee County Co-operative Clinic is an experiment in socialized medicine in an area of extreme poverty. Dr. Redlener, one of two doctors on the Clinic's 24-member staff, said it was understandable that some members of the "Establishment" were upset.

"The Clinic represents a successful effort on the part of the poor black community to define and solve its own medical needs above and beyond the traditional relationship it has had with the Establishment," he said.

Poor blacks in Lee County have been able, for the first time, to solve one of their own basic needs "without having to depend on the Establishment to give them something," Dr. Redlener said. He said he could understand how this could be regarded as "a threat to the status quo."

The federal Office of Economic Opportunity provides 80 per cent of the funds for the operating Clinic and the remainder comes from other contributors. Dr. Redlener said government aid was the only way the medical needs of the county could be met because of the widespread poverty.

Of the 18,884 residents of Lee County about 13,500 qualify as indigents under antipoverty guidelines established by the OEO and are eligible for free medical care and drugs at the Clinic, Dr. Redlener said. For a family of four, this means a nonfarming income of less than $4,000 or a farming income of less than $3,400. A family of 10 would be classified as indigent if its nonfarming income was less than $7,700 or its farming income was less than $6,500.

Some have said private physicians, through charity, could meet the needs of the poor in Lee County. "That would be impossible, even if that was what they wanted to do," Dr. Redlener said. He said there were only four physicians in private practice in Lee County and that two of them were 85 and 77 years old and had only limited practices.

The Clinic operates in a remodeled house. "We have 6,000 charts in the Clinic files—6,000 people that have been treated here," Dr. Redlener said. He said some of the 13,500 persons classified as indigent were receiving care from private physicians in Lee County or outside the county but that others simply hadn't been to see a doctor since the Clinic opened.

"We feel there still are a large number of persons who aren't receiving the medical care they need anywhere," he said. The Clinic employs four "community health advocates" who work in the low-income communities to explain the services available at the Clinic.

Dr. Redlener said he and Dr. Gilbert Sartore, the other physician at the Clinic, see about 50 patients a day at the Clinic and another three to 10 on house calls.

The Clinic treats illnesses but also is seeking to educate men over 35 and women over 25 to come in annually for a physical examination and routine laboratory tests, Dr. Redlener said.

Medical education is stressed by the Clinic staff because many indigents are not aware of the need for good health habits, Dr. Redlener said. A sanitarian on the Clinic staff advises families on constructing sanitary outhouses and where to locate water wells.

The Clinic has been operating with $15,000 a month in OEO funds under a grant that expires at the end of February. It also has some Volunteers in Service to America workers on its staff, whose salaries are paid by VISTA, but they gradually are being phased out in favor of permanent employes paid with OEO funds.

The Clinic has applied for a new and larger grant to take effect March 1 but has not yet heard from OEO. Dr. Redlener said that "we have very strong suspicions" that members of the Establishment in Lee Coun had tried to pressure OEO from making any more grants for the Clinic. He said "tremendous pressure" also had been exerted on Senator John L. McClellan (Dem., Ark.) to try to get the Clinic's funds stopped.

"OEO has stated that it intends to fund us," Dr. Redlener said. "We haven't gotten definite word, but we don't feel the pressure has been successful. The pressure has been based on an untrue contention that the Clinic is a political rather than a medical entity. The more the pressure has been increased, the more rallying around the Clinic we are seeing from the poor community."

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 293-5000

October 18, 1972

Dear Emory:

Where is that letter on program ideas? I am considering giving the delegates the new book by Senator Gore "Let The Glory Out." Have you seen it?

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie St., N.W., 2nd Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

October 23, 1972

Mr. George Guernsey
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815-16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear George:

Following is a variety of suggestions that you may want to consider as program ideas for the Southern Labor School.

1. Tax Reform and Revenue Sharing with a focus on what is happening to property taxes and if they are abandoned, what takes their place. I also think that a discussion of labor's role such as whether state bodies become "watchdogs" regarding revenue sharing in their own state would be interesting.

2. A program on guaranteed income and welfare reform especially in terms of what is happening now, the current political situation, and what has been reported to date on some of the trial experiments such as in New Jersey and North Carolina.

3. When is the last time someone took a hard look from the union perspective on organizing low-income workers.

4. There is a new kind of "third party" intervention that has been taking place in several unionized situations. This occurs especially where a civil rights type group enter into either strike action or negotiations where they are not the direct collaborator with a union but where a union is present. Potentially these kinds of interventions range all the way from trying to make the union be more representative, more aggressive to having overtones that border on extortion or a violation of the legally protected exclusive bargaining agent status.

5. The human problems and promise in Appalachia. Kathy and Si Kahn could handle such a discussion as well as being on hand for conversation and entertainment. They seemed to have worked quite well in their relations with the Textile Workers. You could also use Jack Guillebeaux, jointly or separately, who heads the Black Appalachian Commission.

6. Rural Economic and Social Development. This would be a different theme for Ray Marshall.

7. Students rights and the Student's Role in School Desegregation. Leon Hall, on our staff, could give an informed and lively presentation based on first-hand contact with students and school situations.

8. Other education topics might include some new areas such as teacher training,materials and textbooks, and metropolitization of schools, or an oldie such as busing. On a sort of survey of what is going on in teacher training and/or the textbook field in the South, John Egerton, who is working with us out of Nashville, would be useful. I would think that in either of these fields you yourself might want to do some support of the session in terms of relating facts and theory to potential good practices. Egerton could also deal with busing.

9. On the matter of nutrition and its relation to health or the problems and prospects of food programs as related to nutrition, a Dr. James P. Carter, Project Director for Maternal and Child Health, at MeHary Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee should be helpful. Although I do not know anything about him as an adult educator, he is a well informed and concerned person.

10. My recollection is The Federationist had an article on cable tv. I think that a discussion of its implications for unions, do-good groups, and perhaps getting into the problem of program adequacy, regulation, and the relation to freedom of information could be very interesting.

You will note my late calling and impatient friend that this letter is being written on a day that you are taking a holiday.

Best personal wishes. I hope that the program goes well and I will try to be on hand for a visit.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

April 25, 1966

Mr. James Pierce
Southern Coordinator
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 12245
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are two copies of the Voter Education Project guidelines and a copy of my letter to you of April 7th.

I am at a loss to explain the failure in your receiving the materials.

Good to have been with you in Durham.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures: 2 copies of VEP guidelines
letter of April 7, EV to Jim Pierce

AIR MAIL

April 7, 1966

Mr. James Pierce
Southern Coordinator
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
2121 Commonwealth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

Following your phone call to me yesterday and your request for information regarding the Voter Education Project, I am sending you two copies of the guidelines developed by the Project in considering request for grants.

It is my understanding that other requests have already come in from the Charlotte area. If you intend to make a request, I would suggest that you do so at the earliest date which allows you to put together a thoughtful proposal.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

April 26, 1966

Mr. James Pierce
Southern Coordinator
Industrial Union Department,
AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 12245
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

I thought some of the items on pages 7-9 might be pertinent to your interest in migrant labor.

If needed, in some cases I might be helpful in securing the material for you. Just let me know.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: Univ. of Wisc. IRRI Report, October 1965

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
Labor Building, Room 212
P. O. Box
Charlotte, N. C. 28205
Phone: 334-4749

AFL-CIO- I.U.D.

Memorandum

Date: April 26,1966

To : Emory Via

From : Jim Pierce

Subject : Voter Registration Proposal

Thanks, Emory. We received the material today and got the guys together tonight and wrote this up. They are very enthusiastic. Any help you can give us will be most appreciated.

Jim

P.O.Box 12245,
Charlotte, N.C. 28205

April 26, 1966

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RE: Voter Education Project
Charlotte, N.C.

Dear Mr. Jordan,

Please consider this letter as a request from the Eastside Council and the Westside Council for a grant from the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the purpose of conducting a voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training program in the Mecklenburg County area of North Carolina.

For your information the Eastside and Westside Councils are composed of responsible Negro business and professional leaders in the two major areas of Charlotte in which a majority of the Negro population resides. In addition, we are attempting to include responsible Negro leaders in other areas of Charlotte; in smaller towns in the county; and in the rural areas. Our purpose is to form a responsible, solid coalition of all Negro groups in Mecklenburg County.

We are appealing to you to assist us in a voter registration, citizenship education, and leddership training program to include the complete county and all facets of the Negro community. The following information is being sent to you for the purpose of explaining our need for your assistance.

AREA OF OPERATION:

The area of operation would include all areas of Mecklenburg County, including the rural area. It would include all existing organizations presently engaged in the above listed activities and will be extended to include areas of operation in which there is no existing organization.

THE NEED:

At the present time there is over 35,000 Negroes residing in this area who are eligible to vote, if they were registered. However, presently there is only about 17,000 of them actually registered. To make matters worse, there has been an inordinate amount of movement in the Negro community brought on by the massive movement of Negro families through urban renewal and area redevelopement. More are subject to move in the near future as those programs are accelerated. In Mecklenburg County voters are dropped from the registration list, and are ineligible to vote, if they move and do not appear personally at the Board of Registration for the purpose of correcting their address.

TIME FACTOR:

The primary elections are scheduled for May 28, with a probable runoff a few weeks later. Both parties have fielded candidates for all major posts thereby assuring an active campaign in the November General Election. The program should start immediately and continue through the General Election.

COST:

It would cost at least $15,000 to effectively finance the proper type of program in the time limits as outlined above. The program would necessarily include voter education programs, transportation, secretarial costs, leadership training courses, correspondence and educational material and associated activities.

BACKGROUND:

There are a number of organizations who are interested in this type of program. We would incorporate them into an overall steering committee so that they would all be involved in the program and so that their prior experience could be utilized.

There are a number of appointed Negroes in the area. These include law enforcement officers, welfare officers, commission members and other positions of importance. There is a Negro appointed to the Urban Renewal Commission. One Negro was elected to the City Commission.

More important, there are four Negroes who are candidated in the upcoming elections; one for the House of Representatives, one for the County Commission, and two for the Board of Education. Three of these have wide-based support in all parts of the community and a good chance of being elected.

If the Southern Regional Council agrees to extend the requested grant we assure you that we will handle the money carefully and account for it fully; we will cooperate with any and all organizations who are interested in this type of operation; and will not use any of the money to advance the candidacy of any candidate or for other partisan political purposes.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry Wallace
President, Eastside Council

Sidney G. Cunningham
President, Westside Council

Robert Davis
Secretary, Eastside Council

Don O. Hairston
Secretary, Westside Council

January 24, 1967

Mr. Marvin Caplan
Industrial Union Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Marvin:

Al Kehrer asked that I send you some copies of our "School Desegregation, 1966; The Slow Undoing". Fifteen copies are being sent to you under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 20, 1967

Mr. Jack Conway
I.U.D.
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 21, 1967

Mr. James Pierce, Coordinator
I.U.D.
2525 Commonwealth Ave.
Charlotte, N.C.

Dear Jim:

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 21, 1967

Mr. James Pierce, Coordinator
I.U.D.
2525 Commonwealth Ave.
Charlotte, N.C.

Dear Mr. Pierce:

AFL-CIO

IUD

NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 4, 1969

Abel's Leadership Praised:

IUD Convention Votes Funds For Organizing, Bargaining

By Eugene A. Kelly

Atlantic City—The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. voted new two-year terms for its top officers at the department's eighth convention and doubled its per capita tax to finance an intensified program of organizing, coordinated bargaining and contract analysis.

Delegates from 61 unions affiliated for 5.7 million members unanimously elected Pres. I. W. Abel for his first full term.

They approved five changes in the IUD constitution, including an increase in per capita payments of affiliated unions from 2 cents a month per member to 4 cents. And they adopted a series of policy statements for the guidance of the president, 24 vice presidents and the two IUD operating heads—Organizational Dir. Nicholas Zonarich and Administrative Dir. Jacob Clayman.

The convention expressed its "deep gratitude" to Abel for "leading the department out of its darkest depths to the threshold of its greatest achievements."

The convention tribute to Abel, who also is president of the Steelworkers, noted that "less than two years ago the IUD was in trouble. The only leadership it had ever known had suddenly departed. Its treasury was depleted and much of its staff dispersed."

Since Abel agreed to accept the presidency, the resolution noted, "judicious management has balanced the financial books. Department services have been restored," within financial limits. "Modest beginnings have been made on new programs."

The statement said "a quiet redemption of this kind makes few headlines but its ultimate significance to the labor movement . . . can hardly be exaggerated."

In opening the convention as presiding officer, Abel was strongly applauded when he pledged that IUD will "continue as a strong and respectable part of the AFL-CIO" and "never forget that we are an arm of the AFL-CIO." As members of a team, "we will function as part of that team," he promised.

Abel called on the delegates to "make common cause with all . . . who seek social and economic justice." This is, he emphasized, "a time to join hands —to re-cement the political and social coalition" between labor, the minorities, family farmers and the liberal and intellectual community.

The delegates elected Pres. Floyd E. Smith of the Machinists as a vice president replacing P. L. Siemiller, retired, and Pres. Thomas E. Boyle of the Chemical Workers as a vice president to succeed the late ICWU Pres. Walter L. Mitchell. All other board members were reelected.

Abel emphasized the IUD's interest in working conditions by naming a new IUD Committee on Safety & Health to follow through on department programs. Members are Presidents Peter Bommarito of the Rubber Workers, A. F. Grospiron of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, Paul Jennings of the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, William Pollock of the Textile Workers Union of America, Harry D. Sayre of the Papermakers & Paperworkers, Hunter P. Wharton of the Operating Engineers, Smith of the IAM and Steelworkers' Vice Pres. Joseph P. Molony.

Major policy resolutions:

- Supported strikes of the Farm Workers against California grape growers; of the Cement Workers against Universal Atlas Cement Co., a subsidiary of the U.S. Steel Corp., and newspaper unions against Hearst's Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.
- Urged that a broad national health insurance system be financed from federal funds, and that unions negotiate more prepaid health care plans.
- Called on every union in the IUD to "redouble" its COPE efforts in 1969 and 1970.

The convention asked Congress to pass the Williams-O'Hara Occupational Safety & Health bill setting national standards; urged all-out union involvement in the war against pollution; and asked adoption of a new welfare system and coverage of the working poor by a wage-hour law with a $2.50-an-hour minimum wage.

I.U.D

union coalition's commitment to upset GE's "Boulwarism," or hard-bargaining policy. Strong support is coming from the Industrial Union Dept. headed by I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers. Both leaders and their organizations see the GE bargaining as an "all labor" campaign that rates the fullest backing—with money, manpower, and political assistance. They and other labor chieftains say the fight is "important to the whole trade union movement," and have called for mobilization.

To underscore the battle's importance, the federation has relaxed its policy of non-collaboration with the United Auto Workers and International Brotherhood of Teamsters, core of the new Alliance for Labor Action. This permits UAW and Teamsters representatives to sit with IUE and coalition negotiators in the GE talks. While the two outside unions are barred from the coalition bargaining committee, they are kept advised about its activities through what the Auto Workers board once called an "under-the-table" formula.

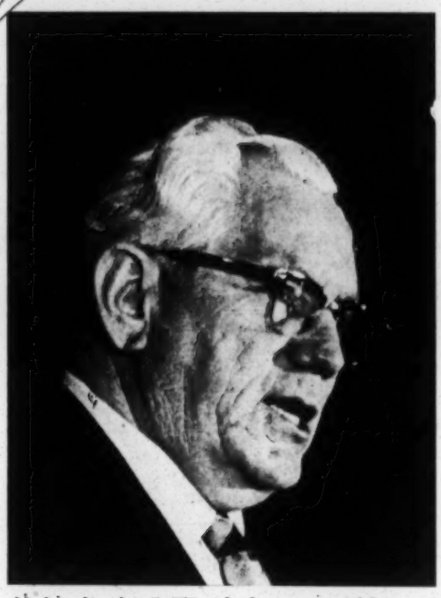
The independent United Electrical Workers also is bargaining with GE now, separately, and its demands parallel those of the IUE. The two rival electrical unions are keeping in close touch—Albert J. Fitzgerald, UE president, says that "the unity of workers and among the GE unions has never been greater."

Prospects. Into this week, discussions between the company and the IUE centered almost entirely on contract language. The union was insisting that GE commit itself on non-economic issues before turning to money matters, while the employer argued that discussion of economic matters would clear the way to settlements.

Important strategy was involved on both sides. General Electric's maneuvers were intended to pin down IUE and other unions on cost items and to get "comments or questions" on facts and figures offered by GE before GE put its firm offer on the table. IUE was insisting on "written counter-proposals from GE on union requests for improvements in working conditions" as a prerequisite for the start of economic talks; the union's negotiators saw a possibility that once money was settled on, other issues would be left unresolved.

Each side criticized the other for stalling. From the outside, it appeared that there was a stalemate over what to talk about first, money or some 100 contract language proposals by IUE. Each side said the other's tactics were bringing on crisis bargaining that could lead to a strike.

Initiative. In the past, GE was able to take and hold the bargaining initiative. In this round, IUE has prevented the company from dominating talks but it has not succeeded in gaining the initiative completely. Now, there is a grim fight as one side tries to force the other to give ground.



Union leader I. W. Abel sees possible need arising for a four-day work week.

IUD builds up its war chest

The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept.—short of both dynamism and funds since the departure of former IUD President Walter P. Reuther last year—took steps last week to generate both. An IUD convention in Atlantic City voted to double the per capita tax of affiliated unions in order to step up organizing and coordinated bargaining activities.

The tax was raised from 2¢ to 4¢ a month for each member of an affiliated union, a formula which should produce $220,000 monthly based on the unions' total membership of 5.5-million.

The immediate effect of the change will be to convert the financing of IUD organizing campaigns from a subsidized, temporary affair to a more solidly based program, an IUD spokesman said. At present, half a dozen affiliated unions contribute $25,000 in manpower and money to IUD each month, a stopgap arrangement made necessary by the department's money troubles of the past few years. The subsidy ends when the new tax starts.

Bind. United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, Reuther's successor as head of IUD, recounted the history of the financial crisis in his report to the convention.

In 1963, IUD launched an 18-month organizing campaign that was predicated on receiving $4-million from all sources. IUD's treasury was to give $1-million, another $1-million was to come from its then major affiliate, Reuther's United Auto Workers, and $2-million was due from all other affiliated unions. IUD attempted to continue organizing activities on this scale in succeeding years. But by 1967, the UAW had stopped contributing as part of its escalating feud with AFL-CIO, a conflict that led to its withdrawal the following year. Other union contributions dropped off.

As a result, the bulk of expenses were met from IUD reserves. Abel told the convention that when he took over in 1968, IUD's treasury was down to $650,000. The men-and-money subsidy from several unions together with the 2¢-per-head levy enabled the department to continue on an austerity basis. Now the higher income per capita will permit it to operate more actively in organizing, in coordinating bargaining among unions dealing with the same employer or industry, and in offering data bank service, Abel said.

Modern tools. The data bank, IUD's most recent innovation, is a computerized, running record of contract settlements to make available up-to-date information on the wages and fringe benefits negotiated by affiliated unions.

In the national sphere, Abel called on both industry and the government to consider the possibility of a four-day week to offset high levels of unemployment that unions say might develop as a result of present economic policies. Although industry has been automating rapidly, it has simultaneously continued to use old-style production facilities because of strong demand for products, Abel said.

These old-style facilities employ proportionately more workers than the new. When and if demand weakens, they will be the first to be closed, he predicted, magnifying the effect on employment of any slowdown. A four-day week would be a moderating factor, he said.

Behind the reason. But more might be involved than a simple itch to get another four-day work-week campaign under way.

In the past, David J. McDonald, Abel's predecessor as USW president, made good use of shorter work-week talk between bargaining rounds to whip up union enthusiasm in steel mills. The last USW election and recent rumblings of dissatisfaction in the steel union's rank-and-file have left Abel in need of such a lift within USW.

The situation is somewhat similar within IUD. Although Reuther lacked major leadership support inside the department, he had personal appeal and unionists looked to him for innovations. Now that Abel is trying to put IUD back into operation as an effective, attention-winning organization, he needs an issue as much as the dues increase. The four-day week idea, however old, is still popular.

There is one further reason why Abel might have sounded off on the issue at this time: AFL-CIO and all of its unions want the Nixon Administration's anti-inflation policies eased—and a threat of bargaining and lobbying for a shortened work-week could bring added pressures from business and other sources for a moderation of the government position. The shorter work-week issue is a can of worms nobody wants opened. **End**

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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GEORGE BURDON
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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

April 17, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have heard a lot about your work on enforcemnt of the Minimum Wage Law -- Congratulations!

As you might know the enclosed reprint from the February Federationist is now available. Also would you please send me a copy of your minimum wage kit.

Sincerely yours,

Rudolph Oswald

Rudolph Oswald, Economist
Department of Research

Enclosure

July 22, 1969

Mr. Arnold Cantor
AFL-CIO
Department of Research
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Arnold:

When you were in Atlanta I discussed sending you a copy of a manuscript by Eva Galambos for comment. It is enclosed.

You are receiving a draft copy and we recognize that it needs some routine editing. I know that your schedule is a busy one but if you could read this critically and pass your suggestions on to me it would be both helpful and appreciated.

I hope you will be able to get to this.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 1

November 14, 1969

Mr. Arnold Cantor
Research Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Arnold:

Enclosed is a copy of The Tax Structure of the Southern States. I feel sure that George Guernsey has already forwarded a copy to you.

I want to thank you again personally and on behalf of Bob Anderson, our editor, for having read the manuscript. You contributed to improving this publication and we are grateful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 1

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

LANE KIRKLAND
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 6, OLIVER W. SINGLETON, DIRECTOR
501 PULLIAM STREET, S.W., RM. 505
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30312
(404) 524-5001

June 25, 1971

TO: Friends & Co-Workers of Oliver W. Singleton

FROM: Staff of Region 6, AFL-CIO

The staff of Region 6, AFL-CIO cordially invites you to attend a "Retirement Banquet" in honor of our Director, Oliver Singleton, who will be retiring July 31 of this year.

The affair will be held:

Friday, July 30, 1971
7:30 p.m.
Citation Room
Executive Park Motel
1447 North East Expressway
(North Druid Hills Exit off I-85 North)
Atlanta, Georgia

Tickets for the banquet will be $10.00 per person. This will cover cost for your dinner and an appreciation gift for Mr. & Mrs. Singleton. Checks or money orders should be made out to Miss Elaine Cook, our office secretary. It would be appreciated if you would purchase your tickets no later than July 26. No tickets will be sold at the door.

As we are planning this as a surprise banquet, we ask that you not mention it to Director Singleton. Also, when writing for tickets, please address them to Miss Cook, at this office, and your tickets will be promptly mailed to you.

ec
opeiu#2
afl-cio

AFL-CIO Department
of Social Security

Washington, D.C.
December, 1968

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

(For the information and guidance of state affiliates)

1. Coverage. Our long-range goal is to cover all wage and salaried workers. Based on previous experience, coverage of the following groups would seem to be the most easily attainable:

   a. Covering small establishments with fewer than four workers, down to one worker at any time.

   b. Removing present exclusions of workers in agricultural processing establishments, nonprofit institutions, and state and local governments.

   c. Broadening the definition of employer so that employees of subcontractors will be covered.

Other long-range objectives should include:

   a. Removing present exclusions of agricultural workers.

   b. Broadening the definition of employee so that groups not included such as those individual contractors who in fact have an employment relationship, will be covered.

2. Wage Qualifying Requirements. These are necessary but arbitrary definitions of who is attached to the labor force. Any proposed change should be researched for estimates of the number of exclusions it would cause, preferably with an industry breakdown. This can be done by the state unemployment insurance agency.

   a. Employment should not be required in more than two quarters of the base year.

   b. Low wage earners should not have to work longer than high wage earners to establish their right to benefits.

   c. Outside limits may be defined as follows: where a multiple of the weekly benefit amount is used, it should not require base year earnings of more than 30 times the weekly benefit amount; where a multiple of high quarter earnings is used, it should not require base year earnings of more than 1½ times high quarter earnings whether expressed as a multiple of the weekly benefit amount or of high quarter earnings.*

*For example, when the weekly benefit amount is 1/20th of the high quarter earnings, the base year earnings should be not more than 30 times the weekly benefit amount.

d. A claimant should not be required to meet more than one formula or type of wage qualifying requirement.

3. Benefits.

a. The State benefit formula should provide for flexible maximum weekly benefit amounts so that benefits will automatically keep pace with wages.

The individual's weekly benefit should be equal to 66 2/3 percent of the worker's past full-time earnings (or at least 1/20th of high quarter wages) and in no case less than 50 percent.

The State maximum weekly benefit amount should equal 66 2/3 percent of the statewide average weekly wage in covered employment. Provision should be made for annual or semiannual computation of the maximum weekly benefit amount.

If the statewide maximum benefit amount cannot be raised to this level immediately, it should progressively approach this level in a series of steps, for example:

50 percent for the benefit year beginning between July 1, 1969 and June 30, 1970

60 percent for the benefit year beginning between July 1, 1970 and June 30, 1971

66 2/3 percent for the benefit year beginning on or after July 1, 1972.

b. These ratios should apply to gross earnings in those weeks of the base year when wages were highest.

c. The maximum should be stated as a percentage of wages in covered employment but in no case should a maximum less than 50 percent of average wages be established. (If you can't get the maximum that high, postpone seeking a flexible maximum and don't state it as a percentage.)

4. Duration. Every claimant should be entitled to at least 26 weeks under state law. For variable duration provisions, this should be the minimum rather than the maximum. Where this is unachievable, the formula should, at least, provide the overwhelming majority of workers 26 weeks of benefits with a minimum of at least 20 weeks and a maximum of at least 30 weeks.

5. Eligibility and Disqualifications.

a. The "waiting week" should be eliminated or at least compensated retroactively after a few weeks of unemployment.

b. The "availability requirement" should be limited to registration and availability for suitable work, which term should be properly described, and it should specifically permit a worker to refuse uncovered employment.

c. A person able and available for suitable work should be disqualified only for the following reasons and not in excess of the periods noted:

(1) Leaving suitable work without good cause -- preferably 4 weeks; and in any event no more than 6 weeks
(2) Discharge for misconduct connected with the work -- preferably 4 weeks; and in any event no more than 6 weeks
(3) Refusing suitable work without good cause; good cause should be broad enough to include causes that are not work-connected -- preferably 4 weeks; and in any event no more than 6 weeks
(4) Fraud -- six weeks; with additional weeks, if any, based on the number of weeks involved in the fraud, but not to exceed 12 weeks
(5) Labor disputes -- there should be no disqualification in case of:

lockout
layoff during negotiations
an employer violation of any state or federal labor law, or any arbitration decision
a worker not directly interested in the labor dispute, and
a labor dispute occuring at a location other than the worker's place of employment.

If a disqualification is provided, it should not extend beyond a limited period (maximum of six weeks) after which the dispute can no longer be considered the main reason for continued unemployment.

d. There should be no denial of benefits for a person participating in training courses with the approval of the state agency.

e. There should be no reduction or cancellation of a worker's benefit rights or base period wages.

6. Financing. To secure the soundness of the funds, the following three measures should be taken:

a. Experience rating should be eliminated or brought within bounds by reducing the range between maximum and minimum tax rates; in any event zero rates should be eliminated.

b. Alternative tax schedules should be triggered by fund levels stated as ratios to the total wage base. The fund should be maintained by such trigger points and tax schedules so that it does not fall below the benefit amounts paid out in the highest cost 18 months during the last 10 years.

c. The taxable wage base should be raised to at least the same base in use in Old-Age and Survivors Insurance ($7,800 effective January 1968.) This could be accomplished in a series of steps over a period of years, for example:

$3,800 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1969
$4,800 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1970
$6,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1971
$7,200 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1972, and

to the tax base used for old age, survivors, and disability insurance for fiscal years beginning after July 1, 1973.

Unemployment Insurance Under State Laws, Jan. 1, 1969[3]

	Average Weekly Benefit Paid for Total Unemployment 1967 [1]	Maximum Weekly Benefits [2]	Average Weekly Wages in Covered Employment 1967 [1]	Basic Maximum Weekly Benefit as a Percentage of Average Weekly Wages: Now	Basic Maximum Weekly Benefit as a Percentage of Average Weekly Wages: 1939	Duration of Benefits by Weeks [4]	Percentage of Claimants Who Exhausted Benefits 1967 [1]	Estimated Average Employer Tax Rate, 1968: Percentage of Taxable Payrolls [5]	Estimated Average Employer Tax Rate, 1968: Percentage of Total Payrolls
United States	$41		$119				19%	1.5%	.8%
Alabama	31	$44	101	44	87	13-26	30	.9	.5
Alaska	44	55-80	183	30	41	15-28	22	2.9	2.3
Arizona	38	50	115	44	61	12-26	21	1.6	1.0
Arkansas	30	44 [7]	86	50 [7]	95	10-26	22	1.4	.9
California	50	65	134	48	50	12-26 [6]	23	2.8	1.7
Colorado	48	56 [7]	113	50 [7]	62	10-26	14	.5	.3
Connecticut	45	70-105 [7]	127	60 [7]	56	22-26 [6]	20	1.8	1.0
Delaware	45	55	128	43	58	14-26	13	.9	.5
District of Columbia	45	60 [7]	120	50 [7]	59	17-34	20	.8	.4
Florida	30	40	105	38	81	10-26	32	.7	.4
Georgia	35	45	101	44	87	9-26	27	1.2	.7
Hawaii	50	68 [7]	109	67 [7]	85	26 [6]	20	1.8	1.3
Idaho	43	53 [7]	101	53 [7]	82	10-26 [6]	22	1.8	1.2
Illinois	44	42-70	130	32	56	10-26 [6]	19	.2	.1
Indiana	36	40-52	123	33	58	12-26	25	1.1	.6
Iowa	44	55 [7]	109	50 [7]	67	11-26	21	.6	.3
Kansas	41	53 [7]	108	50 [7]	66	10-26	18	1.2	.7
Kentucky	37	49 [7]	105	47 [7]	69	15-26	20	1.0	.6
Louisiana	37	50	112	45	90	12-28	30	1.2	.7
Maine	35	49 [7]	98	50 [7]	74	12½-26	19	1.1	.7
Maryland	40	56	110	51	65	26	10	.9	.5
Massachusetts	43	57 & up [8]	114	50	57	9-30	20	2.0	1.2
Michigan	48	46-76	139	33	53	10-26	15	1.3	.7
Minnesota	40	50	115	43	62	12-26	23	1.1	.8
Mississippi	26	40	90	44	97	12-26	19	.7	.5
Missouri	38	53	118	45	61	10-26	14	.9	.5
Montana	32	34	102	33	60	13-26	26	1.5	.9
Nebraska	36	44	98	45	66	11-26	24	.7	.4
Nevada	43	43-63	125	34	57	11-26	24	2.0	1.3
New Hampshire	38	54	103	53	70	26 ~~34~~	1	1.1	.7
New Jersey	41	65 [7]	129	50 [7]	55	12-26	23	2.1	1.2
New Mexico	32	40	102	39	73	18-30	14	1.3	.7
New York	43	65	132	49	51	26	14	2.0	1.0
North Carolina	29	42	93	45	89	26 [6]	14	1.3	.8
North Dakota	41	49 [7]	97	50 [7]	69	18-26	18	2.1	1.3
Ohio	41	47-66	129	37	54	20-26	12	1.0	.5
Oklahoma	28	38	107	36	61	16-39	29	.7	.4
Oregon	38	49	116	42	53	11-26	16	1.5	.9
Pennsylvania	37	60	116	52	60	18-30 [6]	10	1.4	.8
Puerto Rico	20	33 [7]	65	50 [7]	—	12 [6]	61	2.7	2.1
Rhode Island	40	53-73 [7]	105	50 [7]	70	12-26	18	2.0	1.3
South Carolina	32	46 [7]	92	50 [7]	99	10-22	29	1.3	.8
South Dakota	33	41	92	45	69	16-26	27	.8	.5
Tennessee	31	42	99	42	78	12-26	22	1.5	1.0
Texas	31	45	110	41	65	9-26	29	.4	.2
Utah	40	51 [7]	103	50 [7]	70	10-36	26	1.5	1.0
Vermont	39	53 [7]	105	50 [7]	66	26 [6]	12	1.9	1.3
Virginia	33	48	100	48	74	12-26	21	.6	.4
Washington	33	42	128	33	57	15-30	17	2.0	1.0
West Virginia	28	47 [7]	118	40 [7]	59	26	12	1.4	.8
Wisconsin	48	63 [7]	119	53 [7]	55	14-34	15	1.6	.9
Wyoming	41	51 [7]	100	50 [7]	78	11-26	13	1.4	.9

[1] Calendar 1967

[2] Where two figures are shown, the larger includes maximum dependents' allowances.

[3] Includes all legislation enacted in 1968 regardless of effective date.

[4] Where two figures are shown, the lower represents the shortest possible duration. In most States this is the entitlement of a claimant with minimum weekly benefits and minimum qualifying wages. But in six States a higher than minimum weekly benefit amount may result in shorter duration where the distribution of earnings is concentrated in the high quarter.

[5] Taxable wages have remained at the first $3,000 of employees' earnings since 1939 except in Tennessee ($3,300); Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming ($3,600); California and Nevada ($3,800); Utah ($4,200); Minnesota ($4,800); Alaska ($7,200); Hawaii ($4,800 computed annually at 90 percent of State average annual wage); and North Dakota (computed annually at 70 percent, not to exceed $3,100 in 1969).

[6] Benefits are extended when unemployment in State reaches specified levels in: California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Vermont, by 50 percent; in North Carolina by 8 weeks; and in Puerto Rico, benefits are extended by 40 weeks in certain industries, occupations or establishments when a special unemployment situation exists.

[7] Maximum weekly benefit is determined as a specified percent of average weekly covered wages and is computed annually at 40 percent in West Virginia; 46.75 (expressed in law as 55 percent of 85 percent) percent in Kentucky; 50 percent in Arkansas, District of Columbia, Kansas, Iowa, Maine, New Jersey, North Dakota, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming; 52.5 percent (but not less than $10) in Idaho; 66⅔ percent in Hawaii; computed semi-annually in Wisconsin at 52.5 percent; in Colorado 50 percent of average weekly wages in selected industries; and in Connecticut 60 percent (not to exceed $70 to October 1969) of the statewide average weekly wage for production and related workers. The base year used for setting the maximum is not necessarily annual 1967 shown in this table, which explains why the percentage figures in the fourth column may vary slightly from the statutory percentages.

[8] Augmented amount includes $6 per dependent up to individual's average weekly wage.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

GEORGE MEANY
President

Publication No. 36-L

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

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Workmen's Compensation Under State Laws, Jan. 1, 1969

Jurisdiction	Temporary Total Disability[1] Intended Benefit as % of Weekly Wage	Actual Maximum Weekly Benefit Allowed	Maximum Duration in Weeks	Death Benefits Maximum Total Payments	Maximum[2] Medical Care	Maintenance Benefits for Vocational Rehabilitation	Coverage of Occupational Disease
Alabama	55-65%	$44	400	$17,600 [11]	2 yrs.—$6,000	No	3
Alaska	65	113	W,C-18 [4]	20,000	7	Yes	Full
Arizona	65 [5]	150 [6]	W,C-18 [4]	.....	.....	Yes	Limited
Arkansas	65	49	W,C	.....	6 mos.[7]	Yes	Full
California	61¾	87.50	250-293	20,000-23,000	F.P.	No	Full
Colorado	66⅔	54.25	312	16,980-20,501	6 mos.—$5,000 [21]	No	Limited
Connecticut	66⅔	76-114 [6]	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Delaware	66⅔	50	400,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	No	Full
District of Columbia	66⅔	70	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Florida	60	49	350	15,000	F.P.	No	Full
Georgia	60	50	400	18,000	$5,000	No	Limited
Hawaii	66⅔	112.50	W,C-20 [4]	35,100 [10]	F.P.	Yes	Full
Idaho	55-60	37-63	400,C-18 [4]	16,000	F.P.	No	Limited
Illinois	65-80	62-76	W,C-18 [4]	15,000-21,000	.....	No	Full
Indiana	60	51	450	25,000 [11]	[7]	No	Full
Iowa	66⅔	40-56	300	14,250	[7]	No	Limited
Kansas	60	49	W,C-18 [4]	16,500	$8,500	No	Limited
Kentucky	66⅔	47 [6]	400	16,000 [11]	7 ~~$3,500~~	No	Full
Louisiana	65	35	400	14,000	$12,500	No	Limited
Maine	66⅔	65.17 [6]	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Maryland	66⅔	55 [12]	500	35,000	F.P.	Yes	Full
Massachusetts	66⅔	62 [13]	400,C-18 [4]	16,000	F.P.	Yes	Full
Michigan	66⅔	64-93	500.C-21 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Minnesota	66⅔	60	W,C-18 [4]	25,000 [11]	F.P.	Yes	Full
Mississippi	66⅔	40	450	17,000	F.P.	Yes	Not by Statute 16
Missouri	66⅔	57	W,C-18 [4]	17,500	7	Yes	Full
Montana	50-66⅔	37-60	600	22,200-36,000	36 mos.—$2,500 [14]	Yes	Limited
Nebraska	66⅔	45	325	14,625	F.P.	No	Full
Nevada	65-90	52.50-72.69	W,C-18 [4]	.....	[20]	No	Full
New Hampshire	66⅔	58	341	19,778	[19]	No	Full
New Jersey	66⅔	83 [6]	W,C-18 [4]	.....	[7]	No	Full
New Mexico	60	45	500	22,500	5 yrs.—$5,000 [7]	No	Limited
New York	66⅔	85	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
North Carolina	60	42	350	15,000	10 wks.[7]	No	Limited
North Dakota	80	50-75	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Ohio	66⅔	63 [12]	.....	17,000-20,000	.....	Yes	Full
Oklahoma	66⅔	45	.....	13,500	60 days [7]	No	Limited
Oregon	50-75	39.13-73.65	W,C-18 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full
Pennsylvania	66⅔	60	W,C-18 [4]	.....	1 yr.[15]	No	Full
Puerto Rico	66⅔	45	W,C-18-25 [4]	.....	F.P.	No	Full
Rhode Island	66⅔	50-62 [8]	500	.....	900-1,500 7	No	Full
South Carolina	60	50	350	17,500	10 wks.[7]	No	Full
South Dakota	55	44	.....	15,000-20,000	$1,700 [7]	No	Limited
Tennessee	65	42	W,C-18 [4]	16,000	2 yr.—$5,000	No	Limited
Texas	60	35	360	12,600	.....	No	Limited
Utah	60	44-62	312	13,728-19,344	$1,283.38 [7]	Yes	Full
Vermont	66⅔	54 [13]	W,C [4]	17,820	F.P.	No	Limited
Virginia	60	51	300	20,400	90 days [7]	No	Limited
Washington	....	42.69-81.23	W,C-18 [4]	.....	.....	No	Full
West Virginia	66⅔	47	W,C-18-22 [4]	.....	$3,000 [17]	Yes	Full
Wisconsin	70	73	400	20,858 [18]	F.P.	Yes	Full
Wyoming	66⅔	43.85-63.46	W,C-18 [4]	13,000-23,000	[7]	No	Not by Statute 16
Federal-Employes	66⅔-75	370.83	W,C-18-22 [4]	.....	F.P.	Yes	Full

[1] The lower figure represents the benefit for a single worker; the higher the maximum for workers with dependents.

[2] Benefits may not exceed period of time or amounts indicated. F.P. indicates full payment of all medical aid and hospitalization required.

[3] Covers only specified dust or pulmonary disease and/or disease caused by the inhalation of poisonous gases or fumes, and radiation diseases.

[4] "W" means payment to widow until death or remarriage; "C" means payment to children until age specified. The higher figure represents age if child is attending approved educational institution. Vermont continues benefit to dependent children regardless of age while they are regularly attending school, and to widow until she is remarried, or she is entitled to social security benefits, or death.

[5] Plus an additional $10.00 per month if there are total dependents.

[6] Maximum weekly benefit amount 55 percent of 85 percent of the average wage as computed by the Employment Security Commission in Kentucky, 50 percent of statewide average weekly wage as reported under the State Employment Insurance Act in Vermont, and 66⅔ percent in Maine and New Jersey, 60 percent of the statewide average weekly wages of production workers in Connecticut.

[7] May be extended by commission without limit; in Kentucky justifiable need must be shown. The commission may authorize up to $25,000 in New Mexico, $21,000 in South Dakota, and extend benefits for three years in Virginia.

[8] If worker is receiving benefits under the State Temporary Disability Insurance Act, benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act are limited to $15.00.

[9] An additional $12,500 may be ordered by the court.

[10] Dollar maximum does not apply to children under 18 nor to unmarried children over 18 for 104 weeks beyond their 18th birthday, if incapable of self-support, nor to widow physically or mentally incapable of self-support.

[11] Disability benefits already made are deducted from death benefits payable. Minnesota limits deduction to $17,500.

[12] Maryland $55.00 for the first 42 days, thereafter ⅔ of statewide average weekly wage; in Ohio during the first 12 weeks of disability the amount is $63.00, but thereafter, the maximum amount drops to $56.00.

[13] Massachusetts provides an additional $6.00 for each total dependent not to exceed the average weekly wage of the employee. Vermont provides an additional $3.50 for each dependent child under 21.

[14] In cases of occupational disease, no time limit is imposed. If employee with occupational disease is able to continue work, while undergoing medical treatment, medical benefit is limited to $1,000. In cases of total disability where the $2,500 is insufficient to meet all hospitalization expenses, additional benefits may be allowed.

[15] Medical and surgical cost during first 12 months; hospital treatment not to exceed prevailing charges for the same period; may be extended if employee's earning power would be substantially restored.

[16] ~~Order of Commissioner required if aggregate exceeds $1,500.~~

[17] May be increased without limit, but no medical benefits are payable in silicosis cases.

[18] Additional death benefits payable from state fund for children.

[19] Reasonable medical and hospital services or other remedial care for 6 months and additional 6 month periods upon written request to the Commissioner. Commissioner may grant extension for aid.

[20] Reasonable medical, surgical, and hospital treatment and supplies, crutches and apparatus including artificial members.

[21] Additional payments out of Medical Disaster Insurance Fund in excess of payments under Workmen's Compensation Act and Occupational Disease Act, maximum, $35,000.

[22] The one exception is radiation disease.

....Medical Care may be limited under special circumstances.

Source: For a more complete comparison of the laws, write to the Superintendent of Documents, U. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS, Bulletin 161 with supplement. Price 30 cents.

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COMBINED

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

JUNE 22-23-24

1 9 6 4

WISCONSIN PAID FIREMEN'S LEGISLATIVE ASSOCIATION

UNITED PROFESSIONAL FIRE FIGHTERS OF WISCONSIN AFL-CIO

United Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS
MEMBER OF WISCONSIN STATE A.F. OF L. - C.I.O.

March 23, 1965

Mr. Owen Tapper
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Extension Division
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a list of the United Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin Locals, and the name and address of the Secretary of each Local, which President Royal Taylor requested that I send to you.

Also included is a letter, which our State Association is sending to each Local on March 24, 1965. Most of the Locals have their union meetings scheduled for the first part of each month, so if possible I hope your letter will follow by the first of April.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene P. Mucklin

Eugene P. Mucklin
Secretary-Treasurer
2432 Johnson Road
Kenosha, Wisconsin 53140

United Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS
MEMBER OF WISCONSIN STATE A.F. OF L. - C.I.O.

Fire Fighters Local 1000

Number in front of city is the Local number:

1000 Antigo
Ray Kirsch
605 South Clermont Street

257 Appleton
Kenneth C. Kositzke
203 North Oneida Street

875 Ashland
Berkeley Cameron
813 Willis Avenue

583 Beloit
John Gustafson
524 Pleasant St.

487 Eau Claire
Darrel Jepperson
1434 - Hogeboom Ave.

400 Fond Du Lac
Ralph Michaels
250 West Ninth St.

1440 Glendale
Kenneth Peterman
4976 N. Port Washington Rd.

141 Green Bay
Russell Reynolds
501 S. Washington St.

580 Janesville
Edward Wellnitz
303 Milton Avenue

414 Kenosha
Joseph Carlini
4205 22nd. Avenue

127 La Crosse
James Sciborski
1627 Travis Street

311 Madison
John Luther
1517 Troy Drv.
#10 Fire Station

368 Manitowoc
Robert Burtard
911 Franklin Street

226 Marinette
Francis Erickson
1450 Main Street

1021 Marshfield
Marvin Strohman
1212 East 8th.

695 Menasha
Thomas Miller
124 Main Street

847 Merrill
John Prein
1303 W. Main St.

215 Milwaukee
Ray Frankowiak
3755 South 15th. Place

[redacted]

[redacted]

275 Neenah
Vernon Jankowski
606 Knight Avenue

316 Oshkosh
519 Otter Ave
Albert Mauritz

321 Racine
David Russell
1322 State St.

1028 Rhinelander
Harley Samuelson
25 W. Revis St.

483 Sheboygan
Herbert Herman
833 New York Avenue

808 Shorewood
Kenneth Szeklinski
3936 North Murray Ave.

484 Stevens Point
Ray Bartkowiak
626 Strong Ave.

74 Superior
William Torguson
83 Norwood Ave.

423 Two Rivers
Richard Stiefvater
2122 Monroe

877 Watertown
Wayne Wendt
506 North Warren Street

407 Waukesha
Ray Carlson
721 Beechwood Ave.

415 Wausau
Dennis Bwerden
209½ 3rd. St.

1004 West Allis
Donald Liedle
1465 South 95th. Street

1417 West Milwaukee
Leon Zalewski
4726 South 22nD. St.

819 Whitefish Bay
Roland Gasper
825 E. Lexington Blvd.

1054 Wisconsin Rapids
Ceylon Miller
350 1st. Street North

United Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS
MEMBER OF WISCONSIN STATE A.F. of L. - C.I.O.

March 23, 1965

Dear Sir and Brother:

Each year the problems of the organized Professional Fire Fighters seem to grow. Not only are we faced with the problems of securing adequate wages, hours, and fringe benefits, but new problems such as disparity, integration, and bargaining in good faith arise.

The 1961 session of the legislature gave Fire Fighters the right to bargain on hours, wages, and working conditions. This law in itself, although designed to be a means to the end has presented problems.

The major problem under the law for Fire Fighters was their lack of understanding the law, and the rights that are now afforded in reaching their objectives. The Executive Board of your State Organization, realizing that many new problems would arise from the Collective Bargaining Law, asked your President to work with the University of Wisconsin School for Workers, to make available to all organized Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin, an annual institute on Collective Bargaining.

In accordance with Resolution #8 of the 1964 Convention a School for Workers will again be held in Madison, June 8,9,& 10, 1965.

Comments by fellow Fire Fighters who have attended the past institutes, indorse the program wholeheartily. Therefore we urge every Local to have at least one member in attendance, although there is no limit as to the number each Local may wish to send. This year's attendance will determine whether programs shall be continued or not. Only by attendance to such institutes does your State Board know the desire of Locals, for help in the field of Collective Bargaining.

This is the place to get your answers and to keep pace with your local city administrators, as to what they learn at their institutes and conventions. So make your reservations early! A letter from the University of Wisconsin School for Workers will follow in a few days, stating the time and place to make such reservations.

The road to success for the Professional Fire Fighter in Wisconsin is difficult and challenging, and your State Association urges the Fire Fighters to prepare themselves to meet this challenge, by attending this year's School for Workers.

Royal Taylor - President
Eugene Mucklin - Secretary-Treasurer

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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS
905 16TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

William D. Buck
President

Albert E. Albertoni
Secretary-Treasurer

Affiliated with:
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS • CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS • NATIONAL FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION

May 12, 1965

Mr. Emory F. Via, Associate Professor
Labor Education
The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake St.
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Via:

I would be pleased to participate in your Fire Fighter Institute, however, my work load is such that I can only arrange to be in Madison June 9, for the afternoon session on wage disparity.

The agenda looks very interesting. I hope I will be able to attend more of the Institute than I can presently foresee.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bill

William A. Lang
Director of Education and Research

WAL/sg
oeiu #2

May 13, 1965

Mr. Wm. A. Lang, Director
Research and Education
Int'l Assn of Fire Fighters
AFL-CIO
905 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lang:

Could you send us thirty-five copies of your "On Fire Fighter and Police Salaries" which was published in December, 1964. We would like to have this on hand for our coming institute in June.

Also, has the "Fire Department Salaries and Working Conditions" publication been completed? We would like to have copies of this on hand again this year.

Hope to hear from you soon about your participation in the institute.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

May 20, 1965

Mr. John Lawton
Attorney at Law
119 Monona Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear John:

This letter will confirm the arrangements we made by phone for your participation in our Fire Fighters Institute.

You will note from the enclosed program that you are scheduled for 1:15 to 4:15 P.M. on Tuesday, June 8th. There will be a break at about midpoint. Your session will be in the Wisconsin Center Building, corner of Langdon and Lake Streets. The topic that we agreed on was a survey of new and proposed legislation of interest to fire fighters. A resume, not too lengthy, of existing legislation as a prelude to what further is proposed, would certainly be in place.

Please let me know if you have any questions. We look forward to having you with us for this program and greatly appreciate your interest in it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

May 20, 1965

Mr. Arvid Anderson, Commissioner
Wisconsin Employment Relations Board
State Office Building
4802 Sheboygan Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Arvid:

This letter will confirm the arrangements we made by phone for your participation in our Fire Fighters Institute.

You will note from the enclosed program that you are scheduled for 8:30 to 12:00 noon on Wednesday, June 9. There will be a break at about midpoint. Your session will be in the Wisconsin Center Building at the corner of Langdon and Lake Streets. The topic that we agreed upon related proper subjects for collective bargaining by city employees and what could be done in the event of a refusal to bargain.

Please let me know if you have any questions. We look forward to having you with us for this program and greatly appreciate your interest in it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

May 20, 1965

Mr. Charles Anderson
412 North Hall
Campus

Dear Charles:

This letter will confirm the arrangements we made by phone for your participation in our Fire Fighters Institute.

You will note from the enclosed program that you are scheduled for 7:00 to 9:00 P.M. on Wednesday, June 9. We will take a short break at midpoint. Your session will be in the Wisconsin Center Building. The topic that we agreed on was a discussion of the Dominican crisis. Any general background information on U. S. - Latin American relations which you would care to introduce would be most acceptable.

Please let me know if you have any questions. We look forward to having you with us for this program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

May 20, 1965

Mr. William F. Lang
Research Director
International Association of
Fire Fighters
AFL-CIO
905 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lang:

We are most pleased to know that you will be with us for the Fire Fighters Institute.

I am enclosing a copy of the final program. You will note that you are scheduled for 1:15 to 4:15 P.M. on Wednesday, June 9. There will be a break at about midpoint. Your session on police and fire fighter salaries will be at the Wisconsin Center Building at the corner of Langdon and Lake Streets.

Please let us know if we can assist in arranging accommodations for you either in the dormitory with the institute participants or in a motel close to the Wisconsin Center. Feel free to be in touch with me if you have any questions. We look forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

LAW OFFICES
LAWTON & CATES
INSURANCE BUILDING
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

JOHN A. LAWTON
RICHARD L. CATES
GEORGE E. AUMOCK
JOHN C. CARLSON
DAVID LOEFFLER

TELEPHONE
256-9031

May 27, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Bldg., UW
Madison, Wis.

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a list of subjects of interest to firefighters which have been introduced in the 1965 session. This list does not include the pension bills.

I have given only the topic headings, and it is my intention to supply the amendments and status of the bills when I appear at the session. This is the best way to do this since the every day activities of the legislature can soon make a report antiquated.

I would therefore suggest that if you are going to put these out in duplicated form that you leave a space after each where an individual can insert the status of the bill at the time of the session.

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. LAWTON

JAL:rj
Enc.

Dirty

NEW PRESIDENT of Fire Fighters, W. H. McClennan, gets his set of keys from a happy William D. Buck, retiring to president-emeritus status after 11 years as head of the union.

December 10, 1958

Mr. Jim Pierce
Field Representative
IUE, AFL-CIO
315 S. Broadway
Tyler, Texas

Dear Brother Pierce:

I am writing you at the request of Ben Segal. He and I have worked together a great deal on problems relating to civil rights and race relations in the South. Ben felt that I might be able to pass on a few useful suggestions regarding the set-up and functioning of a civil rights committee in the Texas State AFL-CIO.

Though I do not envision any easy task for such a committee, Texas, unlike many other Southern states, is one in which almost any of the problems of civil rights can get some airing and action through the state labor body. The general problem, of course, is how to do this effectively and acceptably. I would start by not defining the duties of the committee too narrowly; however, at the same time it will be important to make some of the tasks of the committee so definite and specific that you can be sure of performance. For example, your task may be as general as helping educate the Texas labor movement in a broad way about face relations and prejudice, or it may be defined as specifically as seeking out, investigating, and referring to proper authorities any violation of civil rights of any member of organized labor.

I think that the minimum a civil rights committee should do is:

a) report annually on the state of human relations within the state labor body; b) promote educational programs that will better mutual understanding between all groups; c) keep the officers of the state labor body informed regarding trouble spots within the labor movement, pertinent

community tensions, violations of civil rights within the labor movement and without where they are of concern to organized labor, and human relations developments in other states of the South and other sections of the country; d) to act as a safety valve in preventing tensions within organized labor from damaging in any serious way union organizations. However, this should never mean sweeping the problems under some convenient rug, but serving as a safety factor in about the same way that a grievance procedure works, by providing a recognized channel through which people can voice their complaints and from which they can expect effective action.

Of course a committee could do much more than these minimum requirements would indicate. It could be actively concerned about all violations of individual rights regarding political rights such as voting, regarding the rights of individuals as infringed by threats, intimidation, and violence by any denial of equality in treatment in any public service, and of course because of any illegal job discriminations. This latter raises a basic question. When will the committee be concerned with just what is illegal and when will it be concerned with those things that are unfair, undemocratic, or not in keeping with the highest standard of the American labor movement? At the outset it might well be that you would start in some areas by being concerned only with legalities; however, even at the beginning of the committee's work I am sure you will find that in a number of areas it will not be limited by what is lawful, and that you can expand freely into the area of what is fair and decent.

A civil rights committee actually can help secure good public relations. To make this the purpose of such a committee would be disasterous, however. This has already happened in some northern situations; the end result is that the committee joins others in seeking credit for things that should be done but which largely go unacted upon. Sufficiently good public relations can be had from an honest interpretation of a committee such as we described in the preceding paragraphs and through its responsible and forthright reporting and action. In just explaining why such a committee may be needed and why it is fair and right for the state AFL-CIO to undertake establishing such a committee one has already begun to align himself with the forces of decency and democracy. Such an alignment will not go unnoticed either by the Negro community or by any person who has a basic committment to the democratic way. I think that you will also find that new channels of cooperation with other groups and agencies will be opened by the work of such a committee. This is especially true for a number of church groups - not just denominations but in many cases specialized agencies working within the denominations. Of course, there are the action and educational agencies in the field of human rights. The Southern Regional Council itself would be most interested in the activities of such a committee, and would be willing to offer it such program support and aid as seemed wise to both parties.

There is one aspect of setting up a new committee which we have not discussed. Along with being conscious of setting forth fairly clear purposes

and channels of action, a good bit of attention will need to be given to the personnel of the committee itself. I am not unfamiliar with the kinds of "political" considerations that need to be given in establishing any major committee. I cannot and would not speak to those problems in your situation. However, this committee more than most, will need to be make up of solid citizens who as a minimum have a committment to honesty and hopefully, have a dedication to good democratic practice. You will need persons who can work together responsibly to hear out complaints even when there is imposing opposition, to determine facts, and to report their findings fairly. Obviously, such a committee needs to represent the major minority groups as well as the majority group. In most of the South this requirement is met merely by having both Negro and white members; however, in Texas I am sure you would want to include Spanish speaking American representation and perhaps others. In no case should your minority representatives be just "yes men" to the majority group; although "Uncle Tom" is not completely dead, the labor movement endangers its legitimate ends any time it even unwittingly helps perpetuate "Uncle Tomism." Hopefully, both minority and majority members would be intelligent, candid, and sensitive to each other and the problems which various groups face. Such sensitivity should not hinder objective facing of the facts and necessary action, but it may well help determine the character of the action and the manner in which it is undertaken. The members of such a committee should have sufficient status with their own groups and hopefully with the labor movement of the state at large.

I will add a few general suggestions as to the kinds of interests or activities a civil rights or fair practices committee might have. Certainly such a committee should be especially conscious of getting to know other individuals and organizations working on human relations problems. Let them know your own position and limitations, and call on their people for help when needed and when you feel they are persons of real responsibility. Such a committee can help the labor movement to find new ways in which to take stands for basic rights. In some sections of your state this might well be an outright statement for public school integration and in other sections you may wish to put the emphasis merely on saving the public school system; although this problem by an large is not so important to Texas as to other sections of the South. Certainly, stands should be taken against specific acts of violence and intimidation. Stands should be taken for the elementary protection of all individual rights. Frequently this might mean defending the rights of someone unpopular even within union circles. Just keep clearly in mind that it is the right which is being protected - usually some form of due process - and that this is a protection of democracy itself. Certainly the labor movement can always afford to stand for a peaceful community. And it should be able to support constructive community or private efforts which are aimed specifically at aiding some minority group. Then, of course, such a committee should aid the labor movement in coming to a wise position whenever a specific issue comes up. One of its task would be to make sure that the labor movement does not take a backward step.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

You will need to decide for yourself whether or not "civil rights committee" is the best title to give the committee which you envision. It may well be. However, I would give at least brief consideration to whether another title might be more acceptable or even more applicable if you plan a committee performing a broad range of functions, as suggested in this letter. I trust that these rambling suggestions will be of some use to you. Please feel free to be in touch with SRC if there are any materials, information, or special resources which we can provide. Recently I have been in touch with H. S. Brown, the state body's Education Director, and he has sample copies of a number of the materials which we have used with union groups in the last two years.

Best wishes to you in this undertaking; I think you and the other leaders in Texas should know that much of the rest of the South's labor movement is keeping its eyes on what you are able to do there as they try to determine the kinds of constructive measures they can employ in their community relations and in meeting the problems of fair practices and civil rights. Good luck.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
cc Ben Segal

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Single Reserved for Oct 31 & Nov 1 at Wisconsin Hotel. Oct 8, JWS

Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

CHARTERED 1958

6333 W. BLUE MOUND RD., MILWAUKEE 13, WISCONSIN SPRING 1-0700

George A. Haberman, *President* John W. Schmitt, *Vice President* George W. Hall, *Secretary-Treasurer*

October 7, 1963.

By Joyce Bkr.

Mr. Emory F. Via,
School for Workers,
University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin.

Dear Emory:

Unfortunately, in my communication to you last week, I did not inquire of you as to whether or not I should make a reservation for a room for you at the Wisconsin Hotel. If you want me to do so, please so advise me.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Schmitt

John W. Schmitt,
Vice President.

JWS:kp

union negotiators in working out final settlement.

Ga AFL-CIO

State AFL-CIO Urges Georgia Wage Floor

Savannah, Ga.—The largest convention in the history of the Georgia State AFL-CIO—more than 500 delegates—elected new officers and adopted a legislative program headed by a call for a state $1.25 minimum wage.

Georgia presently does not have any state wage-hour law.

Jim Moore, who has been secretary of the state central body, was elected president, succeeding the late W. H. Montague, Sr. Moore, a member of the Painters, defeated R. J. Butler of the Elevator Constructors, 444-157.

M. J. Counihan was re-elected executive vice president and Louise Dean was re-elected treasurer. Counihan had been serving as president since Montague's death.

Delegates elected J. W. Giles of the State, County & Municipal Employes secretary of the state federation in a contest with John Wright of the Communications Workers.

Moore, in accepting the presidency, told the delegates that a key objective of his administration will be to accelerate the voter registration program.

The convention called on the Georgia legislature to pass a collective bargaining law for public employes and to exempt the elderly from state personal property tax.

Convention speakers included Assistant Sec. of Labor Thomas R. Donahue.

AFL-CIO News 10/26/64 (p.3)

AFL-CIO Sec
Dead

April 4, 1966

Mr. Harry R. Smith, Chairman
Civil Rights Committee
Local 901, IUE, AFL-CIO
1427 Broadway
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of March 31 requesting SRC literature concerning desegregation and civil rights.

Under separate cover I am sending a selection of our recent publications. One of these, our magazine New South, is appearing in its first issue as a quarterly. The cost of publishing New South prohibits our distributing it gratis, but if you find it pertinent to your interests in the areas of desegregation and civil rights, you will note the subscription form on the back cover of the magazine.

If we can be of further assistance, let us know.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

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WILLIAM G. MARTIN
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
MELVIN BORCHERDING
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G. ROBERT CROSLEY
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PAUL BILLMAN
WAYNE BLAKE
MAURICE CASEY
EUGENE COULTER
CHALMER STEELE

LOCAL 901 IUE-AFL-CIO

1427 BROADWAY : 743-7686 : FORT WAYNE, IND. 46802
(219)

March 31, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Thankyou for your prompt reply to my recent request for material on school desegregation.

We would appreciate any other literature you may have concerning the problems of desegregation and civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Harry R. Smith
P.W.

Harry R Smith, Chairman
Civil Rights Committee

HRS/pw
Oeiu 325 afl-cio

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

April 13, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing some material that will help you make some fast comparisons among states about their unemployment insurance laws. Note that the cost of these laws as percentages of payroll is pretty low although some of the mid-Western States do even worse. (Costs reflect both the quality of the legislation as well as the volume of unemployment and therefore is an imperfect index.) However, I can say with great certainty that the Texas, Florida and Virginia laws are among the half-dozen worst in the United States.

We made detailed analyses of four Southern states fifteen months ago and I am enclosing copies of these if you are interested.

Perhaps we can go into this in more detail when you next come to Washington.

In addition, I very much want to see you about some fascinating new developments in Madison that should be of direct concern to you.

Best regards and

Sincerely,

Ray

Raymond Munts, Acting Director
Department of Social Security

P.S. Georgia has just raised its $35 maximum to $43; it will go up to $45 next year, that is, it increases in two stages. Kentucky has also increased its maximum (46.7 percent of average weekly wages) as have Maryland ($50) and Virginia ($42).

Enclosures
RM:fg
opeiu #2 afl-cio

April 21, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts, Acting Director
Department of Social Security, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Ray:

Thanks so much for the information which you sent regarding unemployment compensation. It will be quite useful to have even though you have left the figuring to me.

Don't put teasigg notes about Madison in your letters unless you know I'm going to see you soon enough to relieve my curriosity. I do hope to see you before long. We will talk.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

P.W.

May 16, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We would very much like to cooperate on the article for the "New South." I am especially interested in the relationship of social insurance programs to the anti-poverty effort. We have several unpublished studies around the office from which we could cull the more interesting ideas for such a piece.

Do you have any particular deadline in mind? What about the length of the article? Would you send me a copy of the New South so I could have the feel of its approach. I would hope that in about two weeks I could put my mind to this. Right now we are in very bad shape in the Ways and Means Committee on the unemployment insurance bill.

You will be interested to know that the Muntses are going to spend the next year, beginning September 1st, in Madison. I will be doing some research work for Bob Lampman's Institute on Poverty Research.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ray

Raymond Munts
Acting Director
Department of Social Security

RM:fg
opeiu #2 afl-cio

Bob A.

Bob: I am not specially wedded to this idea, but thought it worthy of consideration. Does it interest you. I could show you some relevant material of the sort Munts deals with. Aside from his present position, he is a Ph.D in economics and heaven help us a labor educator. Emory

Ray Munts, Acting Director Social Security Department, AFL-CIO

Dear Ray:

What would be the chance of getting an article from you or a competent person on your staff giving and objectve review of where certain kinds of protective legislation stand in the Southern states. Special emphais could of course be given to unemployment compensation. Tying it in with the push for national standards would be fine so long as it was a report on what interests are pressing for such legislation and how the states or their folk would benefit. It would not be required, but useful, to have some special tie in with the ~~special~~ problems of the disadvantaged ~~folks~~.

I would like you to give consideration to such a piece for publication in our New South recently transformed into a quarterly. Its audience is a good one of concenred Southerners in the main and a variety of interesting ~~people~~ influentials in press, foundation and good ~~good~~ circles. They will be, in the main, lay people as far as your special concerns go. ~~If you~~ A modest two-figure honorarium is available if that would help someone to put out the extra effort.

Let me have your reaction and we can talk further if needed.

Sincerely, EFV

JB. O.K. send it.

June 10, 1966

Mr. Ray Munts, Acting Director
Social Security Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Ray:

It was great seeing you and Mary Lou in Washington. I want to thank you both for the most enjoyable evening at your home.

Bob Anderson, our managing editor, tells me that his last letter to you indicated the general length of the article we were interested in and gave you a dead-line for our summer issue. I, for one, certainly hope that you will be able to make this schedule.

If as you begin to think about what it is you would like to do in the article you would like to chew over its relevance to our kind of audience I would be most happy to hear from you. Simply call me. I would be happy for you to do it on my dime. It could be that such an article should start with some basic explanations about unemployment compensation, what it is, what it means to folks, and what it means to the economy under special circumstances. Beyond this a look at the southern states and how they compare to the others and to the nation might be useful especially if accompanied by some explanation of the low level of benefit. In this regard I think some of the information in terms of effort by the states -- for example comparing what they did in an earlier year with what is being done now and relating it to the average weekly wage in each time period -- would be of interest. Is there any way to meaningfully discuss the problems of coverage and money amounts in terms of those persons who are especially disadvantaged in our society? By this latter I mean either minority groups or low income groups.

By the preceding paragraph I by no means mean to outline what it is you should do. I think you are the best judge of that. I would be happy, however, to discuss this further with you if you think it would be useful.

I hope to get to Madison before the summer is over.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 10, 1966

Legislative Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Sirs:

Would you send me as soon as possible two copies each of the current Fact Sheets on legislative issues.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs Alfred

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Brother Via:

Pursuant to your request to Ray Munts, I am enclosing some information on workmen's compensation. I have included a more specific example for the state of Georgia. Similar comparisons could be made in the other southern states should that be your wish. In addition, as you become more involved in workmen's compensation for the various state legislatures and feel that you need a more detailed analysis of specific provisions of state workmen's compensation laws, please feel free to call on us.

Trusting this material will be of help to you, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

Lawrence Smedley

Lawrence Smedley
Assistant Director
Department of Social Security

LS:dev
opeiu#2 afl-cio

Encls:

June 22, 1966

Mr. Lawrence Smedley
Assistant Director
Department of Social Security,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Brother Smedley:

Thank you very much for the materials which you sent me on workmen's compensation which included the more detailed analysis of the Georgia law. If similar analyses are readily available for each of the other Southern states I would be most pleased to have them.

It was generous of you to offer further detailed assistance if needed. I will certainly keep this in mind. In general, the Council would be happy to receive any materials on protective labor legislation that relate to the Southern region or to individual states within the region.

We appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

File

Spartanburg Central Labor Union, A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Meets 1st Tuesday and 3rd Monday, 7:30 P.M. at 252 N. Church St.

Spartanburg, South Carolina

July 9,1966

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm 201
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Via:

We of the Spartanburg Central Labor Union are interested in helping our people to be able to express themselves in public and also to have some knowledge of parliamentary procedure.

Billie Solesby told me of the work you are doing along this line. We would like some information about the cost and time etc.

This is one area that the Labor Movement is failing the membership and we would like to do something about it.

Hoping to hear from you soon on this matter,

Sincerely,

George E. Griffin

George E. Griffin, President
P. O. Box 1147
Spartanburg, S. C. 29301

Comfortable room
Blackboard
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Improving Union Meetings
Procedure, Speech, Meeting, ideas
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Changing South

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Every night for week —
2 full days

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Local union offices

10 — 16 hours

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SPARTANBURG CENTRAL LABOR UNION
P. O. Box 1147
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

SPARTANBURG, S.C.
JUL 11
1966

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm 201
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Ga.

August 12, 1966

Mr. George E. Griffin, President
Spartanburg Central Labor Union, AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1141
Spartanburg, South Carolina 29301

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I was pleased to hear of your interest in union education and am very sorry to be so late in answering your letter of July 9th. It came at a time when I was away from the office for an extended period.

I would be happy to attempt to work out an education program with you. I think we could get togetheronn a program which might emphasize improving the union meetings and include special attention to problems of public speaking and parliamentary procedure. We could have practice sessions in speaking and discussion leading which would use materials related to union problems, labor's responsibilities to the community, and labor's role in the changing South.

Ideally we should have a group between 15 and 30 persons who would attend all sessions planned for the program. Also we should plan for from between 10 and 16 hours of instructional time. If possible I think it is best not to have all of the instruction on one day or even on two consequtive days. If it is not too confusing let me suggest several unusual ideas about how we might get the kind of time which would be needed.

Do you think you could get a group that would meet two hours an evening for every night in one week and then meet for five or six hours on Saturday? Or, possibly, if you had thirty or more people interested in such a program let half of them meet for two nights during the week, the other half for the other two nights and then the whole group come together for Friday night and Saturday. Of course, we could try meeting a group

for two evenings during the week and then meeting onSSaturday and Sunday. Would you let me know if any of these plans make sense in terms of the kind of people you would expect to participate in such a program. Or perhaps you have a suggestion which would better suit your group.

For a beginning program of this sort I think we could handle it for a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars. This would, of course, not fully cover the instruction time, expenses, and materials which would be involved. However, ourpprogram here would underwrite the rest of the cost. The Central Labor Union besides providing the students would need to provide a suitable room for the sessions, a blackboard with chalk and eraser, and a movie projector and screen.

I will be out of town another two or three weeks. When I come back you will have had a chance to read and think about this letter and then we could talk about the whole matter more fully by telephone. If you continue to be interested in such a program, I hope you will think about what time in the fall you would like tohave it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AFL-CIO General
1966

November 23, 1966

Mr. Marvin Friedman
Research Department, AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Marv:

I was very sorry to miss you in Miami at the Southern Labor School, but I had to leave on Tuesday morning.

If you prepared a paper regarding the new minimum wage law amendments and the problems of enforcement, I would greatly welcome seeing it. In any event, could you send other materials along this line which you feel are especially useful that have either been developed by the department or have come to your attention?

I am glad that the southern labor guys continue to have opportunities to hear you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

February 21, 1967

Mr. Charles H. Gillman,
Regional Director
AFL-CIO
1026 Hurt Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Charlie,

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 20, 1967

Mr. Rudolph Oswald, Economist
Department of Research
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Rudy:

Thanks for the copy of your reprint from the Federationist on Minimum Wage. I had already read it in the magazine with some care and found it quite useful. You may know that I requested permission from the Federationist to reprint the special section you included on the "Extent of Wage-Hour Violations".

Thanks, too, for your comment on efforts here. I will send you a copy of the kit as soon as I can get even one available. They are all out at this point with the exception of some which are incomplete since we have not received all of the materials we ordered from the Wage-Hour Division itself.

I had asked, by phone, the Federationist to send me fifty copies of the reprint when it was available. This has probably slipped from the organizational memory. I would still like to have them. Could you help out?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Copy

April 24, 1967

Mr. Staunton Smith
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Stan:

I am sending to Houston under separate cover 25 copies of the Minimum Wage Campaign Kit, 100 copies of the table of contents (What Is In This Kit), and 25 copies of the illustrated pamphlet for handing out to low wage earners (More Money for You?).

Al Kehrer indicated that you were interested in presenting the kit idea to your meeting. Since time is so short I thought that I would move ahead and send the above listed items to you. I understand you might have wanted one hundred kits. This is not possible at this time, but the materials are now being reprinted and once the government materials arrive, we should be able to fill orders again.

In a few places I have found some misconception about the kit. Some unionists have thought of it as an effort to educate unions or to alert those union workers in marginal situations as to minimum wage protection for them. This is not the case. As you know, it is intended as an aid to unions working either directly with non-union (for the present) low wage earners or with those groups who do work with them. It also is hoped that the campaign idea will provide the basis for cooperation between unions and other groups as one way of

furthering their ability to work with each other on other issues as well. Incidentally, Al Kehrer understands the fit fully and its intended use. If he is in Houston at the right time and you plan to have the kit presented, perhaps he can be of assistance.

I had seen the Meany letter which you sent me on minimum wages. It was an especially useful letter of its kind because it took time to spell out some of the concrete steps a group might take.

I hope your other area meetings have gone well and that the Houston one will be a great success. In recent weeks I have had a number of reminders of your earlier tracks into the South. They ranged from your abbreviated stint with the SRC board, through the Southern Labor School efforts, to some stories regarding fly fishing (embellished by Dan Powell).

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 25, 1967

Mr. Stanton Smith
C.O.P.E ?
Lincoln-Sheraton
Houston, Texas

Dear Stanton:

I failed to mention in my letter about the Minimum Wage Kits that I was also including one hundred copies of an article by Ray Munts on unemployment compensation. It has a special focus on the Southern States. I thought it was useful and if you feel the same I am happy for you to have them.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

May 25, 1967

Mr. Marvin Friedman
Assistant Director
Department of Research
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Marv:

A word: Congratulations! I am pleased that the AFL-CIO will continue to have your good services in your new position. I am sure you richly deserve the promotion.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emery F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

January 9, 1968

Mr. Louis Banks
Office of the Managing Editor
Fortune Magazine
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Banks:

To answer in detail the distortions, misrepresentations and downright misstatements of fact in Mr. O'Hanlon's article "The Case Against the Unions", January, 1968, would require as many words as he used in making them. I will note only a few examples as typical of the whole.

Let me start with his glittering statistics on how many Negroes would be employed in the building trades if they were represented in proportion to population.

Mr. O'Hanlon did not even correctly read the tables he refers to in Employment, Race and Poverty, edited by Arthur Ross and Herbert Hill. He asserts for example that there should be 112,000 more Negro workers working as construction foremen. That, in fact is the figure for all foremen - not just construction foremen. The last federal census shows there are only 101,896 construction foremen in the whole United States.

And in pursuit of his deception, Mr. O'Hanlon conveniently ignores the fact that the same table shows minority workers in the carpenters and other construction craftsmen growing in proportions greater than any category cited except non-college teachers. That specifically includes professional and technical workers, managers, officials, proprietors and even clerical and sales workers.

How does one deal with this kind of deceptive generality? By asking perhaps the relative percentage of Negroes in the Congress, or in Governors' chairs, or on school faculties, or among the senior editors of Fortune magazine?

Mr. O'Hanlon does even worse violence to the general thrust of the report he cites. He, and Fortune's newspaper advertisements, have conjured up a contrast between a supposed "breakthrough" by Negroes in professional and technical occupations and a supposed stalemate, or worse, in the construction trades. The report itself, covering the years 1959-64, shows nothing of the sort. On the contrary, it asserts that:

> "Negroes made appreciable gains in skilled manual trades both in construction and in manufacturing. The number of Negro carpenters rose from 27,000 to 43,000, with other construction craftsmen increasing from 94,000 to 123,000."

The actual figures in the report - not Fortune's interpretation of them - bear this out. In any event a report which terminates in 1964 is by definition out of date. The Civil Rights Act, with its fair employment section, was not law until late 1964 - an act which the AFL-CIO strongly supported and has used since with great effectiveness.

There is another generality: "Negro factory hands earn 32 percent less than their white counterparts."

The O'Hanlon insinuation is that the unions are to blame. That is just not so. Let's see what his statistic is all about.

1) The prime contributors to the 32 percent figure are low-wage, unorganized industries which AFL-CIO unions are trying hard to organize, almost always against the last ditch opposition of the employers. These industries employ a disproportionate number of Negroes at inordinately low wage scales.

2) In unionized industries, wherever the union is strong enough, the differentials have been long since eliminated - despite intense employer opposition and sometimes only when the unions were ready to strike.

3) The federal law, which we sought and employers resisted, is currently being used by unions against recalcitrant employers in order to eliminate such remaining differentials.

The O'Hanlon article attacks on industrial unions and the seniority system are equally false. The seniority systems of the thirties have been improved time and again. Seniority is often minority workers best protection against exploitation by employers. In addition, many industrial unions - and this specifically includes the Steelworkers - have not only worked unstintingly to eliminate discrimination in upgrading - they are currently

conducting major educational and training operations to insure that minority workers are ready for more skilled jobs.

I must also take personal exception to what Mr. O'Hanlon said about the department I head. He asserted that complaints to the AFL-CIO produced no results. He charged we have never made a frontal attack on discrimination and segregation. These are untruths of staggering dimensions.

The record shows that:

1) Hundreds of cases have been satisfactorily handled by this department and Mr. O'Hanlon could have examined the files on these cases when he was here, if he had asked. Obviously he wasn't interested in facts. He didn't use a single bit of the factual information we provided him.

2) No other organization - save the civil rights organizations - fought as hard as the AFL-CIO has fought and continues to fight for civil rights legislation, including granting cease-and-desist authority to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. And it is the AFL-CIO that continues the fight today for fair housing legislation, in the face of polls that report many union members as individuals are opposed to it.

3) We have launched, financed and established affirmative programs to upgrade minority workers and have promoted better public education, especially in America's ghettos.

4) In the area of apprenticeship, we have worked out programs in over 17 major U. S. cities to recruit and help prepare minority youngsters for entry into skilled trades. This is done in cooperation with the Building Trades Councils and community based organizations - among them the Urban League, Opportunities Industrialization Center and the Workers Defense League.

Mr. O'Hanlon implied that our Civil Rights Committee comprises white union leaders reluctant to move against themselves. In fact, this committee of 20 outstanding international union officers includes three militant and outspoken Negro trade union leaders.

And he left the impression of a rift between the AFL-CIO and the dean of the Negro union leaders, A. Philip Randolph. On the contrary, Mr. Randolph has praised the progress made by the AFL-CIO and commended in most generous terms the efforts of Mr. Meany and of the Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. Randolph is his own best spokesman. He told the 1965 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention, "...Negro leadership recognizes that of all the mass institutions in the nation the labor movement holds out the greatest hope for progress in the daily conditions of life in the Negro community ..... the civil rights department is to be congratulated for the vigor and effectiveness with which it has labored to eliminate the remaining discrimination within our ranks."

And on December 11, 1967 when Mr. Randolph introduced the civil rights resolution to the AFL-CIO convention, he said:

"In supporting this resolution, President Meany, I want also to thank and congratulate you for the firm stand that you have taken as spokesman for the AFL-CIO on behalf of civil rights .....to translate these words into action requires strong leadership. That leadership has been exercised, President Meany, by you and by Brother Schnitzler, who had presided ably and diligently over the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO."

No one in the AFL-CIO maintains that the civil rights record of unions is without fault or above criticism. We never object to an honest, objective appraisal of union problems or shortcomings in this or any field. But the O'Hanlon article is not criticism; it is a dishonest, distorted attack.

Finally, let me say a few words about Mr. O'Hanlon's four so-called "reforms". They are revealing indeed; for essentially they are not pro-Negro but anti-union, calculated to divide the labor movement and Negroes.

To us this is not accidental. It is precisely this that Mr. O'Hanlon and "Black Power" advocates want. Such a division would be detrimental to unions, to Negroes and to America. And that we will not allow to happen.

Sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DS:cr
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file AFL-CIO

October 18, 1968

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Has there been a re-issuing of "Education in the Fifty States"? The latest one I have is the third revised edition, 1966.

If a new one is out, please send three copies as soon as possible. Will it be available in bulk?

If a new one is not out, does the Department contemplate a revision?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Dirty

John J. Grogan, AFL-CIO Vice President, Dies

John J. Grogan, president of the Marine & Shipbuilding Workers and a vice president of AFL-CIO, died of a heart attack Sept. 16.

At age 54, he had been president of his International union for 17 years. He served 12 years as mayor of Hoboken, N. J. Earlier, he had served as a member of the New Jersey legislature.

Under the union's constitution, Vice Pres. Andrew A. Pettis automatically stepped up to the presidency upon Grogan's death.

Dirty

Dirty

NEW OFFICERS of the Laborers—Pres. Peter Fosco, left, and Terence J. O'Sullivan, who succeeds Fosco as secretary-treasurer.

November 5, 1968

Mr. Daniel A. Powell, Director
Area V, C.O.P.E.
AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan:

I have tried to reach you unsuccessfully on two trips through Memphis. I am teaching a class in Owensboro, Kentucky and will come through Memphis on the following dates: November 7, 21 and December 5, 12 and 19.

I have only a short stay at the airport but if there is any special program or matters which we should discuss I could probably arrange to come in a day early.

Trust campaigning went well. Will know just how well today.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

AFL-CIO

December 18, 1968

Mr. George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

I was, of course, happy to be with the Advanced Southern Labor School again and it is my pleasure to be of some small service to the Education Department.

It looked like an excellent school to me and I have heard good comments about it since its conclusion.

You asked about the course charges by the Labor Education Program at the University of Kentucky. I have had nothing to do with the administration of the course but think that the fee was $10.00.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

November 26, 1968

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for participating in the Advanced Southern Labor School program. I am sure that you found it as stimulating as I did. This is one of the few programs which is geared to full-time state body people and international union representatives that our department works on. I find it to be one of the most worthwhile things we do.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, ~~Asst.~~ Director
Department of Education

Really — Thanks

Enclosure

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FINAL PROGRAM

1968 ADVANCED SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL
Flagship Hotel, Galveston, Texas
November 17-22, 1968

Sunday, November 17

4:00 p.m.	Registration
6:30 p.m.	Dinner
	Speaker: Honorable Ralph Yarborough, U.S. Senator

Monday, November 18

9:00 a.m.	"Economic Issues Under The Nixon Administration" Marvin Friedman, Asst. Director, AFL-CIO Research Department
1:30 p.m.	"Building Stronger State AFL-CIO Bodies" J. Bill Becker, President, Arkansas State AFL-CIO Roy Evans, Secretary-Treasurer, Texas State AFL-CIO William Clitheroe, Regional Education Director International Association of Machinists Tommy S. Gibson, Sr., International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

Tuesday, November 19

9:00 a.m.	"Facing The Welfare Issue With Our Members" Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
2:00 p.m.	Boat Trip

Wednesday, November 20

9:00 a.m.	"Poverty-Labor Training Programs" George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director, AFL-CIO Department of Education Earl Williams, University of Houston Edgar Berlin, OEO Labor Liaison, Austin, Texas Jesse Lester, OEO Labor Liaison, Atlanta, Georgia

Wednesday, November 20 (cont.)

2:00 p.m. "The Memphis Sanitation Strike"
Edward Stanfield, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

"Hunger In America" - CBS Film

"The Grape Boycott"
Delores Huerto, Vice President, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee

7:30 p.m. "Do Not Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate"
New copper strike film produced by United Steel Workers

Thursday, November 21

9:00 a.m. "Outreach Programs"
E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept. Chairman
Ernest Green, Workers Defense League
Robert McGlotten, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Chuck Bremmer, Workers Defense League

1:30 p.m. "The 1968 Election"
Nicholas Chriss, Los Angeles Times
Don Ellinger, International Association of Machinists
Walter Davis, Director, AFL-CIO Department of Education
Dan Powell, COPE Area Director
Barbara Jordan, State Senator, Texas

Friday, November 22

9:00 a.m. "The 1968 Election" (cont.)
Don Ellinger, International Association of Machinists
Dan Powell, COPE Area Director

Luncheon - Graduation

Speaker: H. S. "Hank" Brown, President, Texas State AFL-CIO

2:30 p.m. Adjournment

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Southern Labor School
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Mr. J. Bill Becker, Sec.-Treas.
Southern Labor School
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Mr. George T. Guernsey, Coordinator
Southern Labor School
815 16th Street, N.W., Room 510
Washington, D. C. 20006

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

November 25, 1968

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for doing the session at the Advanced Southern Labor School. I thought the session went quite well and was a real addition to the program.

I meant to ask you whether you knew anything about the charges that the University of Kentucky is making for extension courses like the one you are teaching? I sent a letter to Henry Lake and I assume I will be hearing from him soon.

I am, however, interested in keeping up on what you think of the program and how it is operating.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

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GTG/mjq

AFL-CIO

December 18, 1968

Mr. Rudy Oswald
Research Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Rudy:

Thanks for your prompt attention to my request for recent Minimum Wage materials. They were most appreciated by the state legislators attending the Black Elected Officials Conference.

I am certain there will be further requests in the future and it is good to know that you and the department are there to help out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

AFL-CIO

December 18, 1968

Mr. James R. O'Brien
Assistant Director
Department of Social Security
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. O'Brien:

Your materials finally arrived on Monday. Thanks so very much for your efforts and for the materials. Although they did not get here in time for the Black Elected Officials Conference, through no fault of yours, I will be able to send them to selected members of the State Legislators Workshop.

I am sorry for the rush this time, but as always we are greatly appreciative of the cooperation received from the Social Security Department. I am sure we will be making further requests in the future.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

December 9, 1968

Mr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am enclosing six sets of current unemployment and workmen's compensation material concerning a majority of the states you mentioned during our recent telephone conversation. Material on Texas, Tennessee, and Louisiana is limited because I did not have it readily available in our files.

The tables on unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation are copies of the proofs we just received from the printer. But they are up-to-date.

The list of recommendations for state unemployment insurance laws has recently been up-dated, and we plan to distribute it to our state bodies for use in their 1969 legislative work.

If we can provide you with any additional information on these matters, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

James R. O'Brien

James R. O'Brien
Assistant Director
Department of Social Security

JRO:pm

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Enclosures

V.E.P. NEWS

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

DECEMBER 1968 VOL. 2, NO. 12 Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

200 BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS ATTEND FIRST SOUTHWIDE MEET

By JANET WELLS

Approximately half of the South's nearly 400 Negro officeholders met in Atlanta Dec. 11-14 for the first region-wide gathering of black elected officials.

Sponsored by the Voter Education Project, the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials brought 200 public officials together to talk about mutual problems in workshops and panel discussions and to hear such nationally prominent speakers as U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and Georgia state Rep. Julian Bond.

In a resolution adopted at the closing session of the four-day conference, the elected officials stated, "As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government."

The conference opened with a keynote address by Rep. Bond Dec. 11 and closed with a luncheon speech Dec. 14 by Mrs. Chisholm of New York, elected Nov. 5 as the first Negro congresswoman in history.

Attorney General Clark spoke at a banquet Dec. 13.

Clark warned that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 will expire in 1970, and that when it does, "The state legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout this land."

He noted that the states in which literacy tests were banned might reinstate them and that the Justice Department would lose its authority to send federal registrars into Southern counties.

The Voting Rights Act "has made a difference," he said. Clark quipped: "Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby—and not interfered with anyone who wanted to make a phone call."

"I am Southern and white," the outgoing attorney general said, "and I know how very desperately we need black elected officials."

Concluding his speech to a standing ovation, Clark said, "From one side comes the call for order, from the other side the cry for justice, but the long history of mankind tells us that you will have neither order nor justice until you have both."

Richard Hatcher, one of two black mayors of major

(Continued on Page 4)

OFFICEHOLDER ASKS CONFERENCE QUESTION
Picture Taken at One of Several General Sessions

SPEARS ELECTED IN NEW ORLEANS

The city councils of two Southern cities recently named Negroes to fill vacant seats. Meanwhile, a Negro was elected to the school board in New Orleans.

Arthur D. Shores, a veteran civil rights lawyer, was elected unanimously to the Birmingham, Ala., city council following the death of one of its members. In Dallas, Texas, businessman George Allen was appointed to one of two new seats on the council.

The final general election runoff in the South involving a a Negro candidate saw the election of Dr. Mack J. Spears, dean of student affairs at Dillard University, to the school board in New Orleans. Dr. Spears and Joseph Delpit, elected to the Baton Rouge city council Nov. 5, are the first Negroes to win city-wide elections in major Louisiana cities.

Dr. Spears, who won by more than 5,000 votes, received substantial white support and the endorsement of white civic organizations and the daily press.

New Birmingham councilman Shores' home was bombed twice in 1963 because of his civil rights activities. He is the first black man elected to the nine-member council.

Shores' appointive term will expire in October. An election for George Allen's seat will be held this spring.

TEXT OF CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

The following resolution, drafted by a representative of each of the 11 Southern states, was adopted by the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials as the conference ended Dec. 14. It is reprinted here in its entirety.

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the future and will decide whether the succeeding generations of Americans will live in peace or will live at all.

We are appalled by inferences from the incoming administration that the South's racial problems will be effectively dealt with by the states.

The fate and future of the South and her people, black and white, cannot be left in the hands of these leaders whose past failures have demonstrated their inability and unwillingness to build a new South.

While business, acting unselfishly, can help, business alone will not bring enlightened, unselfish solutions to this region's problems.

Rather, we, as members of city, county and state governments, believe in and depend on democratic government, responsive to the needs of our constituents and the unrepresented millions of the South, as the proper problem-solving agency of the 20th Century.

We hope that the traditional Southern divisions between class and race can be healed. The kinds of oppressed whites who have had their own interests subverted by their racism must join with the oppressed blacks whom we represent to build a new South.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act. This can be done only by full dedication of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of federal and state government to the rights of man. The United States Supreme Court and our federal judiciary must be upheld and strengthened in devotion to equal justice.

We want to urge the President of the United States and our Congress to extend the much needed Voting Rights Act of 1965, from its present maturity date, to another five years.

Since 1965, 805,233 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the 11 Southern states. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none have been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles, how can we explain that only about 60 per cent of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that the people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation—as the tragic events at Orangeburg, S. C., earlier this year illustrated—have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues—as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Ala., and many other places, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the *Brown* decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14 per cent of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama, 5.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.9 per cent; South Carolina, 6.4 per cent; Louisiana, 6.7 per cent; and Georgia, 9.9 per cent.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread underemployment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the income in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for low pay. Minimum wage laws must be broadened and enforced.

As part of a short-term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance, itself, needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear and legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

We want to thank the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for bringing us together and giving us the tools and techniques we need to improve our performance as elected officials.

As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettos should have taught us that the just and human needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high-sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.

Voter Education Project

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DR. SAMUEL D. COOK
Chairman

PAUL ANTHONY
JULIAN BOND
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DR. VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
JESSE HILL
NORMAN HILL
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JOHN WHEELER
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Director

NEWSMAN SWINGS MIKE TO QUESTIONER
Conference Got Wide Press Coverage

ATTORNEY GENERAL WAS BANQUET SPEAKER
Called for Extended Voting Rights

OFFICIALS CHAT DURING BANQUET
Attorney General Clark Spoke After Dinner

SCENES AT SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE

Photos by Booker Lockhart and Harmon Perry

URBAN LEAGUE'S WHITNEY YOUNG DROPPED IN
Between Paul Anthony and Vernon Jordan

KEYNOTER BOND GREETS MRS. CHISHOLM
Her Speech Closed Conference

HATCHER (CENTER) SPOKE AT FORUM
Shown with Vernon Jordan, Dr. Henderson

Text of President's Telegram

Four years ago, only a handful of black people held public office in the South. Negroes were, in effect, without a direct voice in the councils of government in the Southland.

Soon after this administration began, I had the honor of signing into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes who had previously been denied the ballot were able, for the first time in their lives, to register and to vote. Indeed, Negro registration in the South has increased by one million in the last four years, to a total of more than three million today. Those black Southerners are today, for the first time, able to participate in the most basic step in our democracy—the casting of the ballot on election day.

Largely because of this historic development there are now some 385 black elected officials—all holding public offices for which they had to go before the voters—in the South. These officials now are gathered in a conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council to discuss their mutual problems, to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel on the performance of their public duties.

As President of the United States, I salute these black men and women now meeting in Atlanta. I wish their conference much success. I am proud to have been a part of the developments that made it possible for them to serve.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 1)

American cities, spoke to an audience of Negro officeholders and students at Clark College Thursday, Dec. 12. He called for black power and black consciousness which would lift the Negro from his role as a "stranger in the American village" and for "people power" which would enable both races to achieve "the good society."

"If I look to the alleviation of our poverty and the improvement of our standard of life," he said, "logic compels me to place hope in the eventual coming together of the demands for power by people of many sorts."

These "people of many sorts" include youth, students and Spanish-speaking Americans, he said.

While expressing confidence that the lives of the black people of Gary are richer since he took office a year ago, he warned that there are some services that no public official can perform for his constituents because "the power structure of this society is not prepared to give up enough of its profits to solve the problems of city living—for whites or blacks."

Mrs. Chisholm, echoing Mayor Hatcher's thoughts, quoted black abolitionist Frederick Douglass: "Power concedes nothing."

She spoke at length of her own campaign in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant district. Like most of the speakers during the four-day conference, she talked about black power.

"Black power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people," she said, "and is putting new, hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community among our people."

Citing the apathy of black voters, especially in the South, she said, "Many of them don't go to the polls because the public officials that they put in office forget them when they get in office."

Julian Bond, whose name was put before the 1968 Democratic National Convention as a vice presidential nominee, said Negroes must seek new political allies.

Bond said that there are so relatively few Negroes in the United States that "we have got to find the kinds of people who can help us."

"We naturally ought to look to the other colored minorities —the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. If we could get some kind, any kind of response from the heavy shield of racism that blinds poor white people, they would be our natural allies, too."

Both Bond and Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College, criticized President-elect Nixon's proposed "black capitalism."

"It is an illusion to think this approach will transform the lives of the majority of brothers and sisters from poverty and destitution to minimum standards of living," Henderson said.

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, professor of political science at Duke University and chairman of VEP's Advisory Committee, told the first session Dec. 12 that the Negro "is the key to Southern politics."

"Take him out of the equation," Dr. Cook continued, "and the politics of Southern history does not, in substance, make sense."

The professor added, "The key to Southern liberation is black liberation."

Black elected officials from all 11 Southern states attended the four-day conference, which was the first of its kind ever held in the South. In addition to the general sessions, workshops were conducted Thursday afternoon, Dec. 12; Friday afternoon, Dec. 13; and Saturday morning, Dec. 14.

A luncheon panel Friday featured four Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The four and the offices they sought were Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Mrs. Eva Clayton, U. S. House in North Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

JORDAN ON LEAVE AT HARVARD

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, departed Atlanta early in January to begin five months of instruction and study at Harvard University.

Mr. Jordan is one of five new Fellows selected for the 1968-69 academic year at Harvard's Institute of Politics. The Institute was established in 1966 as a part of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and is endowed by the Kennedy Library, Inc.

In addition to undertaking studies related to current urban problems, Mr. Jordan will conduct a seminar at Harvard called "The Black Man in the Southern Political Process: 1944 to the Present."

V.E.P. News Vol. 2 No. 12

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

January 30, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

If you can send me a one-page "evaluation" of the Galveston conference, I would appreciate it. I am especially interested in your comments on your small group.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

February 5, 1969

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

The summary you requested is attached.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

M E M O R A N D U M February 5, 1969

Comments on The University of Houston's "Labor Training Project" held in Galveston, Texas, January 1969.

The total program had many strengths. Its weaknesses lay in a crowded schedule, insufficient meshing, and inadequate time for informal in-depth learning.

The small groups were provided for greater discussion opportunity and I felt that they were to a large degree successful and useful. They provided the main opportunity for both informal teaching and individual response.

The groups were not highly structured and I believe more guidelines or brief resource material would have assisted discussion leaders in making each group a better part of the whole.

I was not too bothered by the lack of structure. Our group responded to the daily sessions where appropriate or I did "my own thing" when I thought it was useful. Although this suited me reasonably well and such an approach can provide useful education when the instructors are fully competent, it opens the door to almost too much variety.

The state groups, in many cases, went well and I think more time could have been spent in them. Perhaps it would have been useful to have avoided the first session on a state basis (the very first day) and have added it as a second session toward the end. I'm sure I felt better than many of the group leaders over the last state session because I did not receive any questionnaires and thought that matter had been cancelled.

MEMORANDUM - 2.
February 5, 1969

With some of the small groups more sharing or balancing of experience between staff with extensive union orientation and those without such experience might have been useful.

In the overall program the quality of the resource people was generally good, but perhaps too many were used.

Some of the discussion leaders showed signs of serious fatigue about mid-week or a little beyond,--and there was little opportunity for recuperation. In a few instances this may have led to some fogginess as to what their particular group should be doing.

Although the provided readings were frequently excellent, in and of themselves, they were no substitute for a much briefer orientation to goals and problems. The readings had relatively little utility for my groups although I am certain that a few people made moderate use of them.

This, of course, is all on the critical side and I think all of us saw much evidence of positive change and success.

North Carolina
State AFL-CIO

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FIRST CLASS

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: Janet Wells
(VEP wants copy when they come in)

February 27, 1969

Mr. Al Barkan, Director
Committee on Political Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barkan:

We would very much like to have two copies of the current COPE calendar.

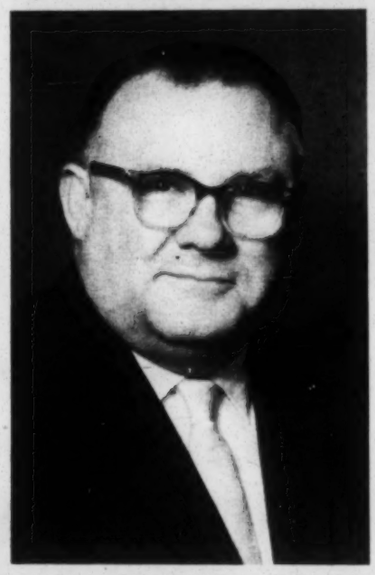
With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Katharine Martin
Secretary
Labor Program

km

Save to update new directory 3/1/69



NEW VICE PRESIDENTS of the AFL-CIO, elected to fill vacancies on the federation's Executive Council, are from left: Matthew Guinan, president of Transport Workers; C. L. Dennis, president of Railway & Airline Clerks, and A. F. Grospiron, president of Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers.

Grospiron, Guinan, Dennis Fill Executive Council Vacancies

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Executive Council filled three vacancies in its ranks by electing A. F. Grospiron, Matthew Guinan and C. L. Dennis vice presidents of the federation.

Grospiron is president of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; Guinan is president of the Transport Workers; Dennis is head of the Railway & Airline Clerks.

The vacancies on the council resulted from the deaths of John J. Grogan and George Harrison and the resignation because of ill health of Ralph Helstein. Helstein was named a vice president emeritus.

All three of the new council members are veteran trade unionists whose road to international union office began when they were elected by their shopmates to local union office.

Grospiron, 52, was born in Burton, Tex., and worked in oil refineries in the state starting in 1935. In 1942, he helped organize his Texas City refinery and in later years served in various local union offices, including the presidency and the full-time post of secretary-treasurer.

He was elected an OCAW board member in 1959 and in 1962 became secretary-treasurer of the OCAW.

Grospiron won election as OCAW president in 1965, succeeding O. A. Knight, who retired. He was reelected without opposition at the union's 1967 convention.

Guinan, 58, was born in Offaly, Ireland, and came to the United States in 1929. He started work in 1933 as a trolley operator for the Third Ave. line in New York and helped organize his fellow workers into the TWU.

In 1942, Guinan became a full-time organizer for the union's big Local 100, was elected vice president of the local in 1945 and its president for six two-year terms, starting in 1949.

He was chosen to the new post of executive vice president of the TWU in 1952 and in 1956 took on the additional job of secretary-treasurer.

Guinan, along with other top TWU officers, spent nine days in jail in 1966 for refusing to call off New York City's transit strike. He became the second president in the history of the Transport Workers that year, when Mike Quill died.

Dennis, 60, was born into a railroad family in Breadstown, Ill. Sixteen members of his family are or have been railroad workers, including his wife, a son, two daughters and five sisters.

He joined the Railway Clerks when he started work as a freight handler for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy in 1928. Dennis held almost every local office and later was division chairman. In 1939, he won the union's grand prize for signing up the largest number of workers into the union.

Dennis was elected an international vice president of the union in 1959 and assigned to work in the growing field of airline clerks. He served for 19 years as general chairman of the Chicago & North Western System Board.

Dennis was first elected president in 1963 and reelected without opposition in 1967.

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NEW VICE PRESIDENTS of the AFL-CIO, elected to fill vacancies on the federation's Executive Council, are from left: Matthew Guinan, president of Transport Workers; C. L. Dennis, president of Railway & Airline Clerks, and A. F. Grospiron, president of Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers.

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

MARCH 1969 VOL. 3, NO. 3 Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

COURT ORDERS NEW VOTE IN GREENE COUNTY, ALA.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered a new election for six offices in Greene County, Ala., where the probate judge last fall refused to put the names of National Democratic Party of Alabama candidates on the ballot.

In the same ruling, the court struck down the state's Garrett Law, which required candidates in the general election to file a declaration of intent to run by March 1.

The case grew out of a refusal by Alabama Secretary of State Mabel Amos and several probate judges last fall to certify NDPA candidates because they had not complied with the Garrett Law. The Supreme Court, acting on a petition from the NDPA, issued a temporary order restraining the state from keeping the names off the ballot.

Greene County Probate Judge J. Dennis Herndon ignored the court order and left off the ballot the names of four NDPA candidates for county commission and two for school board.

By striking down the Garrett Law, the Supreme Court

(Continued on Page 8)

Henry Akins, New AVEP Chairman

HENRY D. AKINS IS NEW CHAIRMAN OF ARKANSAS VEP

Henry D. Akins, a high school principal from Wynne, Ark., is the new chairman of the Arkansas Voter Education Project.

Akins, 36, replaces attorney George Howard, who resigned in February. He was elected March 15 at an AVEP executive board meeting.

Akins was a candidate for Arkansas' First District congressional seat in the primary election last July. He is principal of Childress High School in Wynne.

A former biology instructor at Shorter College in North Little Rock, he holds a master's degree in education from the University of Arkansas. He attended Shorter College for two years and received his bachelor of science degree from Philander Smith College in 1957.

Akins is past president of both the Cross County Teachers Association and the Northeast Arkansas Administrators Association.

A native of Augusta, Ark., Akins is married and has two children.

Mrs. Ardies Mauldin of Selma, Ala., recently recognized as the first person registered under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, stands on the front porch of her home on Selma's King Street. An interview with Mrs. Mauldin appears on Page 2.

AT LEFT, THE MAULDINS AT HOME; RIGHT, MRS. MAULDIN WITH SON CHARLES' PICTURE

Mr. Mauldin Was Second Registered; Charles' Civil Rights Work Inspired Them

WHY MRS. MAULDIN REGISTERED FIRST

By JANET WELLS

"When things were going along smooth, I didn't think much about it. But when they started running horses over people, then I got mad."

Mrs. Ardies Mauldin of Selma, Ala., was recalling the circumstances which had made her the first person in line August 10, 1965, when federal registrars came to Dallas County to make the ballot available to the county's 15,000 eligible but unregistered blacks. It was the first appearance of federal registrars in the South, and Mrs. Mauldin became the first person registered under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Mrs. Mauldin's name first appeared in the national press last December when black members of the Johnson administration gave the retiring President a gold-plated replica of her voting certificate as a farewell memento. In February, a Voter Education Project staff member interviewed Mrs. Mauldin and her husband in their home.

"We have always been a family of people who lived and had no trouble," she said, trying to explain why voting had not seemed so important to her until racists and lawmen began clubbing Negro and white demonstrators in the streets of her hometown. "We always owned our own farm. My father's 84, and he's still independent today. We never had any trouble with the law, never had a minute's trouble with anyone."

Mrs. Mauldin, who shares George Washington's birthday, was 57 Feb. 22. Born in Sardis, about 13 miles away, she has lived in Selma since 1931. She is a practical nurse, and, her husband, Thomas Mauldin, is a salesman and delivery man for a wholesale grocery company. They live in a comfortable seven-room house they bought in 1947.

Like many residents of Selma, the Mauldins were thrust into involvement in the struggle for equality by one of their children.

Charles Mauldin, then 17, was president of the youth movement during the violent struggle for the ballot in Selma in the winter and early spring of 1965. He was among the first persons to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge on that fateful Sunday when Sheriff Jim Clark unleashed his mounted, club-wielding patrolmen against demonstrators who were trying to march to Montgomery.

"Our daughter called and said Charles had gone with the march," Mrs. Mauldin recalled. "Thomas ran and got his gun and said they weren't going to do that to his child. He said, 'They're going to have to kill me, too.' "

Mrs. Mauldin restrained her husband. But by the time Charles had returned unharmed from the bloody fracas which contributed to passage of the Voting Rights Act, they had realized that things were not going smoothly in Selma and that the time had come to think about it.

"After Charles had made such an effort, even risked his life, I felt like I had to do something, too," she recalled.

Her voice is still bitter when she speaks of lawmen attacking the demonstrators—many of them young friends of her son's—on horseback and firing tear gas on them.

"If it hadn't been for the teen-agers that got out, there never would have been as many registered," she believes. "They gave their parents courage."

Registering to vote was not simple in Selma, even for those who had the courage and endurance to reach the registrar's office. A week or two after she went to the courthouse, Mrs. Mauldin received word that she had not passed the literacy test.

In the summer, when Congress already was drafting a voting rights bill which would alleviate the conditions which kept Selma Negroes away from the polls, she attempted again to register—this time by mail with a sympathetic federal judge in Mobile.

But she didn't wait to test the validity of this registration. On August 10, the Mauldins "just happened to get there on time" to be the first two people registered under the new law inspired largely by their son and his friends.

"It didn't take but a few minutes," she said. "I don't know why it couldn't have been like that in the first place."

Mrs. Mauldin was concerned when told that the Voting Rights Act would expire in 1970, allowing Alabama and the other states to return to use of literacy tests and other tactics which had kept her from voting for so many years.

"It really would be bad to have to go back," she said.

The Mauldins have voted in every election since they registered. They humorously recalled George Wallace's presidential campaign claim that his wife received a heavy black vote in Selma in the 1966 general election. Mrs. Mauldin pointed out that many Negroes voted a straight Democratic ticket to insure the victory of Wilson Baker for sheriff over Jim Clark, defeated in the primary by a solid black turnout but running again in a write-in effort.

"A lot of people get mad when he (Wallace) talks about

(Continued on Page 3)

COURT BACKS VRA PROVISION

In a broad interpretation of Section 5 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that states covered by the law may not change their election procedures without prior approval of the U.S. attorney general or the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C.

The March 3 ruling grew out of three suits in connection with 1966 amendments to Mississippi's election laws and a case involving the Virginia board of elections. Specifically, the court determined that those states must have permission to change counties' voting from district to at-large, to change a county office from elective to appointive, to enforce stricter requirements for write-in candidates or to prohibit use of paste-on stickers by illiterate voters.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing for the majority, said the Voting Rights Act was intended to include protection from "the subtle, as well as the obvious state regulations which have the effect of denying citizens their right to vote because of race."

Warren pointed out that changing such laws could dilute the votes of minority groups, remove formerly elective offices from the voters' control and undermine the effectiveness of citizens who wish to vote for independent candidates.

The court did not order new elections in Mississippi counties where officials have been elected under the 1966 law changes. The chief justice said there was no evidence of discrimination or deliberate defiance of the Voting Rights Act.

Justice John M. Harlan dissented with the majority's decision not to require new elections on the grounds that since the 1965 federal law is due to expire in 1970, elections for some offices would never be held in compliance with this section of the Voting Rights Act.

Harlan added, "There may have been hundreds of officials throughout the South who began serving long terms in office this November under procedures that have not been federally approved. As a result of this part of the court's decision, the Voting Rights Act may never play the full role that Congress intended for it."

Section 5 says that no state under the Act can enforce "any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on Nov. 1, 1964" without permission of the attorney general or approval of the U.S. District Court in Washington.

Two other federal court decisions affecting the Voting Rights Act have been handed down recently in Louisiana.

A three-judge panel in Baton Rouge ordered registrars in nine parishes to put on their books the names of persons registered by federal registrars. The parishes affected are East Feliciana, West Feliciana, Plaquemines, East Carroll, Ouachita, DeSoto, Madison, Bossier and Caddo.

U.S. District Court Judge Ben Dawkins March 10 ordered a new election for town marshal in Tallulah, La., where Negro candidate Zelma Wyche was defeated by 300 votes in February of 1968.

MRS. MAULDIN

(Continued from Page 2)

that," chuckled Mrs. Mauldin. "But I just laugh."

Do they find things any better in Selma today?

They say it's easier for the young people to get jobs, and they think the city council is finally going to do something to stop the floods that have swept through the homes in their all-Negro neighborhood year after year.

On the whole, they feel Dallas County's elected officials are paying more attention to the black community since more than 10,000 of its members have registered to vote.

"They've kind of been pushed up to it since they got so many colored votes," Mrs. Mauldin reasons.

BOND, M'KISSICK DELIVER MESSAGE AT NCVEP MEETING

At least 600 North Carolina grass roots leaders attended the North Carolina Voter Education Project's third annual leadership training conference in Raleigh March 8.

The crowd swelled to approximately 1,000—including students from host Shaw University—by afternoon when Georgia state Rep. Julian Bond spoke.

In addition to speeches by Rep. Bond and former CORE national director Floyd McKissick, the conference featured workshops on voter registration, getting out the vote, public housing and urban renewal, community organization and education.

Attorney McKissick, who is developing Soul City in North Carolina, advocated Black Power in a rousing keynote speech. Calling the civil rights movement "hung up on semantics," he said Negroes have been "deluding themselves and wasting time" over words like "integration," "Fourteenth Amendment" and "the law."

"If you got the power, you don't need the law," he told the enthusiastic audience. "Whites know what power is; they got power. This is the white man's game."

Rep. Bond also called for racial solidarity.

"Integration victories have little meaning for most blacks," the young Atlanta legislator said. "For most of us, things have not gotten better. They have gotten worse."

Bond defined politics as "saying who gets how much from whom."

"If we are to involve ourselves in that kind of politics," he continued, "we have to think of ourselves as a unit."

What is needed finally, he said, is commitment—"the kind of commitment that would have kept Northern youth in the South and Chicago in ferment."

VEP NEWS BRIEFS

Voter education classes in West Feliciana Parish, La., last summer were organized on a ward basis. During weekly classes in the nine wards, task force workers used model voting machines to teach voters the mechanics of voting. The voters were also informed of their rights at the polls and the dates and importance of upcoming elections.

Miss Kathleen Feyen, secretary of the Greenwood, Miss., Movement, wrote in late October: "We had tried to have classes in churches and schools in the rural areas; but because of the fear of having their buildings burned or taken away, many would not 'get mixed up in that mess.' Instead, people from the rural areas and Greenwood residents have gone out into the smaller cities and down the side roads, stopping at each home and showing each family how to fold and mark the ballot so their vote will be counted in November. We also set up a booth in the downtown section of Greenwood and showed the shoppers as they went by."

EXCERPTS FROM WASHINGTON

(Excerpts following are from an address by Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, to the 21st annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. The conference was held March 20-21 at the Hotel Shoreham in Washington, D. C.)

In August of 1965, the first certificate issued under the Voting Rights Act was given to a black woman from Selma, Alabama—Mrs. Ardies Mauldin. There was much appropriate about this event.

First of all, it was Selma and the violence there in the spring of 1965 that led to the Voting Rights Act. Secondly, it was fitting that Mrs. Mauldin led the way. Her teen-age son was a local youth leader in the civil rights movement. He was a part of the generation that assaulted racial injustice with such vigor in the early sixties. Thirdly, it was fitting that Mrs. Mauldin be the first because she is probably typical of the thousands of black people across the Deep South who have registered with the assistance of federal examiners since 1965. She herself is neither a civil rights leader nor a "militant." She is simply an Alabama woman who feels that she is entitled to the right to vote the same as anyone else. That is probably characteristic of the 158,000 blacks who have registered through federal examiners since August of 1965.

Last December, Mrs. Mauldin got into the national news when several hundred Negro leaders gave President Johnson a gold-plated replica of her voting certificate. A few weeks thereafter, a research assisant from the Voter Education Project went to Selma to interview Mrs. Mauldin. During the interview, the research assistant happened to mention the scheduled expiration of important provisions of the Voting Rights Act in 1970. Thinking back to all that Selma Negroes had to go through to get on the voting books, Mrs. Mauldin declared: "It really would be bad to have to go back."

Mrs. Mauldin, in saying this, again is probably typical of the thousands of black people who have registered under the Voting Rights Act. The vast majority, like Mrs. Mauldin, no doubt is unaware that important sanctions of the Voting Rights Act are up for expiration next year. The vast majority, again like Mrs. Mauldin, undoubtedly would be dismayed at the thought of having "to go back."

But that is the prospect faced by Mrs. Mauldin and thousands of other black people in the South as 1969 spins past and as 1970 approaches. That is the prospect faced by those of us who have labored in the field of voter registration in the South, trying to help Mrs. Mauldin and others like her get on the voting books. That is the prospect faced by a promising new crop of black elected officeholders in the South—whose ranks now number nearly 400—as they contemplate the possible loss of thousands of black voters from the registration lists.

There seems to be an impression, in Washington and in the nation, that the Voting Rights Act has solved all the problems of voter discrimination in the South. True, Negro voter registration *has* increased dramatically in the South. In the election last November there was an increase of nearly one million in Negro registration in the South over the previous presidential election. And most of this increase has come in the states covered in full by the Voting Rights Act—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia. In fact, black registration in these six states has increased 740,000 since August of 1965, when the Voting Rights Act went into effect.

Black registration in the six states fully covered has almost doubled in three and a half years. The number of black elected officials in the region has gone from about 70 in 1965 to 400 today. But that is only one side of the picture.

In the South, there are more than five million Negroes of voting age. Yet, black registration is just above three million. Thus, even with the help of the Voting Rights Act, nearly two million Negroes of voting age in the South remain unregistered. Only 62 per cent of voting-age Negroes are registered in the Southland. Among whites in the region, however, 78 per cent of the voting-age population is registered to vote.

Although much of the increase in black registration has come in the six states covered in full by the Voting Rights Act, the situation in these six states still is a bit worse than the situation in the region as a whole. In these six states, only 57 per cent of the voting-age blacks are registered. White registration in these six states, however, stands at 79 per cent of the adult white population.

This is the situation *with* the Voting Rights Act. Before the Voting Rights Act was adopted only 31 per cent of the voting-age blacks in the six states—less than one-third, mind you—was registered to vote. So without question, the Voting Rights Act has made a difference. How much more might have been accomplished if the Act had been fully enforced!

Of 517 counties in the six states fully covered by the Voting Rights Act, federal examiners have been sent to only 58. Make no mistake about it, black people in the South very much prefer going before a federal examiner to going before a local registrar. There is a difference in attitude. There is a difference in setting; for many black people fear and dread the local county courthouse, which is for many of them a symbol of injustice and oppression. There is a difference, too, in procedure. As Mrs. Mauldin points out, "It didn't take but a few minutes. I don't know why it couldn't have been like that in the first place."

No federal examiners have been assigned in Virginia, which is wholly covered by the Act, or in North Carolina, which is partly covered. Federal examiners have been assigned in only three Georgia counties and only two in South Carolina. All the rest have been assigned in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana.

And keep in mind that federal examiners are not constantly available to register black people, even in the counties to which they are assigned. For example, there were no federal registration activities in the South during the final quarter of 1968, despite the approach of important municipal elections in Mississippi.

Finally, in surveying the present scene, I might mention

Voter Education Project

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303

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VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Director

SPEECH BY VERNON JORDAN

the problem of enforcement resources in Washington. When he came to Atlanta in December to address our historic Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials just before leaving office, the distinguished former attorney general, Mr. Ramsey Clark, pointed out that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department had fewer than 100 lawyers to enforce not only the Voting Rights Act, but school desegregation, open accommodation, and all the other civil rights laws as well.

I personally hope that Congress and the administration will see that the resources for civil rights enforcement are increased rather than decreased. I know only too well that certain forces for retrogression in the South are sensitive to the slightest relaxation in this area.

Having discussed the past and present aspects of the Voting Rights Act, let us now turn to the future. Unless Congress acts this year or next year, the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act will go out of existence in August of 1970. What then?

Once Southern states are freed from the bonds of the Voting Rights Act, it is highly likely that they will want to do something about their 740,000 new black voters, whose presence on the voting lists is profoundly affecting Southern politics. It is highly likely that these states will require—as South Carolina did in 1967—that all voters re-register. A number of localities in the South—West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana being prominent among them—already have procedures requiring re-registration.

As black leaders in West Feliciana Parish have pointed out, re-registration can be a considerable burden for Negroes who were fearful and reluctant about going to the courthouse in the first place. But once the prohibitions of the Voting Rights Act are removed, re-registration would be a means of reviewing the registration status of those blacks who have registered under the Act. In fact, several states have retained literacy tests in their election codes and thus stand in a position to reactivate these tests once the restraints of the Voting Rights Act are out of the way.

The election of nearly 400 black officials is only one way in which newly registered Negro voters are affecting the politics of the South. These new voters also are changing some of the faces and attitudes of white officeholders. As Mrs. Mauldin puts it, the white officeholders in Selma "have kind of been pushed up to it since they got so many colored votes."

As sure as I stand here this morning, there are many white politicians in the South who resent being "pushed up to it" by newly registered black voters. There are, of course, some white politicians in the South who have learned to deal comfortably with large groups of black voters. But for every one of them, there are dozens of other Southern politicians who would like to go back to the "good old days" when large numbers of black voters didn't have to be taken into account.

It might be argued that the South is changing and that black people need no longer fear white-written election codes and white-run registration offices. To be sure, there have been some slight changes—thanks in large part to the Voting Rights Act and the ever-present threat of having federal examiners sent in and the influence of newly registered voters. But old attitudes and hostilities persist in the atmosphere at many registration offices across the South.

The Voter Education Project from its beginning in 1962 has had the requirement that registration programs funded by us send us periodic progress reports. At first, of course, the reports were dramatic documents, replete with stories of violence, confrontation and direct action. The struggle for the ballot made headlines across the country.

There are fewer such headlines today, but the struggle is far from won. Our reports still tell us of registrars maintaining short or irregular hours, of registrars arbitrarily closing their offices without notice, of chicanery being used to keep Negroes from voting, of Negroes being treated discourteously by registrars. We hear over and over, from the 100 or more registration programs that we support each year, that blacks fear economic reprisals if they register—such as being fired or evicted, of losing lines of credit or being put off the welfare rolls.

And, yes, voter registration can still touch off violence in the South, despite the existence of the Voting Rights Act. Last fall one home was bombed and a shot was fired into another in Leake County, Mississippi.

Federal presence, or the threat of federal presence, still is needed also to protect ballots cast by blacks. One VEP report tells of whole ballots about to be thrown out in a Mississippi county because of a few incorrect markings on them, until a federal observer intervened. A report from another Mississippi county tells of black voters seeking assistance and being misinstructed by white "helpers" to vote for George Wallace. Still another says: "If the new voters were not actually abused at the polling places, they were thoroughly confused and made to feel ignorant and inferior. This kind of thing spread into the community and many more prospective voters are convinced that politics is a white man's game." And I can report that black leaders in Hancock County, Georgia, are convinced that not the first one of their four black officials could have been elected if their county had not been the first in Georgia to which federal observers were sent.

If conditions can be, and are, this difficult with the Voting Rights Act, then we can imagine how difficult they will be if the coverage of the Act is allowed to expire.

So the Act must be extended. But I personally do not wish to settle for that. Enforcement of the Act should be strengthened. And the Act itself should be strengthened.

Southern states make the argument that they should not

(Continued on Page 8)

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS ARE NOW AVAILABLE

The proceedings of the Voter Education Project's Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials were published in March.

In addition to photographs of workshops and speakers, the 64-page booklet contains the full texts of the conference's major addresses. Also reprinted in the proceedings booklet is President Lyndon B. Johnson's telegram to the black officials, the text of the conference resolution and a roster of the Negro officeholders who attended.

Those not currently on the VEP mailing list may obtain the booklet by writing to the Voter Education Project. Single-copy price is 75 cents.

SPOTLIGHT ON CITY ELECTIONS

Blacks are vying for elective offices in several states where municipal elections are being held this spring, and several others are candidates for their state legislatures.

In Mobile, Ala., two Negroes were seeking separate seats in the House of Representatives in an April 1 special election. A Norfolk, Va., Negro has announced he will be a candidate for the House of Delegates in the July Democratic primary.

In Lake Charles, La., a Negro is running for mayor and three others were running for city council April 5. New Roads and Ville Platte each had a black candidate for their municipal councils.

Dr. Edwin W. Guinn was seeking re-election to the Fort Worth, Texas, city council April 8.

Dissension has developed in Alexandria, Va., where the city Democratic committee endorsed a black candidate in a special city council election April 15. Some local Negroes charged that the black leadership of the city was not consulted before the endorsement was made.

Municipal elections will be held in North Carolina during May. Most will be May 6. At least 30 Negroes are reported seeking city offices in Mississippi's May 13 primaries.

In Charlotte, N.C., the newly formed Black Political Organization has announced it will run a full slate of black candidates for mayor and city council. A Negro is running a strong race for mayor of Chapel Hill, and in Durham a Negro is running for a seat on the city council, where one black already serves.

A bomb exploded recently in Smithfield near the home of a Negro candidate for the town commission. The board of commissioners offered a $1,000 reward for information about the bombing.

Reese Cleghorn

CLEGHORN JOINS STAFF OF SRC

Reese Cleghorn, former associate editor of The Atlanta Journal and co-author of a book about the early Voter Education Project, has joined the staff of the Southern Regional Council.

Cleghorn will be writer-in-residence and also director of the leadership project, one of four projects in the SRC's new Economic Development Center. As writer-in-residence he will be writing for national publications on subjects of concern to the Council and engaging in research studies for the organization.

Cleghorn was co-author in 1967 of "Climbing Jacob's Ladder" with SRC information director Pat Watters. Relying heavily on field reports of the first VEP (1962-1965), the book described Negroes' early struggle for the ballot in the South.

He recently wrote an SRC and American Jewish Committee joint report on "Radicalism: Southern Style." He has had a number of articles printed in New South.

Cleghorn has an AB degree from Emory University and a master's from Columbia. He has contributed articles to many national magazines, including New Republic, The New York Times Magazine, Esquire, Progressive and Argosy.

3 BLACKS WIN IN ARKANSAS

The Arkansas Voter Education Project reports that three of 26 black candidates seeking school board seats in the state's March 11 elections were victorious.

Those elected were Edwin Evans, Linwood; John Duckery, Wilmot, and Louvert Rowlette, Selma.

Despite a snowfall which covered most of Arkansas Feb. 15, 22 black school board members and candidates attended a day-long workshop at A. M. & N. College in Pine Bluff sponsored by the AVEP.

The Rev. Ben Grinage, former director of the AVEP, and Cain Wilder, Wilmot city councilman, urged the candidates not to stress race. Grinage said an appeal to race would be played up by the white opponent and the white press.

Alex Brown, a school board member from Tucker who lost his first try for public office, said he won the second race by urging each of his constituents to be responsible for registering 13 potential voters.

Arthur Miller, school board member from Pine Bluff, directed his remarks to the other school board members. He told them they could gain public support for their programs by letting the news media know how they voted on issues and why.

Workshops were conducted on "Securing and Implementing Programs Covered by Public Law 89-10," "Educational Trends and Meeting Pupil Needs," and "Community Organization and Education."

Maury County, Tenn., registration workers advertised the 1968 general election and urged citizens to vote by touring the county in a "Freedom Wagon." James W. Caldwell, director of the project, said black registration in Maury County is at the highest level in history.

LEFT, CARL HOLMAN RISES TO SPEAK; RIGHT, HONORED OFFICIALS RECEIVE PLAQUES

Former Atlantan Holman Addressed Dinner Recognizing Atlanta's 14 Black Elected Officials

ATLANTA'S BLACK OFFICIALS HONORED

More than 200 Atlantans turned out March 7 at a recognition banquet honoring their city's 14 black elected officials.

All the Atlanta Negro officeholders—which include 11 state legislators, two school board members and an alderman—attended with the exception of school board member Horace Tate, who had a previous commitment, and state Rep. Grace Hamilton, who suffered a heart attack the night before. Mrs. Hamilton is now reported in "good" condition at Hughes Spalding Hospital in Atlanta.

Speaker at the banquet was M. Carl Holman, vice president of the national Urban Coalition and a former editor of the weekly Atlanta Inquirer, which sponsored the event. The banquet is slated to become an annual affair.

Holman said blacks have been "badly out of practice" in electing their own to office for more than a hundred years. He continued, "We may thus run the risk of forgetting that considerably more is involved than simply voting for the right man or woman and going back to sleep until the next election."

"Politicians cannot do the job alone," he reminded. "I have never read, 'Where there is no vision the people perish,' to mean that only the leaders must have vision.' "

The recognition night coincided with the formation of an advisory committee of black Atlantans who will act as a liaison between the officials and their Negro constituency.

Chairman John Lewis, director of the Southern Regional Council's Community Organization Project, said the committee will sponsor a briefing session each year to help keep black legislators informed of the needs of their community. The committee will make its recommendations with the advice of private and governmental service organizations.

Lewis said the committee might also support candidates to run against incumbents who do not serve the black constituency.

For a few days in March, meanwhile, Atlanta had its first black mayor. In the absence of Mayor Ivan Allen and Vice Mayor Sam Massell from the city March 13-16, board of aldermen vice president Q. V. Williamson was official acting mayor.

Williamson, elected the city's first Negro alderman in modern times in 1965, was elected vice president of the municipal governing body in February. With the division of the predominantly Negro third ward into two new wards by time for next fall's elections, he may be joined by one or two new black members. The ward division will also provide for the election of one new school board member.

LEFT PHOTO, SINGING "WE SHALL OVERCOME"; RIGHT, HONOREES WITH SPOUSES

All But Two of Atlanta's Black Elected Officials Attended First Annual Recognition Banquet

EXCERPTS FROM JORDAN SPEECH

(Continued from Page 5)

be singled out for coverage in the Act. Their argument is partly valid, partly invalid. Certainly there is reason to apply the Act in those states which have been most flagrant in denying the ballot to black people. But certainly there is logic also to extending federal protection to minority groups anywhere in the country who face discrimination in attempting to exercise their right to vote.

Certainly more effective and widespread use should be made of federal examiners and observers because of the continuing practices I have described, both in counties to which examiners and observers have been sent and those to which they have not been sent.

Perhaps the burden of designating counties for coverage should be lifted from the attorney general. Perhaps designation could be made automatic when non-white registration is below, say, two-thirds of the eligible number. This would remove the designation of counties from the pressures and cross-currents of Washington politics.

At present the Act permits political subdivisions to petition for withdrawal of examiners when more than 50 per cent of the non-white voting-age population is registered. Many counties that have, or should have, federal examiners have moved past that point since 1965. Among these counties are some of the worst in the South. Accordingly, this 50 per cent figure should be raised to, perhaps, two-thirds.

The federal government should make announcements well in advance and seek to publicize the announcements heavily when federal examiners and observers are being assigned. The Justice Department should have at all times staff and resources to review changes in state election laws aimed at weakening the ballots of black people.

I believe we of the Voter Education Project can make a case for extension of the Voting Rights Act, or for some law like it, for strengthening of existing voting-rights legislation, and for stronger enforcement of existing legislation. We can demonstrate that these steps are necessary to guarantee the rights of black people in the South to participate fully in the American political process.

I believe we also can demonstrate that there is no decline of interest on our part, or on the part of Southern Negroes generally, in getting people registered to vote. Indeed, we have sponsored, or helped to sponsor, over 400 programs in 11 Southern states during the last three years, the vast majority of which involve voter registration. We intend to keep at the task until we feel that it has been finished. And like Mrs. Mauldin, we hope that we don't have "to go back" and retrace our efforts of the last three years because Congress and the administration feel that enough has been done to protect the voting rights of black people in the South.

Let us never forget that most of the problems of the ghettos in the North and West have their roots in remote areas of the South. For many years Negroes in the South have been oppressed, starved, disfranchised and dehumanized. Voting-rights legislation holds out at least the hope of correcting these wrongs within the democratic system. If this federal support is lost, either through expiration or non-enforcement, no amount of persuasion will ever "bring us together again."

DISINTEREST, FEAR

Fred L. Neal, director of the Morehouse Parish, La., voter registration project, recently summed up in a few words the problems of his task force workers in registering blacks: "Disinterest ('My vote won't mean anything') and unnamed fears ('You people are trying to get us killed')."

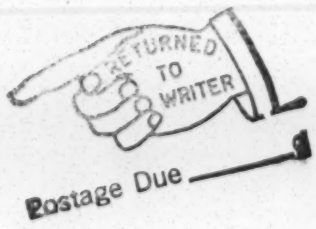
GREENE COUNTY

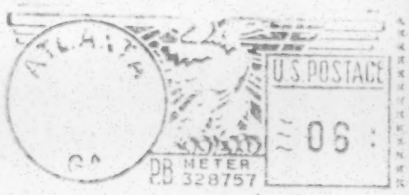
(Continued from Page 1)

validated the election of 17 NDPA candidates in four other counties.

The American Civil Liberties Union office in Atlanta, which filed the suit in behalf of the NDPA, asked for contempt charges against Herndon. The court ordered the contempt proceedings sent to the lower courts.

V.E.P. News VOL. 3, NO. 3
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)





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74135

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Mr. C. C. Wilson, Sec'y.
Tulsa Labor Council, AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 504
Tulsa, OKLA. 74101

5

Dudley Takes Post With Church Unit

Tilford E. Dudley has resigned as director of the AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau to become national affairs director of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, effective Apr. 28.

The United Church of Christ is a union of Congregational, Evangelical and Reformed churches. Dudley has long been active in the work of its council. His headquarters will be in Washington.

Dudley became head of the Speakers Bureau in 1958. Earlier he served as assistant director of COPE and, before the merger, as assistant director of the CIO Political Action Committee and associate general counsel for the Packinghouse Workers.

AFL-CIO News 4-26-69

Meany Assigns McGlotten to NAB Position

Robert M. McGlotten, AFL-CIO civil rights staff representative, has been assigned to serve as the labor director of the National Alliance of Businessmen until July 1, Federation Pres. George Meany announced.

The assignment continues the AFL-CIO's cooperation with NAB in its Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program.

Before joining the AFL-CIO civil rights staff in April 1967, McGlotten was a national labor relations specialist for the Opportunities Industrialization Center job training program located in 25 major cities. He formerly was a public relations representative for Transport Workers Local 234 in Philadelphia.

AFL-CIO 4-26-69

5/17/67

... on Page 3) the post. Kirkland has served as

Boggs Succeeds Gritta As Metal Trades Head

file

The resignation of B A. Gritta as president of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. was announced by the department's executive council, which named Maywood Boggs of the Boilermakers as his successor.

The announcement said that Gritta, after more than 20 years of service to the Metal Trades Dept., had tendered his resignation May 9 and retired as president, due to health problems. He was designated president emeritus of the department.

Boggs, who lives in Richmond, Va., and is a vice president of his union, will assume his new office July 1.

Gritta, who has been a member of the Sheet Metal Workers for 43 years, served the labor movement actively most of his working life, the council noted.

After more than 20 years of work at his trade, he was appointed general Metal Trades Dept.

(Continued on Page 2)

Metal Trades Elect Boggs As President

(Continued from Page 1)

representative in 1949, and a year later was elected secretary-treasurer of the department.

Gritta became president of the department in 1962 and was re-elected at 1963 and 1967 conventions.

Boggs is a native of Goochland County, Va. He has been a Boilermakers' vice president since 1956. Before that he had been on the international staff of his union since 1941, except for a period of nearly two years when he served the War Production Board as a special assistant to the director of the Office of War Utilities.

Started in Texas

Gritta, a native of New York state, served his apprenticeship in Galveston, Tex. He held several supervisory and management positions in the sheet metal industry in Texas, and served as commissioner of the Galveston Housing Authority from 1940 to 1948, including two terms as chairman.

Later he was elected business agent for his union, and also served the Metal Trades Council, the Building & Construction Trades Council and the Galveston central labor body. Before his appointment to the Metal Trades Dept. staff in Washington, Gritta was executive secretary of the Texas Building & Construction Trades Council.

Until his retirement, Gritta was a member of the Navy Wage Committee for several years, and also served these additional organizations:

The AFL-CIO Committee on Safety & Occupational Health, AFL-CIO Committee on Social Security, AFL-CIO Committee on Education, Technical Advisory Committee for the President's Conference on Occupational Safety, Defense Orientation Conference Association, AFL-CIO Peace Corps Volunteer Committee, National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, National Wage Policy Committee of the Coordinated Federal Wage System, and the Dept. of Defense Wage Committee.

AFL-CIO News 5-17-67

Dent

R. C. Coutts, Dispatchers Leader, Dies

Chicago—R. C. Coutts, president of the Train Dispatchers since 1959, collapsed and died at the union's headquarters here. He was 69.

The union's joint board chose Vice Pres. Charles R. Pfenning, 49, of Coggon, Ia., to fill Coutts's unexpired term until the October 1971 convention. Pfenning became a telegrapher at 17, served in the Army Signal Corps from 1942 to 1948, and returned to telegraphy until 1950, when he became a dispatcher on the Western Pacific. He was office chairman and general chairman until elected as ATDA vice president in 1964.

Memorial services for Coutts were held in Chicago, with burial in Grinnell, Ia. Born in Grinnell, he was a telegrapher until promoted to dispatcher, became general chairman on the Rock Island, and was elected union vice president in 1947 president in 1959.

In other changes caused by Coutts' death, D. V. Chandler, trustee for the union's Western region, was named vice president to succeed Pfenning. R. E. Johnson, general chairman for the Santa Fe System, was named to Chandler's former post.

OK
KM
AFL-CIO NEWS 5/31/69

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 1, 1969

Copy Harris' Testimony, 1st paper, for M. W. 7/14/69 Thanks Km

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are several items from the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department which may be of interest to you.

As you know, legislation to extend part of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is now before Congress. We include the testimony of the AFL-CIO by our Associate Counsel, Tom Harris, before the House Judiciary Committee on extension of the legislation. Also included is a speech by NAACP Legislative Director, Clarence Mitchell, before the AFL-CIO Community Services annual conference. Mr. Mitchell also discusses the legislation as well as the importance of the labor-civil rights coalition.

The article from New America by Monsignor Geroge Higgins discusses the criticism Housing Secretary George Romney recently labeled on the construction unions. He presents some interesting facts countering Secretary Romney's charges that the unions are responsible for the housing shortage.

Finally, I have included AFL-CIO President George Meany's letter to the NAACP on the occasion of its 60th Annual Convention held this month in Jackson, Mississippi.

With all good wishes!

Yours sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

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enclosures

STATEMENT OF
THOMAS E. HARRIS, ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL, AFL-CIO
BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
ON H.R. 4249

June 19, 1969

My name is Thomas E. Harris. I am Associate General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and I am appearing here on behalf of that organization.

The AFL-CIO supports the enactment of H.R. 4249, which extends for another five years the key provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Since we are in substantial agreement with the testimony given the Committee by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, I will be brief.

Firstly, the AFL-CIO considers that there are compelling reasons for retaining the ban on literacy tests and the provision for federal examiners for those areas where these provisions are now applicable. As the Staff Memorandum submitted by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights shows, the disparity between Negro and white voter registration in the six covered States was substantially reduced during the first three years that the Act was in effect. However Negro registration still lags behind white in each of the six States, ranging from a gap of 8.6% in Virginia to one of 33% in Mississippi. Even greater disparities can be found in particular areas within these States.

Moreover, literacy tests, if re-established, would weigh unfairly against Negroes because their educational opportunities have over the years been substantially inferior to those of whites. The Supreme Court recently held, in Gaston County,

North Carolina v. United States, 37 Law Week 4478, that under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, §4(a) literacy tests may not be reinstituted in an area where the inferior education available to Negroes has resulted in their having a higher illiteracy rate than whites. In such situations, the Court held:

> "a literacy or educational requirement has the 'effect of denying the right to vote on account of race or color' because the State or subdivision which seeks to impose the requirement has maintained separate and inferior schools for its Negro residents who are now of voting age."

This holding will produce a highly anomalous situation, unless the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is extended. For, once a State or political subdivision has refrained, for five years, from using a literacy test, it can bring a suit under §4(a) to establish its right to reinstitute a literacy test, and (absent extension of the five year statutory period) it would prevail. It would then, however, be open to the Attorney General to bring suit under §3(b) to ban the literacy test, on the ground that it would have the effect of denying the right to vote on account of race, if the State or political subdivision "has maintained separate and inferior schools for its Negro residents who are now of voting age." If the Attorney General prevailed in such a suit the Court could, under §3(b), suspend the literacy test "for such period as it deems necessary."

A simple five year extension of the present ban on literacy tests, in the areas covered by the 1965 Act, would be preferable to this sort of circuituous litigation.

Further, we think that the provisions of the 1965 Act prescribing a special clearance procedure for amendments to election laws, in the covered areas, are still needed. As the Supreme Court declared in Allen v. State Board of Elections,

89 S. Ct. 817-823, the Congress enacted these special clearance proced res because of "the history some States had of simply enacting new and slightly different requirements with the same discriminatory effect." Unfortunately "the ingenuity of those bent upon preventing Negroes from voting," as the Court put it, has continued to be evidenced. In the case cited the Court had before it three types of election law changes adopted by Mississippi, allegedly to prevent the election of Negroes in areas where Negro voter registration outnumbered white. These devices were the appointment instead of the election of certain officials in certain areas; election at large in certain areas instead of election by districts; and new requirements to make it more difficult for candidates to run as independents, i.e., without a party nomination. The Mississippi legislature utilized the first two of these devices on a highly selective basis, i.e., certain positions were made appointive rather than elective only in areas with a majority of Negro voters, and not in other areas with a white majority. Similarly, election at large, rather than by districts, was not prescribed uniformly but only for black areas. Amendments to the Alabama election laws to make it more difficult for candidates to run as independents have also been before the Supreme Court. Hadnott v. Amos, 89 S. Ct. 1101.

The Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on "Political Participation," 1968, details numerous other devices allegedly being used to frustrate political activity by Negroes. (See pp. 20-59.)

These displays of legislative ingenuity clearly show the continued need for the special clearance procedure for voting law changes established by the Voting Rights Act of

1965. They also show the continued determination of some States to prevent Negroes from exercising their political rights. They make it all too clear that if these States are free to reinstitute literacy tests they will do it, and that the literacy tests are likely to be administered, as in the past, to discriminate against Negroes.

Ultimately, the AFL-CIO would like to see all literacy tests abolished everywhere. In a recent statement before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on proposed amendments to the Constitution relative to electing the President, President Meany of the AFL-CIO urged that the proposed amendment provide for universal sufferage in presidential elections and that the right to vote be extended to all persons 18 years old or older. We favor universal sufferage for state and local elections also, and would like to see the Congress do whatever it can do by legislation toward achieving that end.

There have been intimations that the Administration is contemplating some proposal in this field, and we would like to reserve the right to file comments on whatever proposals the Attorney General does finally put forward.

However, we strongly urge that the Congress proceed immediately with a simple extension of the Voting Rights Act. Any extensive revision of the Act will inevitably be highly controversial, and its chances of enactment are likely to be conjectural, as the Administration's difficulty in formulating its own proposals shows. We would not like to see the very real advantages of H.R. 4249 put at hazard by an uncertain hope of something more far reaching.

Excerpts from the speech of Clarence Mitchell
Director of the Washington Bureau of the National
Association for the Advancement of Colored People
before the 14th Annual AFL-CIO National Conference
on Community Services - Tuesday, May 20, 1969
Shoreham Hotel - Washington, D. C.

From the beginning of my Washington legislative activity I have had the good fortune to be associated with dedicated representatives of organized labor in seeking passage of civil rights and related legislation. There are many monuments to the effectiveness of this working relationship.

Without the help and day to day work of the legislative representatives of labor, headed by Andrew Biemiller, no civil rights legislation could have passed in any session of Congress. Without the help of labor the great marches for civil rights that brought thousands of Americans to Washington would not have been a success. Labor contributed its brain power, its manpower and its finances to make these historic events possible.

In the field of political action we have always sought and gotten the help of labor in registration and voting, in platform battles at political conventions and in spreading work about voting records of public officials.

I have mentioned the foregoing because I believe that it would be a fatal mistake in this country if civil rights and labor groups did not continue to work together in the national interest. We should both welcome the support and cooperation of church groups, business associations and any other constructive organizations. However, we must never forget that we are the foundation on which the House of Freedom is built. If we crumble and fall apart the whole structure may very well collapse.

At this time the House Judiciary Committee is considering extension of the ban against literacy tests in voting. There are many other important civil rights matters which will be given attention by Congress but the voting rights problem is what is happening now. If the ban against literacy tests is extended and we continue to increase the number of qualified voters in the South, I believe that many of our major problems in this country will be solved.

In the field of employment, for example, much industry has fled to the South because that region offered much open space on which to build factories and also boundless opportunities for preventing the growth of unions by playing upon racial prejudices. With public officials who are often both anti-union and anti-Negro, many southern towns and cities have been happy hunting grounds for those who wish to exploit our country rather than build it into a land of opportunity for all. By joining hands in the fight for equal chances to work at the job for which a man is or can become qualified we can do much to make employment so attractive in the South that there will be little need to leave that region in search of a job.

Much of the strangle hold that the forces of obstruction now have on Congress, the state houses and the state legislatures is due to the denial of the right to vote. As we get more county boards that are sensitive to the needs of the people, as we get more Congressmen and Senators who are willing to appropriate enough money for the needs of the people we shall stamp out the ridiculous situation today where as the richest Nation in the world we do not spend enough to build enough decent housing and to feed the hungry. Even that which we do appropriate for those purposes is often wasted or not used because corrupt and inept local officials either do not want to or do not know how to make use of what is available.

Just this weekend we saw an example of the flagrant manner in which constitutional rights are violated by local officialdom. Representatives of the NAACP who were investigating complaints of racial discrimination against colored

soldiers stationed at Fort Polk were jailed in Leesville, Louisiana on "investigation for vagrancy." The Mayor of Leesville is quoted as saying "anything that is not welcome at Fort Polk is not welcome at Leesville." The only difference between that mayor and many others (assuming he has been quoted correctly) is that he has been frank enough to admit that he is on the pro-segregation team of certain federal and local officials. Most who carry on a joint operation of this kind keep their mouths shut and the jail door wide open to receive anyone from in or out of town who believes in fair play.

In these times we hear the voices of defeat and conflict on all sides. It has become a wry joke to predict that our cities will either fall down because of rot or be burned down because of riots. Somehow, it has become fashionable to spend more time promoting racial discord than in promoting racial goodwill. However, I am not dismayed by these happenings. As I look about me I see that the ranks of those who have worked together through the years are holding firm. My presence here, today, is the best way that I can bear witness to the fact that those who have been joined together by the common ideals of the past are determined to make those ideals realities in the present and the future. The voices of hate and division are more audible now because they are amplified on the television screen and dutifully recorded on page one of some newspapers. Yet, these voices and the evil doctrines that they preach have been with us all the time. They could not stop us from moving forward in the past and they will not stop us now.

NEW AMERICA

An official publication of the Socialist Party

May 31, 1969

Not So Fast Mr. Romney

Msgr. George Higgins

Housing Secretary George Romney recently stirred up a bit of a rumpus with an all-out attack on the alleged selfishness and/or shortsightedness of the so-called craft unions in the building industry. Stomping in rather awkardly where angels and even Cabinet members normally fear to tread, he bluntly told a convention of several thousand business agents and other craft representatives that their organizations were largely responsible for the critical shortage of housing in this country. He accused them of gouging the public by demanding exorbitant wage rates and by saddling the building industry with all sorts of restrictive practices. He also charged that some of them are guilty of racial discrimination in their recruiting and apprenticeship programs.

Is the Secretary's all-out criticism of the building trades warranted by the facts? **The New York Times** and a number of other papers have answered this question with a resounding "yes." My own reading of the available facts leads me to conclude that they and the Secretary are badly mistaken. The building trades are admittedly open to criticism on a number of counts, but to leave the impression that they are chiefly responsible for the high cost of housing is to oversimplify a very complicated problem — and, incidentally, to do them a grave injustice.

SOME FACTS

The so-called Kaiser Committee Report, "A Decent Home," which was issued on December 11, 1968, discloses, for example, that the on-site labor cost amounts to 19% of the development and construction cost of the conventional single-family house and 22% of the cost of the elevator apartment unit. It is hard to escape the conclusion, therefore, that a one-sided emphasis on the labor-cost issue (a la Secretary Romney and **The New York Times**, for example) seriously distorts the nature of the current housing problem, which is actually a series of problems, largely involving land costs and money costs rather than the cost of on-site labor.

Moreover an exaggerated emphasis on improved technology — aimed at reducing the cost of on-site labor — can only lead to utterly false promises of vast reductions in the price of homes. If technological improvements were to reduce the cost of on-site labor from 19% and 22% to 15% and 18% (a substantial achievement, if it were actually to be attained in the brief period of time anticipated by Secretary Romney) the impact on the price of a home and on monthly payments or rents would hardly be more than minimal.

The committee points out, for example, that roughly 50% of the monthly occupancy cost is involved in debt retirement — payments of interest and on principal. For a unit in an elevator apartment house, the debt retirement is 42% of the monthly rent, while the on-site labor cost amounts to 22% of the original development and construction costs. Therefore the Kaiser Committee concludes that the on-site labor cost for such an apartment amounts to 9.2% of the monthly rent. Allowing for a small increase to account for architect's fees and other miscellaneous costs, the committee estimates that "approximately 10% of monthly rents are attributable to the costs of on-site labor." It follows, then, that a 20% cut in building trades wages — or a 20% cut in the cost of on-site labor through a substantial technological breakthrough — would permit merely a 2% reduction in rents. This would mean a reduction from $100 a month, for example, to $98 a month.

I am forced to conclude that Secretary Romney's criticism of the building trades was grossly exaggerated. This being the case, his stock in the labor movement is currently — and quite understandably — very low. He could probably make a comeback if he were to start all over again and propose that the President convene a so-called White House Conference on building costs — a conference made up of all of the parties involved in the building industry, including contractors, unions, bankers, realtors, architects, and the manufacturers of building materials.

I doubt that such a conference would be able to come up with a panacea for the housing crisis, but I strongly suspect that it would buttress the Kaiser Committee's conclusion that "the cost of housing is made up of many bits and pieces" and that "any progress toward cost reduction must proceed through a broadbased approach which would probe for potential savings in every cost element." In every cost element — not only merely in on-site labor costs. **The New York Times**, please copy.

No surcharge without tax reform

Injustice will be piled on injustice if the income tax surcharge is extended without a major reform of the federal tax laws, the AFL-CIO told Congress.

In a statement to the House Ways & Means Committee, the federation spelled out the reasons why labor cannot support a 10 per cent tax surcharge until it is linked to tax reforms going beyond the Nixon Administration's proposals.

Unless major loopholes are closed, the federation noted, "wealthy individuals and big corporations will continue to escape both the regular tax and the surcharge on a large portion of their incomes . . . as a result, the gap between workers' earnings and take-home pay is unnecessarily large while the tax burden on too many of great wealth and taxpaying ability is unconscionably small."

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR RELEASE IN SUNDAY PAPERS, JUNE 29, 1969

The AFL-CIO today made public a letter from its president, George Meany, to the 60th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which opens today at Jackson, Mississippi. The text follows:

The AFL-CIO is most happy to have this opportunity to extend greetings to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at this -- its 60th Annual Convention.

Traditionally, conventions are a period when we look backward -- if only briefly -- to review past performance. But more important than this reflective pause, is the here and now -- and most important must be plans for future progress.

Certainly a glance backward over those six dramatic decades since NAACP was born reveals many significant achievements and major social changes.

We in the trade union movement share with our friends in the civil rights movement the satisfaction these achievements bring to those who fought to make them a reality.

The past decade, especially, has been rewarded with accomplishment, with perseverance crowned with victories. Significantly, these accomplishments were made through the democratic process, through a combination of economic and political protest channeled into the electoral system.

None of these victories came easily or cheaply. It is a truism that the road to social justice is long and bumpy.

But victories were won on the legislative battlefield and elsewhere and new programs, public and private, to fight poverty and discrimination were born.

One such is the Outreach Program established by the trade union movement to recruit minority young people as apprentices in the skilled trades. It is a program which already has had some successes and for which the future looks bright.

We know how much more needs to be done in this area and our efforts will continue and be intensified in the days ahead.

But it seems to me important to understand why we believe Apprenticeship Outreach is such a vital tool to the young people who so badly need hope. It is keyed to helping minority group youngsters to acquire skills and thus good paying jobs. It rejects the counsel of those who would downgrade the skills and standards in the trades and thus ultimately cut the wage levels.

There are statistical records which demonstrate that we are beginning to solve the problem. The U.S. Labor Department recently noted that of the 225,000 persons in registered apprenticeships in 1968, the number of non-whites totaled 16,200. In itself this is not a significant statistic unless one knows that this is triple the 1960 figure. And the picture continues to improve. Of the 26,000 apprentices newly-enrolled in the first half of 1968, nearly 10 percent came from minority groups.

There is one factor in the economy which could bring Operation Outreach crashing to a halt -- a recession.

Employment opportunities will continue to increase only if the nation's economic growth continues as it has in the past nine years.

So as we plan for the future, we must be alert to those who would hobble that economic growth, those economic tinkerers who would fight inflation by promoting unemployment.

Any increase in unemployment will mean that those who now see employment opportunity in the cards for the first time will be cruelly frustrated.

Recent figures from the Labor Department, for instance, show that the nation's unemployment rate has increased by one-tenth of one percent, up to 3.5 percent. And black workers suffered the most, for the unemployment rate for white workers remained unchanged.

You and we have another common concern -- the need to insure complete compliance with the civil rights law. This means we must be alert to and fight every attempt to put the enforcement machinery in the hands of hostile or mediocre administrators.

We must as well stand together in the fight for adequate funding of the vital social welfare programs for which we jointly lobbied. All of the federal educational programs now on the statute books are valueless without adequate appropriations and we face a major struggle to win passage of these appropriation measures.

In that connection let me point to our program for achieving federal tax justice. It will close loopholes in the present tax structure which cost the Treasury between $15 and $17 billion, It would provide $6.7 billion in tax relief to low, moderate and middle-income families. It would restore fairness to the tax laws and provide revenue to insure that badly needed domestic programs could be adequately funded.

Finally, let me publicly associate the AFL-CIO with the efforts of the NAACP to heal the schism within the Negro community caused by those black extremists whose so-called "solution" to America's racist problems is to mimic those extremist whites whose activities disgraced this nation.

Last November's issue of Crisis correctly and courageously noted that they would undo all that the NAACP has worked 60 years to achieve and that "reversal of the trend toward integration must be met head-on by the vast majority of Negroes who reject the minority's tactics and goals."

The NAACP and the AFL-CIO have shared the sweet taste of victory in the past and we shall again in the future.

The NAACP and the AFL-CIO have stood together against powerful and ruthless allies in the past and we stand just as united as we face the foes of today who seek to divide us and who must certainly fail.

And the goals we share are the goals all America must seek -- the abolition of hate, poverty, discrimination and disease; the achievement of full and equal opportunity in employment, housing, education and justice.

Working together we can -- and we must -- reach these goals.

-30-

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 17, 1969

Dear Friend:

On May 6 of this year, A. Philip Randolph was honored with an 80th birthday testimonial dinner commemorating him for the work and inspiration he provided the labor and civil rights movements over the past 45 years. The banquet was attended by fifteen hundred people representing the entire scope of the labor movement along with religious faiths, Negro organizations, government leaders and others testifying to the unity and strength of the labor-liberal-Negro alliance.

I am enclosing the three major speeches delivered at the dinner -- that of President Meany and of Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, who presented the award to Mr. Randolph and Mr. Randolph's reply.

I am also enclosing one of several editorials we received from a small mid-western newspaper. The significance of this kind of tribute becomes more meaningful when one remembers how many segments of our society ignored and degraded Brother Randolph in his early struggles.

Finally, included is the text of my latest radio interview, "Labor-Black Community Coalition".

I hope these items will be of interest to you and, as always, your comments are welcome.

Sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

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P.S. The Publications Department of the AFL-CIO has sent a card to all those who receive complimentary copies of the AFL-CIO News and the Federationist, requesting that you fill out the card and return it if you wish to remain on those lists. Please respond to this notification promptly and if you have not received the card, please notify our office immediately so that your name will not be dropped from these two lists.

MT. CLEMENTS, MICH.
MACOMB DAILY
— D. 41,686 —
DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA

APR 17 1969

In Our Opinion

Civil Rights Struggle Began With Randolph

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

In 1941, Randolph's plan for a massive Negro march on Washington convinced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948, his influence and authority were behind another executive order by another president, Harry Truman, initiating integration in the armed forces.

In 1963, he conceived and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph was 80 on April 15 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

Following is a text of an address by AFL-CIO President George Meany at a banquet honoring the 80th Birthday of A Philip Randolph at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel New York City, Tuesday May 6 1969.

My good friend, Bayard Rustin honored guests here at the head table, Phil Randolph, ladies and gentlemen.

I consider it a great privilege to come here this evening on behalf of the American trade union movement to bring birthday greetings to A. Philip Randolph and perhaps more important to pay tribute to him on his long and distinguished career as an active humanitarian.

Phil Randolph has really had a unique career having been an outstanding labor leader as well as a civil rights leader for more than half a century. He pioneered and persevered along three avenues of progress in his activities.

One, he strongly advocated the organization of Negro workers into trade unions as part of the mainstream of the labor movement beginning with the organization of the Pullman Porters on the railroads and continuing by encouraging black workers of other industries to unionize.

In his second activity he waged a long fight against employment discrimination especially by obtaining executive action and legislation to outlaw racial discrimination in employment. He courageously fought discrimination within the labor movement itself. It is significant that as far back as the 1920s when the American labor movement contained a great deal more discrimination than it does today Phil Randolph s firm conviction and advice to Negro workers was to get into the labor movement and work to obtain its support.

He warned Negroes against being used by those exploiters who sought to divide black and white workers for their own greedy purposes.

There is ample evidence that the American labor movement responded, oft times too slowly to Phil Randolph s efforts in all these fields. There is no question that the trade union movement played a role in the pattern of discrimination and exploitation that marked the industrial life of our country in years gone by.

But may I also state here and now that the trade union movement still has a job to do if it is to completely remove the spectre of race discrimination from its ranks.

While it is true today that anti-discrimination clauses are practically standard in collective bargaining contracts, it is also true that discrimination still exists. As to upgrading and advacement, there is still much to be done in the field of training members of minority groups for the higher skilled jobs that command higher pay.

- more -

The latest unemployment figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics just yesterday show a sharp rise in unemployment for Negroes while the rate for white workers remains unchanged at a fairly low level This clearly indicates the need for upgrading the skills of the Negro worker -- not only through federal job training programs, but by employers and unions through their industry training and apprenticeship programs

But despite these continuing disparagements that appear from time to time it is also true that there has been significant progress

As the magazine Business Week pointed out a few months ago more and more Negro workers are joining AFL-CIO unions -- many because companies are now hiring them and the unions absorb them through union shop agreements· others because many of our affiliates are actively seeking them out and urging them to join their local unions or to build new ones

It is not infrequent these days to find unions and civil rights leaders working together to bring the benefits of unionism to the most exploited Negro Puerto Rican Mexican-American and other minority group workers -- Memphis Charleston South Carolina the farm workers under Cesar Chavez in California and Texas are part of the daily efforts of the American labor movement to raise the economic levels of exploited minority group workers and to give them a means for collective strength· to achieve dignity as well as economic improvement

In the field of legislation while Brother Randolph obtained the first Executive Order barring discrimination in government contracts from President Roosevelt almost single handedly Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was wrestled from a reluctant Congress by a coalition of civil rights labor and religious liberal groups in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

I am proud to say that the AFL-CIO played a major role in getting Title VII into the bill and getting the entire package through the Congress

In the old days of the trade union movement Phil Randolph seemed to be a lonely voice fighting for justice and equality for his people. But I m sure today that he recognizes that he is no longer alone While I would be the last to say that labor has in the past done all that it should I can say that I am proud of the efforts that are now being made and put forth not only by the AFL-CIO but by its constituent national unions

The Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO under the energetic leadership of Don Slaiman is making its vital contribution Practically all of our large national affiliates have active civil rights departments today that cooperate fully with the AFL-CIO to see that the national policy receives the cooperation at the local union level that we must have if we are going to complete the job of eliminating discrimination entirely from our midst

The program of the Workers Defense League along with the A Philip Randolph Educational Fund which is the fund which will benefit from this dinner here tonight with their joint apprenticeship committee headed by Ernest Green have made significant progress in bringing minority group youngsters with skilled building trades apprenticeships

The Department of Labor recently reported that of 225 000 persons in registered programs in 1968 16 000 were non-whites Now that s not a very significant figure But it is significant if you realize that it s eight times the number there were in 1960 So we are moving in this direction It s not a significant number but it does represent progress Because of the effective work of the Workers Defense League and A Philip Randolph program the cooperation of the building trades internationals we are making progress in this field

- more -

We have our so-called Outreach program bringing apprentices into the building trades in cooperation with the Workers' Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Foundation now going forward in 53 of our major cities in all parts of the nation.

And may I point out in this connection that these young men are being trained without a reduction of the skills and standards in the trades involved. They are being turned out as full-fledged mechanics capable of holding their own on the job.

I want to say that I am proud of these efforts on the part of the AFL-CIO and I am proud of the fact that we are having some success. However, there is no room for complacency. Progress eliminating discrimination and even further successful affirmative programs cannot guarantee opportunities for all. Adequate housing, education and full employment plus specialized programs in training are necessary to solve the problem of our urban crisis. Failure of the federal government to meet these needs can intensify the already apparent turmoil and confusion that exists. I must speak very highly at this point of Phil Randolph s latest contribution -- the A. Philip Randolph Institute It s staffed under the capable directionof Bayard Rustin. In these difficult times it is effectively and courageously continuing the work in traditions of a great labor leader and a great civil rights leader, the man we are honoring tonight. I have spoken about Phil Randolph the labor leader and the civil rights leader I cannot conclude without mentioning Phil Randolph my friend He has always been an eloquent orator on the public scene but in the privacy of smaller meetings the meaning of what he is saying is not only eloquent but clear, and comes through especially for its sincerity and honesty.

So again on behalf of the entire membership of the AFL-CIO, his colleagues on the Executive Council the majority of whom are in this room tonight I salute Phil Randolph as a great trade unionist and a courageous fighter for justice and human decency.

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REMARKS BY ROY WILKINS, PRESIDENT OF THE NAACP
AT THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH 80TH BIRTHDAY TESTIMONIAL DINNER
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL - NEW YORK, NEW YORK - MAY 6, 1969

I want to bring greetings to Governor Rockefeller, to Phil Randolph, and I want to bring some earplugs to all the rest of you because I think you have evidenced marvelous forebearing this evening. I shall make it my duty not to intrude further on all the fine speeches that have been made and especially on your good will.

I wasn't able to hear all of the things that were said about Phil Randolph but I know all of them were true and all of them were good.

I did hear what George Meany had to say and this was very important because George Meany has worked with Philip Randolph in the trade union movement and knows of what he speaks. Not only that, but George Meany has worked in the civil rights movement in places where his presence and his words count a great deal at times when we do not see him work.

Moreover, his organization -- the AFL-CIO -- has been one of the bulwarks of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which has been responsible for so much of the national legislation under which we now make progress.

But it was the story that Coretta King brought us here tonight that sent me back in memory to Phil Randolph's career -- the story of the Charleston hospital workers and their fight for the simple right to organize a union.

In the 1920s -- 45 years ago -- I came out of school and went to work in Kansas City for a newspaper -- one of the three Negro newspapers in the United States that were supporting Phil Randolph's efforts to unionize the Pullman Car Porters. The parallel with Charleston is painful and dredges up all kinds of memories.

I don't know what people have told you about Philip's earlier career and about that magnificent but heartbreaking but finally victorious fight to organize the most exploited class of workers in the United States bar none.

In the 1920s, the Pullman Porters were the most exploited workers in this nation. They were without any assistance whatsoever. They had no redress; they had no appeal. The Pullman Company wouldn't even listen to them and if they committed an infraction of the rules, they were fired. And sometimes they were fired without committing any infraction.

Philip Randolph -- son of a minister and college graduate and intellectual, as we now classify him so easily -- said he didn't know anything about the Pullman Car business and he didn't know about the problems of the workers but he was willing to learn.

They asked him for help and he met with them and he found that aside from the big enemies, the Pullman Company, that one of the most annoying and irritating and betraying enemies were those stool pigeons within the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters -- the men who ran the next morning to tell Mr. Charlie what was happening and who was at such and such a meeting and who met Phil Randolph and what Randolph said.

The other night Phil Randolph told us an amusing story about his organizing meeting -- the first meeting. And because they all recognized that stool pigeons were the main obstacles, he said, now this meeting will be the Randolph meeting.

He said, "It was my meeting. I told them I don't want you men to say a word. I don't want anybody to get up and testify about how you've been mistreated. I'm going to give the invocation," and he did. "I'm going to sing the first verse of a hymn and I thank you." He said, "I'm going to make the announcements and I made them. And I'm going to introduce the speaker and I did and I spoke and I did speak." He said after I finished speaking I did the benediction. And I said, "Now you men go home. Don't stand around on the street corners talking about the meeting because if you do you will be reported tomorrow morning. In fact, you may be reported just because you were here even though this was Randolph's meeting."

Well, that was one of the more humorous stories of this long fight, much longer than the fight of the hospital workers in New York City which took 46 days. This stretched into years.

But Phil Randolph finally won against the stool pigeons, against the Negro public which distrusted unions, which didn't want to have anything to do with unions, against the internal footdraggers among the Pullman Porters who, even though they were exploited and beaten and robbed of the wages they were making, were fearful of joining a union and doing something about it.

But Phil Randolph stayed and preached with that marvelous persistence and faith that he has. And with that goodness and steely determination underneath his gentleness and finally the day came when they sat down in the board room of the Pullman Company and drew up a contract.

Ah, that was a day because years of sacrifice and betrayals had gone into it. And Phil Randolph was the single, shining personality that changed the complexion of the opinion of unions in the Negro community. He had converted all the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to the ranks and finally he had brought the powerful, domineering wealthy Pullman Company to the bargaining table.

And, I don't know, George Meany, of any greater satisfaction that a union man can have than bringing a stubborn company to the bargaining table.

You know, there are a lot of stories floating around which Phil has never verified and he won't verify them tonight, I'm sure. The Pullman Company once sent him a check for $100,000 and told him to get lost in Puerto Rico or somewhere and he sent the check back. And then the story is that they sent him after another year another check signed, dated, with the amount left blank for him to fill in. And he tore this one in half and sent it back.

This man who is celebrating his 80th birthday today is a man who has had nothing out of the labor movement or the workers whom he has benefitted but the satisfaction of having been their savior, their advisor and their counsellor, their inspiration.

He doesn't have worldly goods -- secret or non-secret -- and he began that career by sending back the checks to the Pullman Company. He won't tell you that. He won't deny it but he won't tell you that.

You know, the 1920s were a lot different than 1969 and there was a different conception of unions. But I wanted you to know that about Phil Randolph because we have in Charleston, and we had here in New York with the hospital workers, the same kind of fight to establish a union, to get a contract.

Those men were working for $67 a month salary and the first contract they got a $12 raise and now they are up to about $5,000 to $6,000 plus fringe benefits, plus, of course, what the hotel calls "gratuities".

So, I want to say, Happy Birthday to you, Phil, and I want to say like Coretta King said about Martin Luther King, when I came along as a young man, you were my hero, my inspiration. You caught me at the time when every young college boy should be caught -- when he's full of idealism, when he believes that the world can be changed and here was a man who was busy changing it. Who was confident it could be changed, who never wavered, who never slipped, who never faltered, who never gave his followers any cause for anything except going forward to victory.

In my college years you were my happy inspiration. I have a very personal pleasure in being here tonight, different from all the other pleasures, because when you came out to Kansas City and talked to staff members of the Kansas City Call and talked to my boss, thanking him for helping in the unionization of the Pullman Car Porters, it had an influence on the direction that I took in my lifetime.

This is the kind of effect that this man has had on generations of white people, of colored people, young people and old people.

And tonight we say thanks and we say it, Philip, in presenting to you a book of testimony from your friends.

With your indulgence I'll just read two of the many tributes in this book before handing it over to you.

From the White House in Washington, and President Nixon:

"I know of no one man who can look back with greater satisfaction on eight meaningful decades and certainly none has given the nation cause for deeper gratitude than you.

"You have long been in the forefront of the labor movement but more than that, you have always stood for the highest ideals of social justice and human dignity.

"You have spoken out frankly and convincingly on the most pressing issues of our time and you have helped to awaken the nation to the inequities that still prevent too many of our people from enjoying the blessings that most of us have taken for granted.

"Please accept our warmest congratulations on this birthday and our every good wish for all the joy and contentment that are derived from a lifetime of service to your fellow citizens.

"Sincerely

"Richard M. Nixon."

And from the former occupant of the White House, President Lyndon B. Johnson, this note:

"Of course we can do little more than help to bring attention to the tremendous contribution of this great and dedicated American. For in the final analysis, Philip Randolph's greatest tribute is his own career.

"For half a century he has been an inspired and tireless fighter to the cause of justice. He has never lost faith in the American dream or in the American people. And his efforts have been rewarded as his faiths have been justified.

"I am proud to be able to salute him as a friend and as an admirer.

"Lyndon B. Johnson."

Philip, this book contains others -- hundreds of other greetings from Governor Rockefeller, who is here tonight, from Congressman Diggs, Senator Harris -- both of whom are here tonight, from the AFL-CIO Executive Council, from the Africans gathered at Accra for a meeting of African trade unionists, and messages from all over the world.

And it gives me a great and personal pleasure to present this to you and not to introduce you or present you to this audience, but to simply let them look at you.

RESPONSE OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT EMERITUS
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
TO ROY WILKINS TRIBUTE
AT THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH 80TH BIRTHDAY TESTIMONIAL DINNER
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL - NEW YORK, NEW YORK - MAY 6, 1969

Thank you, Roy, for that fine tribute.

I need not tell you that I am very happy to have your cooperation, your fine and splendid attitude for the work that I have tried to do. I have know you a long, long time and have the highest admiration and respect and love for you and your work.

I want to salute our gracious friend, Mrs. Martin Luther King, a lady of grace and charm and dignity and great dedication to the cause of the black worker -- not only the black worker but all workers -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish.

I'm grateful for the fine representation here from various areas of life. I've known Governor Rockefeller for a long, long time. He and I were engaged in developing the movement for a Fair Employment Practice Committee, there was Isaiah Minkoff, Anna Rosenberg and a number of others.

We had a luncheon and at that time no one had any idea that the Fair Employment Practice idea would ever be realized and crystallized. I recall during the discussions that we had that Governor Rockefeller said: "Now it can be realized if we fight for it."

And I'm very, very glad and happy to see my good friend, George Meany, at this dinner. I have great admiration and affection for George Meany. I know him very well. I know that when he commits himself to a program he will work at it and he will carry through and he does not pretend to be for something when he isn't. If he isn't for something, he'll let you know and in no uncertain terms.

So George Meany and myself have worked together over a long period of time and I think that we have made some progress in the field of civil rights.

My good friend, Bayard Rustin -- Bayard Rustin and myself have been at this struggle for some 25 years. He's a young man and I have had him working on various marches which we have developed. He is a genius in the organization of protest marches and the biggest that was ever given in this country was given under Bayard's direction. That was the march of 1963.

Now, let me just say a few words that I have jotted down. I didn't intend to make any talk. My good friend, Billy Bowe, is here and he always tells me how long I speak.

The gathering here tonight is an honor and for that I am deeply grateful and humble, but in a more profound sense it is a rededication to a cause to which I have contributed my energies and principles, to which I have dedicated my life.

The cause has been the liberation of the Negro in America. I have seen fit in this endeavor to try and establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement. I have been guided by the belief that Negroes are a working people and that because of their history on American soil -- a history of suffering and tragedy, but also of struggle, endurance and dignity and ultimately, a history of human triumph -- that because of this history they have been a dispossessed people who have often had to migrate thousands of miles in search of the means of subsistence.

The labor movement has been the home of the working man and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed. Therefore, I have tried to build an alliance between the Negro and the American labor movement.

I have not been alone in my efforts. In 1925, almost half a century ago, I and my colleagues founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. You heard Brother C. L. Dellums speak tonight about this movement. He and I were black militants on the Pacific Coast in the 20s. In our struggle to build the union

we faced destitution and continual harrassment, but we did build it and our struggle conferred upon us collectively a certain dignity.

With this victory, my brothers and I in the union not only improved the conditions under which we lived and worked but we were enabled to reach beyond ourselves to our brothers and sisters on the plantations and in the ghettos -- the plantations of which our lovely Mrs. King told us tonight. We were able to reach out and build a movement of Negro masses struggling to realize, upon this American soil, the freedom and the justice which they had so long been denied. The Negro masses awakened in 1941. They challenged the President of the United States to integrate the defense industries and all other places of public employment. And they were victorious. The Negro masses were in motion. They were removing the mark of oppression from their brows and the burden of economic misery from their bodies. This struggle has continued down to the present day.

Like a mountain stream that grows in size and momentum as it rushes downwards, the struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has become irrepressible. From Memphis, Tennessee to Charleston, South Carolina, they cannot now be satisfied with anything less than total liberation.

Our ceremony of rededication tonight is to the cause of freedom but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved. In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

We must reject confrontationism and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

We must reject violence and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

Salvation of the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted.

But in our struggle we must draw our strength from something that far transcends the boundaries of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity toward one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency.

And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, and banish white racism and black racism and anti-semitism to the limbo of oblivion from which they shall never emerge.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: Sept. 9 1969

Kathy Martin

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Delta #65

Lv. Atl - 6:15

arr. 7:38 Wash Natl

breakfast

Lv. #739 lv. Wash Natl. 8:25

arr Atl 9:53

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Labor News

PUBLISHED WEEKLY Vol. 29, No. 23 DURHAM, N. C., FRIDAY, SEPT. 19, 1969 PRICE PER COPY TEN CENTS

CAROLINA LABOR'S VIEW

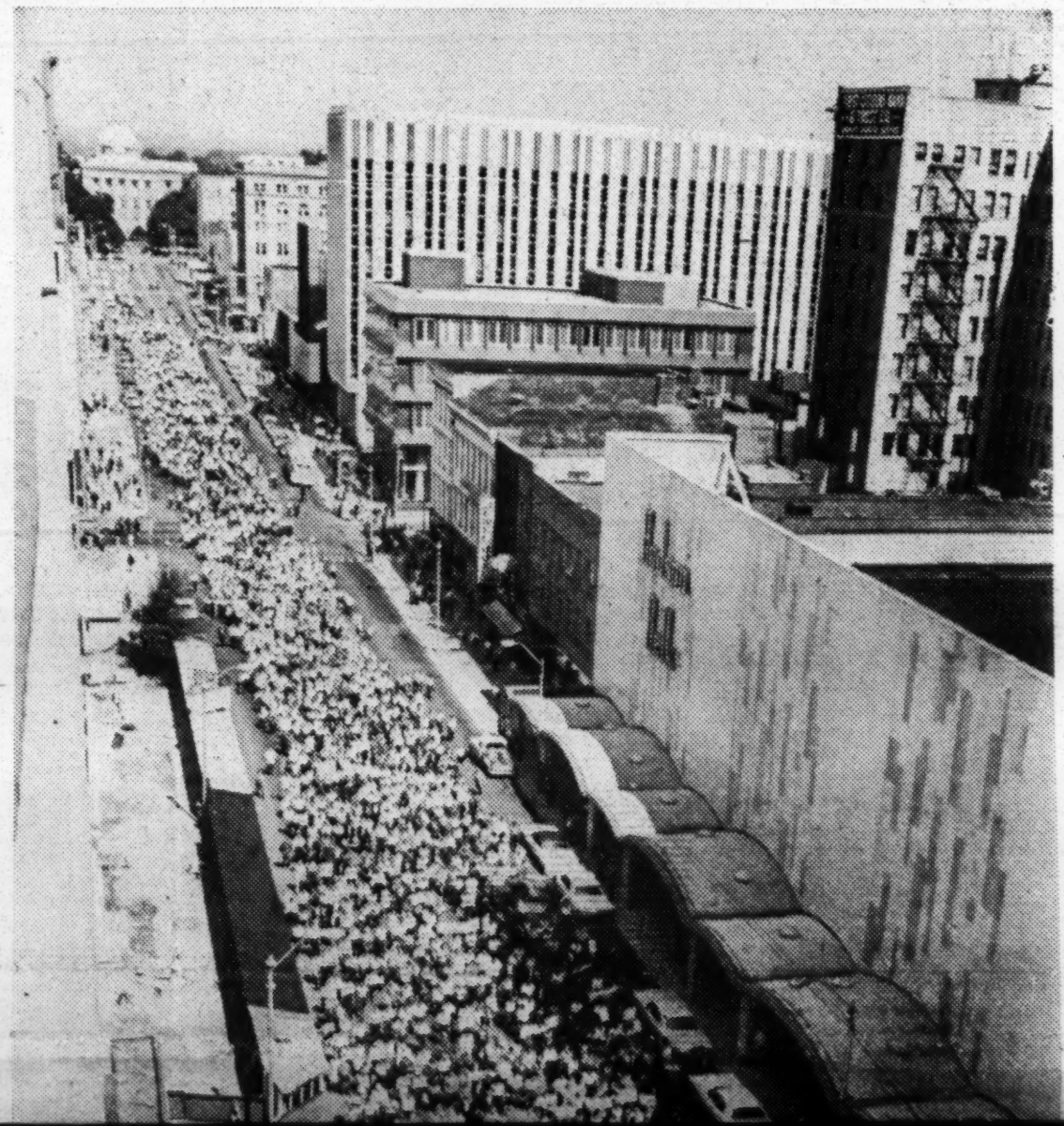
President Wilbur Hobby got his administration off to a flying start Sept. 12, by leading a Raleigh demonstration of more than 6,000 Tar Heel union members against Carolina Power and Light Co.

The demonstration was prompted by CP&L's decision to hire Brown and Root Construction Co., of Houston, Texas, to build more than half a billion dollars worth of generation plants in the state. It was launched by members of the building trades unions but quickly drew the support of the state organization as well as other unions.

Early on the morning of Friday, Sept. 12, thousands of union members began arriving at Raleigh's Memorial Auditorium. After receiving instructions from President Hobby and building trade leaders, the group began a march up Fayetteville Street to the offices of CP&L where Hobby and building trade leaders met for about an hour with officials of the power firm.

The group presented a petition to company officials requesting the firm to "require that proposed work . . . meet area standards of wages, fringe benefits, safety and working conditions established by the AFL-CIO Building Trades Unions in the Carolinas . . . hire key personnel and working forces, giving preference to Carolina citizens and North Carolina firms and national firms who . . . have been doing business in the Carolinas."

A second group stopped off at



Union Head Sets Militant Style For Organized Labor

RALEIGH—The new president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO is losing no time in setting a militant style for the labor organization.

The official, Wilbur Hobby of Durham, gave a demonstration of things to come with a march last Friday by thousands of union members in downtown Raleigh.

It was the largest gathering of union members in the memory of Raleigh old-timers, and a sharp departure from traditional union tactics.

The theme of the march was a protest against Carolina Power and Light Company's awarding of a $469 million construction contract to a Texas firm which the AFL-CIO leadership consider, "viciously anti-union."

But Hobby left no doubt that the march was a demonstration of union strength, too.

"From now on, we're going to go first class," Hobby told his cheer-

March was a demonstration of union strength, too.

"From now on, we're going to go first class," Hobby told his cheering listeners.

Statistically, the union movement in North Carolina appears extremely weak, with only an estimated 90,000 members out of a total labor force of about 2.3 million.

Hobby's task will be to make the weight of those few felt out of proportion while trying to swell the number.

His success in organizing Friday's march shows he's off to a good start.

The 43-year-old Durham tobacco worker gained his new leadership post last week after a dozen years of trying for it.

The theme he used in unseating the veteran Millard Barbee was the old political slogan, "It's time for a change."

But Hobby seems to be taking the slogan at face value.

A unionist who knows both Hobby and Barbee well puts it this way: "Barbee goes for the short gainer—Hobby will throw the long ball. Barbee will settle for an occasional drink of water — Hobby wants the whole bucket."

Friday's march brought no immediate concessions from CP&L.

The union charged that the Brown and Root Construction Co., chosen by CP&L to construct five generating plants in North Carolina, "has a reputation of anti-union activity."

The demonstrators, in a resolution presented to Gov. Bob Scott's office, asked Scott "to use your good offices and influence with Carolina Power and Light Co. to head off" the economic loss they claim will result from bringing in workers from outside the state.

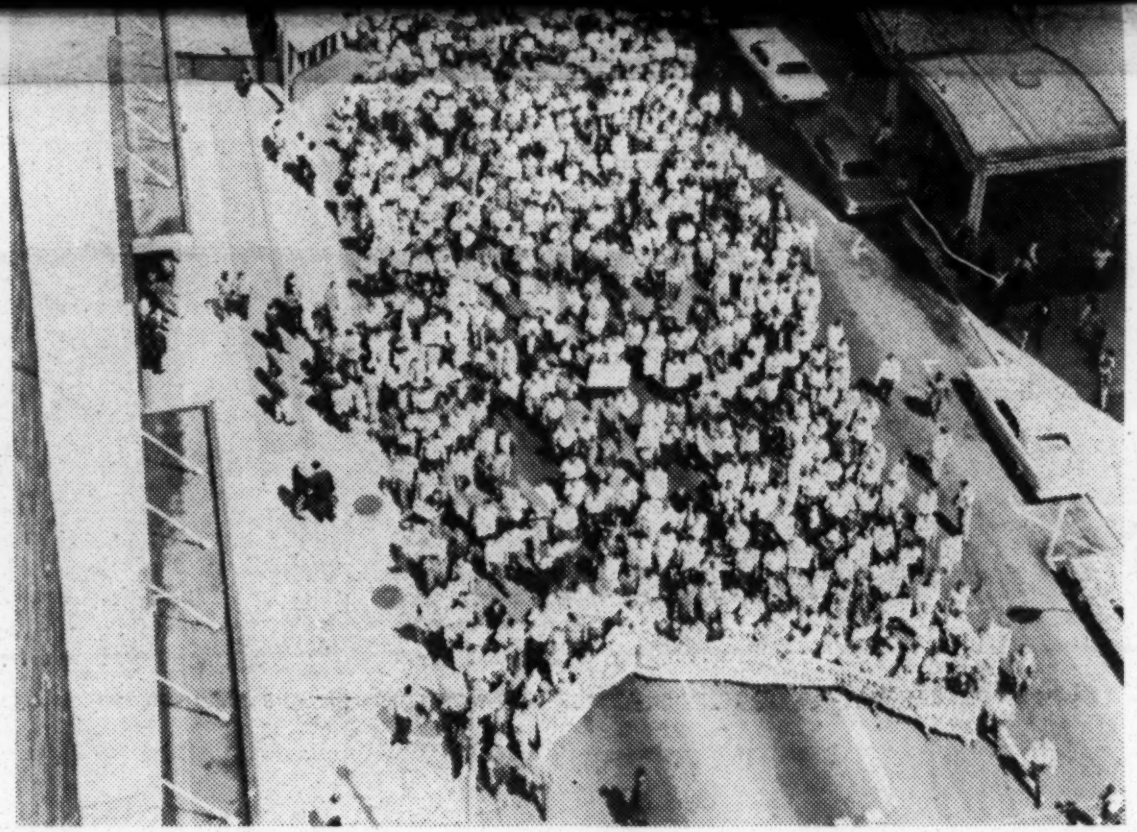
doing business in the Carolinas."

A second group stopped off at the office of Gov. Robert W. Scott where a resolution was given to a Scott aide. The resolution pointed out that Brown and Root "has a reputation of being anti-union" and said an official of the firm had been quoted in a North Carolina paper as saying Brown and Root would not do business with unions in hiring of workers.

The resolution also said Brown and Root "has a reputation for undermining the wages and working conditions which have improved the living standards . . . in the construction industry and which have made it possible for these workers to enjoy a decent standard of living."

The resolution also said, "we believe workers will be brought to North Carolina to take jobs that rightfully belong to our people, black and white, ,thereby taking wages and salaries out of North Carolina. . . . "

The resolution concluded by calling upon the governor "to use your good offices and influence with Carolina Power and Light Co. to head off this economic loss to our workers. . . ."



8,000 Union Building Trades and Industrial Workers March in Raleigh to Protest Carolina Power and Light Company Letting of One Half Billion Dollars in Contracts to Anti Union Texas Firm of Brown and Root Construction Company.

CLEMENT LEMON DIES; HEADED DELAWARE AFL-CIO

WILMINGTON, Del.—Clement J. Lemon, first and only president of the Delaware AFL-CIO died here at 64 of a heart attack. He was buried after services Sept. 10 at St. Matthew's Catholic Church, Woodcrest, Del.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland said in a message of sympathy to Mrs. Helen Lemon and their five children and Lemon "served all his fellow workers with diligence and devotion" and was an outstanding leader.

Lemon served as head of the state AFL befo. the merger of AFL and CIO state bodies in 1957, and also as president of the Wilmington Building & Construction Trades Council. A member of Bricklayers Local 1 for 37 years, he was its business agent for 14 years.

ECKERD DRUGS UNFAIR

BROADER, TIGHTER federal safety laws are the key to curbing the mounting toll of train accidents that reached an all-time high last year, Al H. Chesser, center, national legislative director of the United Transportation Union, said on Labor News Conference. The program is broadcast Tuesdays at 7:35 p.m. (EDT), on Mutual radio. Chesser was questioned by Neil Gilbride, left, of the Associated Press and Stanley Levey of Scripps-Howard.

Preliminary Price Index For August '69

WASHINGTON — Wholesale prices declined 0.1 percent in August—the first decline this year—according to preliminary estimates, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics has announced. It brought the Wholesale Price Index for the month down to 113.2.

Farm products dropped 1.5 per cent, reflecting a further weakening in cattle prices and substantial declines for grains and eggs. Processed foods and feeds also went down, by 0.5 percent, as a result of lower prices for meats, fish, and vegetable oils. Most other foods were higher, notably canned vegetables and fruits, frozen vegetables, and ice cream.

Prices of industrial commodities rose 0.3 percent, primarily because of boosts for metals and metal products. Price increases also were reported for machinery, apparel, rubber, and rubber products. Lumber and wood products continued to decline from the peak levels last spring, and gasoline prices were reduced.

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Question — How good is the job outlook for women who want to be pharmacists?

Answer—Women are welcome in pharmacy. They now represent about 8 percent of all pharmacists and about 14 percent of all pharmacy students. As the demand for the services of pharmacists continues to increase, more and more women are likely to look to this field for a career. Women who do not wish to work full-time while their children are young should find this occcupation especially appealing because of the number of opportunities for part-time workers.

Question — Isn't it a waste of money for the Federal government to sponsor experimental manpower programs when the nation's range of manpower programs is already so broad?

Answer—Not at all. The experimental and demonstration projects funded under the Manpower Development and Training Act test new ideas and methods for helping the unemployed and the underemployed. Successful methods are then put into use in regular manpower programs, thus improving the nation's total manpower effort.

Question—Are most engineers and scientists employed in private industry, universities, or government?

Answer—The latest issue of the Monthly Labor Review reports that of all scientists and engineers employed in 1967, 71 percent were in private industry, 14 percent were in colleges and universities, 9 percent were in the Federal government, 3 percent were in State government, under 2 percent were in local government, and 1 percent were in nonprofit institutions.

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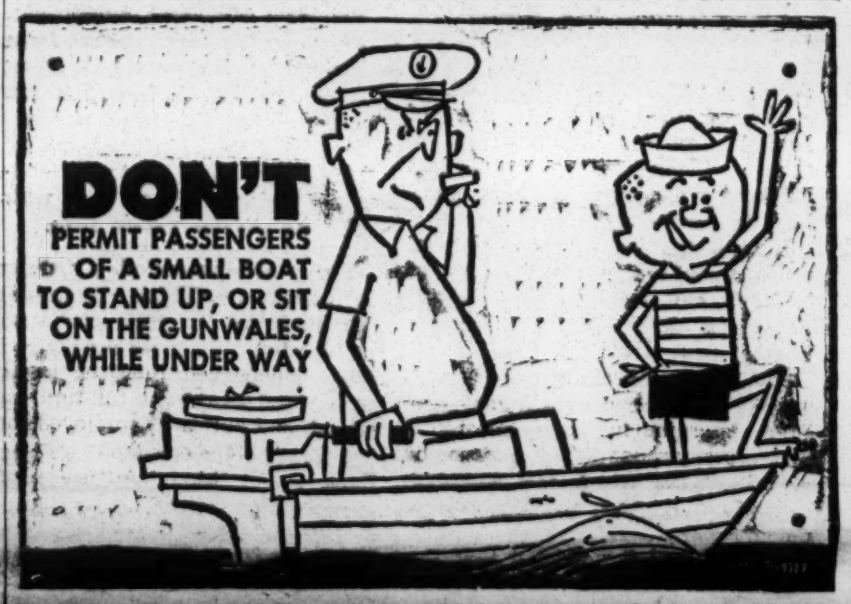

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to decline from the peak levels last spring, and gasoline prices were reduced.

ernment, and 1 percent were in non-profit institutions.

Labor Backs Bill Allowing Consumers To Join In Law Suits

WASHINGTON—Passage of a bill to allow consumers to join together in federal court suits will bring "more effective protection of consumer rights," the AFL-CIO told Congress.

Support for the proposal, known as the Class Action Jurisdiction Act, was expressed in a letter from AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller to Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.). He is chairman of a Senate subcommittee handling the bill.

The legislation spells out the power of federal courts to handle class actions when violations of federal consumer law are involved, as well as establishing federal courts jurisdiction involving violations of state consumer statutes.

"Class actions," Biemiller) pointed out, "are potentially a highly effective method of redressing grievances of groups of consumers who have been victimized by the same seller or lender."

Further, he noted, "the costs for a single consumer to seek redress of a grievance through an individual suit are almost always prohibitive."

Biemiller also stressed that procedures in many state courts "are so restrictive that consumer class action suits are virtually impossible" whereas federal court procedures "are relatively receptive to this type of suit."

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AFL-CIO News 10-4-69

Drive Opens For Tennessee Wage Floor

Nashville—The Tennessee State Labor Council launched a new campaign for the passage of a st minimum wage equal to the $1.60 federal standard.

Delegates to the sixth biennial state AFL-CIO convention voted to concentrate on the adoption of the minimum wage by the state legislature which convenes in January.

Two earlier efforts by labor forces fell short of victory. But Pres. Matt Lynch noted that prospects for the adoption of the minimum wage were brighter now than ever before.

The convention also voted to have the state body team up with the A. Philip Randolph Institute for the development of public housing projects for low-income families. The first building project is expected to be initiated within the next year.

Other resolutions called for a stepped-up effort to establish prepaid health plans in cooperation with local unions and support of gaining full union rights for public employes throughout the state.

The state council's four top officers, including Pres. Lynch, were re-elected to new two-year terms. The others are Sec.-Treas. Lee Case, First Vice Pres. H. T. Powell and Second Vice Pres. Charles Robinson.

Five new vice presidents were elected and 13 incumbents were reelected at the three-day convention. The new vice presidents are John Ballard, Typographical Union, Memphis; E. L. Collins, Retail Clerks, Nashville; Jesse McCoy, Steelworkers, Chattanooga; Louis Miller, Communications Workers, Memphis, and Robert Watkins, Musicians, Chattanooga.

E. Wall St Jnl 10-7-69

Labor Letter

A Special News Report on People And Their Jobs in Offices, Fields and Factories

ATLANTIC CITY

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS deeply trouble labor chiefs at the AFL-CIO convention.

Corridor and convention-hall talk here at labor's big biennial conference focuses sharply on rising prices, rank-and-file pressure for fatter wage gains, the growing fear of recession, increasing unemployment. The Federation's Executive Council contends the Government's "restrictive policies" weaken the economy without slowing inflation. "It's awfully tough for a union leader to moderate demands" in the current atmosphere, a top AFL-CIO analyst warns.

Railroad signalmen unveil new wage demands including a 54% boost over three years for skilled workers. The Communications Workers of America, which won its biggest pact with the Bell System last year, is "seriously considering" asking for a cost-of-living escalator next time. A top Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers official worries that huge building-trades settlements leave his skilled members feeling underpaid.

Labor Secretary Shultz told delegates that previous Government policies, not union demands, produced the current inflation.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

file

Kathy Martin

10/24/69

Mr. Wm. F. Schnitzler
Secty.-Treas.
AFL-CIO
815 16th St. N.W.
Wash. DC 20006

Retired

Kym

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MRS. LOUISE DEAN
TREASURER

HARRY BEXLEY
ATTORNEY

October 31, 1969

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

11-19-69

Dear Sirs:

Please place my name on your mailing list to receive a copy of your mailings and other information pertinent to your organization.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

J. W. Giles 5

J. W. Giles, Secretary
Georgia State AFL-CIO

JWG/b

November 4, 1969

Mr. Saul Miller, Director of Publications
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Miller:

Although I have been pleased to see the AFL-CIO's continued interest in tax reform, I have been disturbed by the lack of attention given to some key proposals. The House Ways and Means Committee voted to seriously restrict voter registration activity and to place in jeopardy foundation backed educational efforts on public issues (going well beyond the existing and legitimate prohibition on support for specific pieces of legislation).

The Senate Finance Committee voted to bar all foundation money from being used for voter registration! This fact was completely omitted from the AFL-CIO News story of November 1. Of course, you know that the main financial support, overwhelmingly so, for voter registration efforts among Negroes in the South came from the foundations.

I feel certain that I would agree with some further regulations of foundations which would conform with labor movement policies. However, it seems to me destructive of the legitimate and necessary development of democratic participation to curb the discussion of public issues and the practical expansion of the franchise; on this latter the News and the labor movement know better than most that the right to vote has little meaning unless acted upon. Registration is the first essential step in such action.

A few materials are enclosed which may be of some assistance in clarifying these issues. I hope that future stories on tax reform can deal with these problems. Essentially, the measures about which I speak are not tax reform measures at all and yet if they are not separated out from the tax bill by members of Congress and the advocates of reform, we will do the nation and this region a grave disservice.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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TO BE DELIVERED November 4, 1969

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

I want personally and on behalf of the Southern Regional Council to thank you for your statement of support of the recent Supreme Court desegregation ruling and for your appeal for practical assistance to school districts.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sent: 11/4/69
4:15 p.m.

cc: P.A., Don Slaiman

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AFL-CIO Labor Studies 3/8/70 RWD Record

LABOR STUDIES CENTER

THERE are no ivy-covered walls at 1500 Massachusetts Avenue where the new AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center is located in Washington.

The curriculum of the training programs parallels the appearance of the facilities—practical and functional—designed for the immediate needs of the people in the labor movement.

Yet the expertise of the teaching staff in labor affairs and the availability of key officials in government and the trade union movement puts the center well beyond the scope of long established labor institutes at colleges and universities.

Twenty students in the initial staff development program represented a wide cross section of AFL-CIO affiliates in industrial and white collar unions and the building trades.

The school day begins at 9 a.m. for a full schedule of classes running through 4:30 p.m. with a break for lunch at mid-day. Two nights a week the students return to the center for labor policy seminars.

Five of the three-week staff development programs will be offered during the first six months of operation. Simultaneously, one-week institutes are being conducted, to cover special studies in civil rights, social security, labor education, urban affairs, state and local bodies, international affairs, organizing and political legislative activities.

Packed into the staff development training is a curriculum calling for 15 hours of study in each of these areas: economics, social studies and effective reading.

An additional 18-20 hours are devoted to union history and current labor affairs. The participants also spend another 18-20 hours in special study projects.

A counseling service is provided to the students to prepare them for their research into the special projects. On completing their studies, they make a report on the subject to the class.

The teaching and administrative staff of the center is headed by Dir. Fred K. Hoehler, Jr., former professor and associate director of the School of Labor & Industrial Relations at Michigan State University.

Hoehler cited the particular advantage of locating the center in Washington because of the availability of experts in labor and government to supplement the regular teaching staff.

"Universities find it impossible to mass such a wealth of teaching talent readily available to come in as visiting lecturers," he observed.

The pool of "talent" includes congressmen and senators, officials of key government agencies and the Administration, department heads of the federation and officers of a number of unions based in Washington.

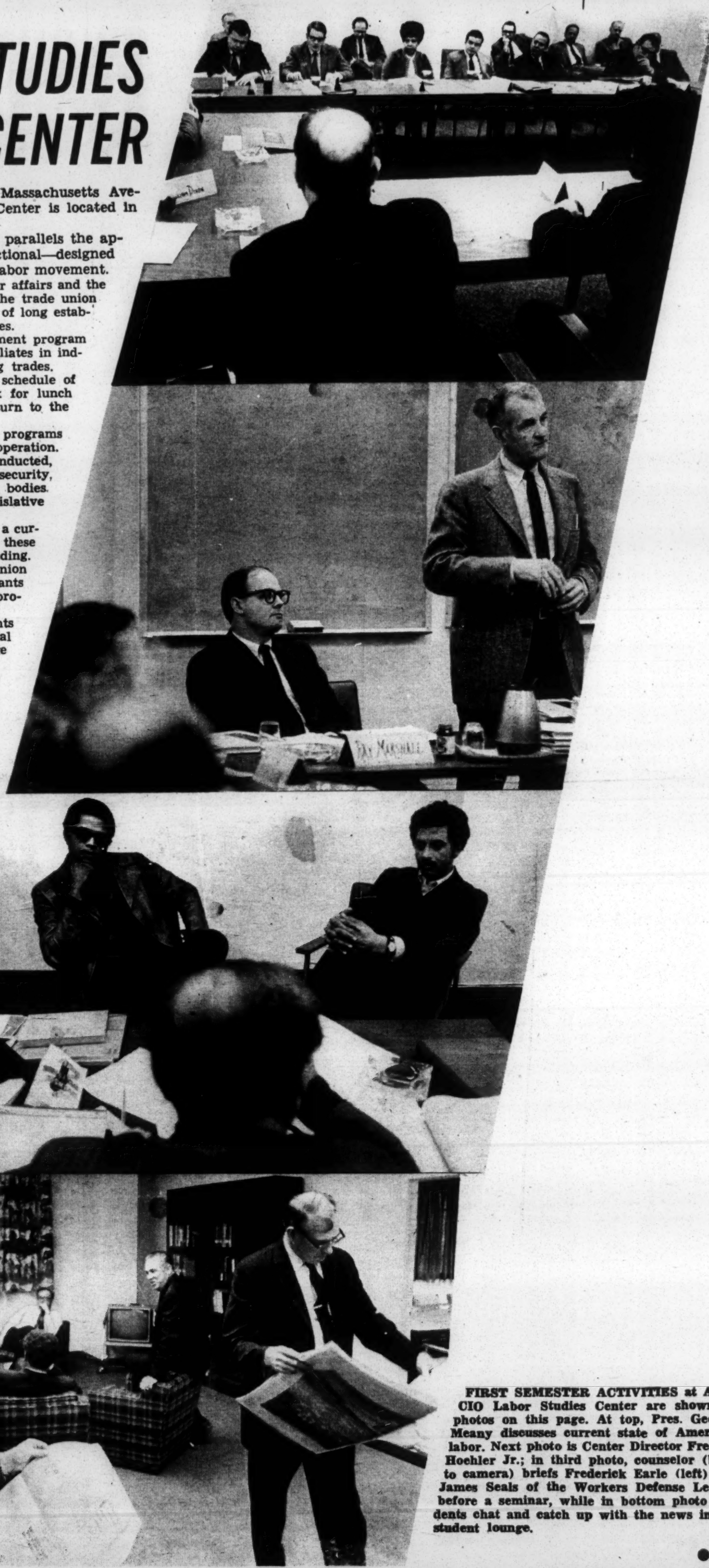
Among the first special lecturers was Federation Pres. George Meany, who discussed a wide range of topics affecting labor and internal affairs of the trade union movement.

Hoehler said that programs being developed at the center will not only supplement the labor studies now existing at colleges and universities, but should aid in improving the current programs on the nation's campuses.

Long-range proposals for the center are still fluid. But consideration is being given toward developing programs running for three to six months and later with 12-month terms.

AFL - CIO Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland told graduates of the first staff development program that the basic factor in the success of any new federation project such as the school is support from the international unions.

More than a school, the center is a "trade union environment," Kirkland said, in which people from different unions can work together, exchange new ideas and share experiences.



FIRST SEMESTER ACTIVITIES at AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center are shown in photos on this page. At top, Pres. George Meany discusses current state of American labor. Next photo is Center Director Fred K. Hoehler Jr.; in third photo, counselor (back to camera) briefs Frederick Earle (left) and James Seals of the Workers Defense League before a seminar, while in bottom photo students chat and catch up with the news in the student lounge.

sniffles & sneezes

All About the Common (kerchoo!) Head Cold and How to Handle It

By PAUL STEINER

A study by Dr. D. C. Bewes of Montreal found that women who have women supervisors have 30% more colds than women with men supervising them.

On any given day at least one million people have colds, and on any given day 125,000 office workers stay home because of a cold (at least that's what they report to their bosses). In February, the height of the cold season, 20 million men, women and children will have colds each day and only a maximum of 10% of the population will escape at least one cold a year.

Colds account for about 80% of all illnesses in children up to the age of 18. Though the average was about 18-20 days of school missed every year for all reasons, it ranged from only 10½ days missed in the state of Washington the year of the survey, to 52 days in Nevada, according to data from the National Education Association.

Nearly 25% of all cold sufferers contacted their doctors about at least one of their colds each year, according to a recent survey. This compares with just 21% who contacted doctors in a study seven years ago, and 17% in 1952.

Estimates are that nine out of 10 Americans have at least one bout with the sniffles and sneezes each year, at a direct cost in lost wages, doctor bills and medications of $2.0 to $2.2 billion, making it the nation's most costly and widespread ailment. With the costs of lost production and reduced efficiency, some experts calculate the expense at $6 to $8 billion.

Most Americans suffer an average of two to three colds a year. But the incidence varies widely according to a person's age, sex, job, weight, intelligence, residence and physical and emotional condition. Some people stay cold-less, others come down with eight to ten mild upper respiratory ailments.

Estimates of the economic impact of colds and nasal congestion vary widely. But some experts calculate the nation's 520 to 530 million colds result in the loss of 200 to 225 million work days a year, an average of about 2½ days off the job for every worker in the country.

The average number of days a teacher is absent varies from area to area. The average for one year studied was 3.12 days in Southern California, nearly 5.16 in St. Louis, 6.1 in Akron, and 6.2 in Rochester. The low was 2.7 days for Milwaukee teachers and the high was 6.57 for those in Cincinnati.

A number of medical investigators have noted that it is not necessarily extreme cold —or extreme heat — that causes tissue changes which pre-dispose toward colds. Four brewing companies reported that production workers in their cellars—where temperatures constantly were in the 37-42 degree range—had fewer colds than the other employees of the firms.

Many doctors believe emotional factors play an important role in either causing or triggering colds and one physician feels as many as 60% of colds are psychosomatic in origin. Famed psychiatrist Dr. Karl A. Menninger wrote as long ago as 1934 that "it is often exceedingly difficult to be sure how much the cold is . . . simply a general and habitual 'invalid' reaction to the unpleasant."

Some doctors believe colds in children may be triggered by emotional factors just as emotions trigger colds in adults. Surveys have found that the better a student is doing academically, the less likely he is to be absent from school—and at least one-third of school absences are cold-caused. Also, students from below-average economic-status homes lost more time from school than the upper-income children. Emotionally disturbed children develop more colds than normal ones.

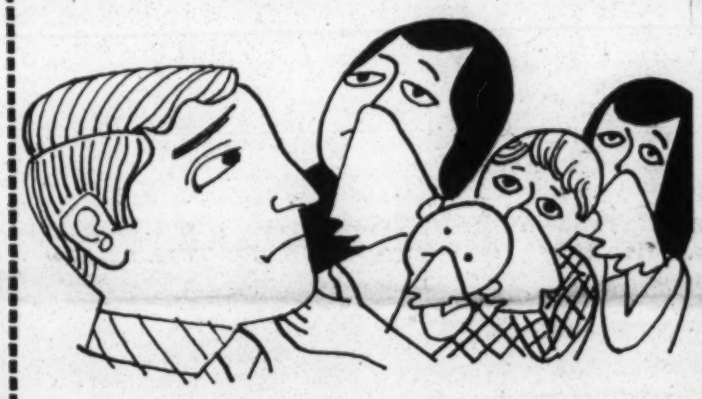
Katharine H. Hain, M.D., director of medical services at Schering Laboratories, and the mother of a teenage girl and two teenage boys, feels many American mothers are "pampering" children as far as the common cold is concerned. Mothers overdress their children, she notes, then the youngsters go out and play and get overheated and come down with colds. Dr. Hain also feels there is no reason to keep a child with a mild cold in bed and wait on him, and no reason to keep a child home from school unless he has a fever. Likewise, there is no reason to keep a child in bed if he does stay home and no reason the child should not get dressed—and do his homework.

Many people are familiar with the lament of Adelaide, heroine of "Guys and Dolls," whose 14-year-old continuing cold was the result of her frustrated romance with boyfriend Nathan Detroit. "Just from waiting around, for that plain little band of gold, a person . . . can develop a cold," she sang.

L. J. Saul, M.D., a psychiatrist, said colds were really an allergy affected by an unconscious emotional state. "Patients who are subject to frequent colds who come to analysis for other reasons . . . have as a by-product (of their analysis), a cure of this propensity."

Women, generally considered more emotional than males, have up to twice as many colds as men, and children have some four times as many. However, wives are in more frequent contact with more children—who are especially cold-prone—so this contact might account for some increase in the number of women's colds.

One doctor in Savannah, Ga., a former school board official there, said the school board officially adopted the policy that any child with a temperature of less than 99.8 degrees by mouth, with symptoms suggesting a cold, should be sent to school. Fears that complications would arise or that cold-germ carriers would skyrocket the incidence of colds proved groundless. Furthermore, since the atmosphere any place teems with viruses and bacteria, it doesn't make sense to avoid going out just to "protect" others. In fact, says one doctor, Stanley Kubrick, an M.D., Ph.D. and virologist from Boston U., most doctors attend to their practices while they have colds.



Studies show strong correlations between anxiety and susceptibility to colds. One report found that the malcontents and troublemakers among workers had far more colds than the more placid group. And, emotionally disturbed children have more colds than normal children. The emotionally upset children developed colds when faced with such situations as a school test, a new arrival in the family or a move to a new neighborhood. This is due to the effects of emotions on the vascular system (blood vessels). Emotions can cause the release of adrenalin and histamine in the tissues.

Various surveys give different results on the frequency of colds but one study showed that children under one year had an average of 6.9 colds a year, one-year-olds had 8.3, two-year-olds had 8.5, three-year-olds had 8.6, four-year-olds had 8.1, five-year-olds 7.8, six-year-olds 6.2, seven-year-olds 6.6, eight-year-olds 5.9, nine-year-olds 5.1, ten-year-olds 5.6 colds a year and children over 11 had 5.4. The same study showed fathers averaged 4.1 colds a year, mothers caught an average of 5.4. Little boys between the ages of 2-9 had an average of 7.9 colds a year, while girls between the same ages got only 6.8—yet grown women get about twice the average number of colds as grown men.

Physicians stress that no cold medication cures or in any way attacks the *causes* of colds, hay fever and congestion—all they do is relieve the *symptoms*.

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A Summary of The Appalachian Regional Development Act

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A cooperative effort of AFL-CIO organizations to assist in the development of Appalachia

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AFL-CIO Appalachian Council

About the Council

The AFL-CIO Appalachian Council is an Amalgamation or joining together of all AFL-CIO organizations in the eleven-state Appalachian Area.

The formation of this unique regional organization is a direct result of the "Appalachian Trade Union Conference" held in Charleston, West Virginia October 12-14, 1964. Present in the conference were representatives of AFL-CIO unions from every state in the eleven-state region. At its concluding session the conference unanimously adopted a resolution urging and approving the establishment of a permanent Appalachian Organization. Specifically the resolution stated that such an organization should work toward "unearthing and understanding problems of the region, developing plans for their solution, and stimulating or undertaking specific projects or action programs for their elimination."

Subsequent to the conference, permission was obtained from the National AFL-CIO to form the organization and, in December 1964, an organizational meeting was held in Washington at which time the officers whose names appear on the opposite page were selected.

Since the conference was held in October, both the Economic Opportunities Act and the Appalachian Regional Development Act have been passed by Congress. The Council can now be of invaluable assistance in making these programs successful in the Appalachian Region.

About This Pamphlet

This pamphlet is designed to give a quick summary of the provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. Many questions have been raised relative to the allocations of funds among the states to finance the various programs provided in the Act. Unfortunately, at the time of this printing, such information was not available. When it is released the Council will see that proper distribution is given this important information.

★ ★ ★

A Summary of the Appalachian Regional Development Act (1965)

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-4), signed by President Johnson on March 9, authorizes a variety of programs designed to stimulate the economic development of the Appalachian Region. This region of 167,000 square miles sweeps diagonally across 11 states from northern Pennsylvania to central Alabama and has a population of more than 16 million.

Appalachia contains 360 contiguous counties in portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia,

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APPALACHIA

Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and all of West Virginia. One-third of the population of Appalachia, compared to one-fifth nationally, is beset by poverty, according to the standards established by the President's Council of Economic Advisors.

This Act is the direct result of the concerted efforts of the Conference of Appalachian Governors and the President's Appalachian Regional Commission established in 1963; it is composed of representatives of the Appalachian States and a dozen Federal agencies.

In making its legislative recommendations, the President's Commission noted that Appalachia was plagued by low income, high unemployment, lack of urbanization, low educational achievement, and relatively low living standards and that "a coordinated, adequately funded and sustained effort must be undertaken to restore the region's economic vitality." Accordingly, the Commission recommended a variety of programs designed to revitalize the Appalachian economy on four fronts:

1. Better access to and within the region;
2. Fuller development of the land and timber resources of Appalachia;
3. Improved management of Appalachia's valuable water resources, and
4. Improvements in human resources and public facilities.

In addition to providing for public investments in the Appalachian Region, the Act establishes a framework for joint Federal and State efforts to attack the region's common problems on a coordinated regional basis. The Appalachian Regional Commission will administer the Appalachian program in such a way as to promote economic growth in the Region and enable it to develop a more diversified industry.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 does not contain all of the programs for which monies will be made available during fiscal year 1966. It contains only those programs requiring new legislative authorizations or modification to existing legislative authorizations.

Funds to carry out the entire program, both those provisions contained in P.L. 89-4 and those programs already authorized which require additional funds for increased activities in the Appalachian Region are provided for in a special appropriations bill recently submitted to Congress.

The main provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act are as follows:

Highways

An Appalachian Development Highway System will be constructed to provide access to isolated sections of the region and to make possible a greater flow of industry and tourism between areas within the region and between the region and the rest of the country. Existing roads will be upgraded and

new sections constructed to open up areas with a developmental potential. A total of 3,350 miles of roads shall be built of which 1,000 miles are reserved for local access roads, to serve specific developmental facilities, including recreational, residential, commercial, industrial or like facilities.

Water Resources

A comprehensive water resources study is authorized for the entire Appalachian Region. The study will be coordinated by the Secretary of the Army, assisted by all relevant agencies. Acceleration of water facilities construction in the region is requested in the supplemental appropriation bill for Appalachia. There will be a heavy emphasis on flood control, industrial and recreational impoundments and sewage treatment plants.

Timber

The timber program includes accelerated research into end uses for the Appalachian hardwoods found throughout the region; increased national Forest Land acquisition; more access roads in National Forests to increase the cut from matured timber; assistance to local nonprofit corporations, known as timber development organizations, designed to manage and produce better grades of timber, thereby earning a greater return for the small landowner.

Land Conservation

To promote the conservation and better utilization of the region's important land and water resources, the Act authorizes a program of grants to landowners for the adoption and improvement of land treatment practices. The Department of Agriculture will administer grants for land treatment to prevent erosion and to promote soil conservation.

A special coal lands program gives the Secretary of the Interior broadened authority to seal and fill voids in abandoned coal mines, extinguish mine fires and expand the restoration of fish and wildlife sites destroyed by strip mining. The Secretary of the Interior is also directed to carry out a comprehensive strip mining study which should give the answers needed for the development of a broader strip mining program. The authorizations in the bill, together with the program to be included in the supplemental appropriations bill, will make it possible to begin a comprehensive regional program of coal lands reclamation that will enhance the region's attractiveness to industry and to tourism.

Human Resources and Public Facilities

The Act provides a specific program for the construction and operation of multi-county health centers which will contribute to the economic development of the region. A special supplement to the Vocational Educational Act of 1963 is also provided which makes $16 million available over a two-year period for the construction of vocational education facilities. In addition, the Act provides a supplemental fund to be used to reduce the local cost of participation in Federal grant-in-aid programs for the construction of public facilities.

Among the programs to be supplemented in this fashion are those providing funds for hospitals,

vocational education facilities, higher education facilities, including community colleges and technical schools, libraries, educational television facilities, airports, sewage treatment plants and public recreation facilities.

There will be careful coordination of the construction activities with the Office of Economic Opportunity, directed by Mr. Sargent Shriver. The Office of Economic Opportunity will provide operating funds for activities to be carried out in many of the facilities that will be constructed with Appalachian program funds.

Coordination and Execution

An Appalachian Regional Commission is created by the Act to coordinate this new program as well as to make recommendations with regard to existing programs and to provide program planning. This Commission will be comprised of representatives from each of the eleven Appalahican States and a Federal co-chairman appointed by the President whose vote would equal the states' vote. Project applications for grants and technical assistance will be made through the state members of the Commission, who shall evaluate such applications. Only those applications for programs and projects which are approved by a state member will receive Commission approval.

The Act requires that the Commission make its investment in areas which have a potential for growth and where the return on public dollars invested will be maximized. All investments must be in accordance with overall program plans recommended by the Commission and approved by an officer designated by the President.

To enable local areas to develop projects and plans which will lead to their economic development, grant funds are provided in the Act to cover part of the administrative expenses of local development districts.

★ ★ ★

Conclusion

The labor movement has a great stake in developing the human and natural resources of Appalachia. The Council is currently planning programs and projects to assist AFL-CIO organizations to be more effective in this endeavor.

If your organization would like more specific information regarding the Applachian Regional Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act or the activity of the Council, please contact your state central body or write directly to the:

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Tacoma, Washington 98402
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A WASHINGTON CONFERENCE developed plans for a 50-cities drive to recruit, train and find jobs for the hard-core unemployed. The program is being carried out by the Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI), the AFL-CIO and Dept. of Labor. From left, Otto Pragan, assistant director, AFL-CIO Dept. of Education; Orieanna Syphax of Health, Education & Welfare Dept.; Julius Rothman, associate director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Urban Affairs and president of HRDI; Robert McConnin, Dept. of Labor; Merlin Taylor, HRDI executive director, and Thomas F. Royals, Labor Dept.

'Human Resources' Jobs Plan Gets Under Way in Nine Cities

The AFL-CIO's campaign to get union members more involved in manpower programs for the hard-core unemployed is now under way in nine cities—Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, Houston, Pittsburgh, New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans and St. Louis.

These are the first of 50 metropolitan areas in which organized labor will have a full-time manpower representative operating under the direction of the new Human Resources Development Institute in Washington.

HRDI is a non-profit corporation set up by the AFL-CIO to mobilize the resources of the labor movement in a nationwide program to recruit, train, employ and upgrade the unemployed and the underemployed. Federation Pres. George Meany is chairman of the HRDI board and Julius Rothman, associate director of AFL-CIO's new Dept. of Urban Affairs, is president.

The institute was set up with the aid of a Labor Dept. grant of $1.5 million.

"The AFL-CIO has consistently said that the road out of poverty is a good job at decent wages," Rothman pointed out. "We feel that the proper role for labor unions in helping to achieve

All HRDI staff members have a background in the labor movement, Taylor noted, plus a variety of experience in civil rights, anti-poverty programs, political action and other civic involvement. The staff will be thoroughly integrated, says Taylor, and already includes two women and six minority group members.

HRDI recently concluded a one-week training session in Washington at which top representatives from the AFL-CIO, the Labor Dept. and the National Alliance of Businessmen briefed the staff on manpower and related problems. A second conference will be held in February for new field representatives in the next cities to be staffed.

At the Washington conference, Taylor emphasized the key role that HRDI was expected to play in the AFL-CIO's total effort to help resolve what he called "the single most critical domestic problem facing the United States today—helping the hard core to acquire full economic citizenship."

"Unless we begin to successfully recruit the disadvantaged men and women in our ghettos, train them and place them in good jobs at decent wages," said Taylor, "we cannot begin to solve the crisis that is plaguing our cities. Organized labor can play a major role in creating a realistic, creative climate for developing training and placement programs."

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Already on board with HRDI, Rothman reported, are a fulltime director and four staff representatives in the national office plus fulltime representatives in the nine pilot cities.

HRDI's executive director is Merlin L. Taylor of New Orleans. A former bricklayer and stone mason, Taylor was president and business manager of his local union for three years, during which he developed and taught an extension course for journeymen for the State Dept. of Vocational Education. He also attended an AFL-CIO Community Services course and studied at Loyola University's Institute of Industrial Relations. Taylor, 39, comes to HRDI from the Labor Dept., where he had major responsibilities in developing manpower programs.

Also in HRDI's Washington office are James D. Boyle, Olga Corey, C. R. Hollowell and Alfred P. Love. The field staff includes Peter Babin III in New Orleans, Charles E. Bradford in St. Louis, Donald W. Bridges in Houston, John T. Burnell in New York, R. J. Butler in Atlanta, Eddie Campbell in Cincinnati, Mrs. Minona J. Clinton in Pittsburgh, Paul J. Flynn in Boston and George M. Garland in Los Angeles.

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HRDI 1-10-69

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY Vol. 28, No. 39 DURHAM,

LABOR'S HUMAN RESOURCES PROGRAM ARE OPERATING IN NINE BIG CITIES

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HRDI

Coupled With Jobs, Wages:

Manpower Programs Set Stage For Curing Unemployment Ills

THE SOLUTION to hard-core unemployment is the solid prospect of "decent jobs at decent wages," a union manpower expert declared. That, he contended, is the motivation needed to get the disadvantaged to enter and complete training programs.

Lacking education and job experience, "you have to start from scratch in propelling" them toward jobs, said Julius Rothman, president of the Human Resources Development Institute, recently established by the AFL-CIO.

But, Rothman cautioned, "you can't deal with this group in terms of dead-end employment" at menial tasks for "wages so low that they offer no real hope." He stressed the need to develop "job ladders," so that these new workers will be able to move up as they gain skill and experience.

Rothman was questioned by reporters on the AFL-CIO-produced public affairs program, Labor News Conference, broadcast Tuesdays at 7:35 p.m., EST, on the Mutual Radio Network.

The unionist said the initial aim of HRDI will be to help draw together the many existing manpower programs in 50 urban centers around the country, see that they are operating as they should, as well as "move organized labor — our local unions—in the direction of promoting manpower programs on their own." He said the effort is already under way in 10 cities, that 25 more will be in operation by mid-February and the other 15 by April 1.

ROTHMAN PRAISED the international and local unions, building trades councils and other union groups for the "excellent cooperation" they are giving the institute's program — "something they needed and wanted." They are "particularly happy to be able to get more deeply involved in manpower operations," he said.

Heretofore, he said, unions have "sort of felt that manpower programs were business' responsibility, and that while they have been consulted, it's been a sort of second cousin type thing—at arms length."

"From now on," he declared, "we are going to be involved directly, and immediately, and closely in the manpower programs at the local community level."

1-11-69
AFL-CIO

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1969

Temporary Chairman - Julius Rothman, President, HRDI

9:00 Introduction of HRDI President and National Staff
Merlin L. Taylor, Executive Director, HRDI
Special Acknowledgement of St. Patrick's Day

9:30 Keynote Address
Dr. Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council

10:00 "Organized Labor and Manpower Programs"
Julius Rothman

10:30 Coffee Break

10:45 "Government Manpower Programs: An Overview"
Robert Brown, Assistant Manpower Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor
Thomas F. Royals, Deputy Assistant Manpower Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor

11:30 Questions and Answers

12:00 "Community Resources"
William A. Davies, Labor Liaison with the United Community Funds and Councils of America
Lynn MacGowan, Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Department of Community Services Activities

12:15 Lunch

1:30 Sensitivity Session--Human Development Institute
(For all HRDI Staff who have entered on duty after December 31, 1968)
Intergroup Review
(For initial HRDI Representatives)

4:00 Break

6:00 Dinner

7:30 "Economic Impact and Manpower: Where Are The Jobs?"
Nat Goldfinger, Director
AFL-CIO Department of Research

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1969

Permanent Chairman - Merlin L. Taylor, Executive Director, HRDI

9:00 Concurrent Workshops: "Training Buddies"
Group I - Discussion Leader - James D. Boyle, HRDI
Resource - Joe Mire, Greenleigh Associates
Group II - Discussion Leader - C. R. Hollowell, HRDI
Resource - Robert Washington, Greenleigh Associates
Group III - Discussion Leader - Al Love, HRDI
Resource - Charles Slanicka, Greenleigh Associates
(Discussion Leaders will reconvene entire groups as required)

12:30 Lunch

1:45 Concurrent Workshops: "The What, How and Why of Area Representatives' Reports to HRDI National Office"
Groups I, II, III

4:00 Break

6:00 Dinner

7:15 "Organized Labor's Stake in Education"
Walter Davis, AFL-CIO Director of Education

8:00 EXECUTIVE SESSION - HRDI Staff
(Session to be devoted to providing HRDI Representatives with an opportunity for response -- no topic barred.)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1969

9:00	"Expanding Role of the U. S. Employment Service" Charles Odell, Director, USES
9:30	"Priorities of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training" Hugh C. Murphy, Administrator, BAT
10:00	"AFL-CIO and the Hard-Core Unemployed" Jules Pagano, Vice President Greenleigh Associates
10:30	Coffee Break
10:45	Administrative Procedures of HRDI Harold Jack, Secretary-Treasurer, HRDI
11:45	"Relationships and Coordination -- HRDI and NAB" Robert Tetu, Director of Operations National Alliance of Businessmen Finlay Petree, Director of Recruiting Government Programs National Alliance of Businessmen
12:30	Lunch
1:30	"Housing and AFL-CIO Mortgage Involvement" John Evans, Director AFL-CIO Department of Urban Affairs
2:00	Model Cities Neil McArthur, Labor Relations Consultant Model Cities, HUD
2:45	Coffee Break
3:00	Concurrent Workshops: "Power and Influence Groups in the Community" Groups I, II, III
5:00	Close
6:00	Dinner

THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1969

9:00	Work Incentive Program (WINS) Merwin Hans, Chief Division of WINS U. S. Department of Labor
9:30	Questions and Answers
9:45	Comprehensive Work Training Plan (CWTP) Robert Fodor, Manpower Development Specialist U. S. Department of Labor
10:15	Questions and Answers
10:30	Coffee Break
10:45	Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) Joseph Kilgallon, Chief, CEP U. S. Department of Labor
11:15	Questions and Answers
11:30	Scope of Department of Labor Funded Programs Robert McConnon, Director of On-The-Job Training Bureau of Work Training Programs U. S. Department of Labor
12:30	Lunch
1:45	Concurrent Workshops: "HRDI's Role in MA-4 Contracts" Robert McConnon, Resource Groups I, II, III
4:00	Break
6:00	Dinner
7:15	The Civil Rights Movement and Organized Labor Don Slaiman, Director AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
7:45	Remarks Arnold Webber, Assistant Secretary for Manpower U. S. Department of Labor J. N. Peet, Manpower Administrator U. S. Department of Labor

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1969

9:00 The Evolution of Apprenticeship Outreach Programs
Don Slaiman, Director
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

9:30 Outreach Program Field Experiences
Discussion Leader - Robert McGlotten, Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
Resources -
Napoleon Johnson, Director
Labor Education Advancement Program
National Urban League
Ernest Green, Director
Workers Defense League

10:30 Coffee Break

10:45 Job Corps Training Programs
William T. Kelly, Director of Job Corps
Office of Economic Opportunity

11:15 Job Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth
Mildred Wurf, Acting Director for Voluntary Organizations
President's Council on Youth Opportunity

11:45 Conference Evaluation
Julius Rothman, President, HRDI
Thomas F. Royals, Deputy Assistant Manpower Administrator
U. S. Department of Labor
Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council

12:30 Adjournment and Lunch

1:45 BUS LEAVES FOR WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 21, 1969

Mr. Merlin L. Taylor
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Merlin:

Thanks for your kind letter of April 17.

Under separate cover I am sending some recent publications from SRC. As I mentioned to you at Piney Point, I think it would be useful for the southern HRDI staff people to receive our materials. If you agree, there are two possibilities. One is to send all of our publications, including the quarterly "New South", for an annual $5.00 fee which I have worked out for a fairly sizeable group of union-staff people. We would prefer this alternative if your budget allows. The other possibility is for me to send some publications on a trial basis for about six months. In either case I think we should get an evaluation from your southern staff after a period of time to see if they find them useful. If you are interested simply indicate on which basis and send the names and addresses. In any event, it would be helpful to have the names and addresses of your southern staff.

I hope the rest of the training sessions went well. Sorry my schedule did not allow for staying a whole week.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

815 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • TELEPHONE 638-3912

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Executive Director

April 17, 1969

Dr. Emory F. Via,
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I'm sure I don't have to tell you how much I appreciated your participation in our Piney Point conference. I know from our staff how much you gave to them -- not just in your speech but in the many conversations they had with you.

We are all grateful for your willingness to share your commitment and experience with the Human Resources Development Institute.

Sincerely,

Merlin

Merlin L. Taylor,
Executive Director

MLT: pmt
opeiu#2,afl-cio

HRDI

AFL-CIO appoints SCME members to its Human Resources Institute

Two SCME members will play a key role in the AFL-CIO's new drive to increase union involvement in manpower programs at the local level.

They are Peter Babin III of New Orleans and Richard A. Smith of Chicago, who have been appointed to the field staff of the Human Resources Development Institute, which will spearhead the drive.

The institute is a non-profit corporation created by the AFL-CIO to mobilize the resources of organized labor to recruit, train, employ, and upgrade the disadvantaged in the nation's cities.

In 50 cities. The drive will operate in 50 cities with severe hard-core unemployment problems.

Peter Babin was on the SCME staff for eight years. He is a board member of the Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO and its representative on the New Orleans Human Relations Commission.

Richard A. Smith is president of State Department of Labor Employees Local 1006 and a member of SCME State Employees Council 34's policy, human rights and legislative committees. He is a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Babin and Smith will work closely with their central labor councils and with community organizations concerned with the problems of hard-core unemployment. They will provide labor liaison to Federal agencies dealing with manpower programs in their areas.

Aug 1969 "The Public Employee"

News Letter
Virginia State AFL-CIO
9-69

MORETTI WINS APPOINTMENT

Vincent Moretti, Secretary of the Norfolk Virginia Union Labor Council, has recently been appointed an Area Representative of the Human Resources Development Institute. The organization (HRDI) has been set up by the AFL—CIO to involve more unions in job training programs to help the disadvantaged.

"Vince" was the business agent of Local 980, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL—CIO, until he recently resigned to assume his new position with HRDI. He is chairman of the Community Services Committee of the Norfolk Virginia Union Labor Council and is also a Democratic Committeeman in the City of Chesapeake.

Those in the trade labor movement who know Vince, know that he has been a real trooper in the various labor programs, both locally, and in the state. He also finds time to serve on the Boards of numerous organizations, such as: American Red Cross; Health, Welfare and Planning Council; Family Life Education; and Planned Parenthood.

HRDI's task is a critical one: To tap the talent and experience available within the labor movement to develop more effective programs for helping the disadvantaged find - and keep-good jobs at decent wages. Any member interested in HRDI may contact Vince at his office in Norfolk, at 115 Third Street, or by phoning 623-4564.

HRDI

HRDI 4 OCT 1969

PROGRESS REPORT on the first year's operations of the Human Resources & Development Institute is made to the HRDI board of trustees meeting in Washington. The trustees elected AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland to succeed William F. Schnitzler to the 11-member board. Standing from left are Dir. Merlin L. Taylor of HRDI, Pres. John H. Lyons of the Iron Workers, former Pres. P. L. Siemiller of the Machinists, Pres. Hunter P. Wharton of the Operating Engineers, Sec. Joseph D. Keenan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Pres. David Sullivan of the Service Employes, AFL-CIO Controller Harold Jack, Pres. Julius Rothman of HRDI, Federation Pres. George Meany and Pres. Max Greenberg of the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union.

Human Resources Units Functioning in 50 Cities

Atlantic City—The Human Resources Development Institute—the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO—is tackling the problems of disadvantaged workers in their quest for economic opportunities, the Executive Council reported to the convention.

Established little more than a year ago, HRDI has operations in 50 major metropolitan centers across the country and is still growing.

Soon after its founding, HRDI went to work with a $1.5 million Labor Dept. contract helping to execute federal manpower programs and policies.

The problems of the under-employed, the under-skilled, the disadvantaged and victims of discrimination are among the chief concerns of the institute.

HRDI is designed to use and further develop the resources and skills in the labor movement in the operation of manpower programs, the council noted.

It is involved in programs to prepare minority youth for apprenticeships and to assist hard-core unemployed or under-skilled workers upgrade their job abilities.

It also functions as the liaison between labor and various government and private programs in the manpower field.

Before HRDI, the Executive Council noted, there was a lack of labor's direct involvement in training programs although there were many in its ranks who were knowledgeable in operations of manpower programs.

As a first step, HRDI carried out an intensive training program for its own staff at national and regional training meetings.

HRDI also teamed up with the National Alliance of Businessmen to expand the JOBS program (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector).

It later took over the Buddy Programs which aid the newly hired disadvantaged worker to adapt to the job and ease early employment problems.

While HRDI will assist and support current manpower programs, it will also help AFL-CIO unions to design and sponsor manpower programs of their own.

The Executive Council pointed out that the institute staff has the technical skill and knowledge to help unions in developing training proposals and negotiating with Labor Dept.'s Manpower Administration to obtain needed funds.

HRDI is also committed to work with local Model Cities administrators and with the building trades unions to recruit, counsel and train inner city residents involved in neighborhood rehabilitation and new construction.

McGlotten Appointed New HRDI Director

Jun 13, 1970

Robert M. McGlotten, a staff representative of the AFL-CIO's Dept. of Civil Rights, has been named director of the labor federation's Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI), Pres. George Meany announced.

The HRDI was established in 1968, in cooperation with the U.S. Dept. of Labor, to coordinate union and government manpower programs.

As HRDI director, McGlotten will be responsible for guiding labor activities in a wide range of manpower programs, including Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, the Outreach apprenticeship program, Model Cities, the Concentrated Employment Program, the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, and numerous on-the-job training programs under the Manpower Development & Training Act.

The programs McGlotten will administer "are vitally important to labor and, I believe, to the nation," Meany declared. "These are the spearheads we have established to find ways to open good and productive jobs to people who have been labeled hard to employ, and who have been pushed aside and largely excluded from our nation's economic life.

"Labor believes there is no more important task than to prove that there is room in our society for all its members, and that there is a job and a constructive kind of life for everyone."

Meany called McGlotten well qualified to guide these programs and said "the AFL-CIO Executive Council intends to see, to the best of its ability, that he has the backing he needs to help carry them out."

McGlotten, 33, is on indefinite leave from his assignment in the Dept. of Civil Rights, which he joined in April 1967. He replaces Merlin Taylor, who has returned to his post in the U.S. Labor Dept.

Before joining the AFL-CIO staff, McGlotten was a national labor relations specialist for the Opportunities Industrialization Center Job Training Program.

He is a vice president of the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council and has served as a public relations representative for Transport Workers Local 234 in Philadelphia. He was active in organizing activities of a number of unions in the Delaware Valley, including the Teachers, Steelworkers and Paperworkers.

He attended the University of Pennsylvania, St. Joseph's College Institute of Industrial Relations and the Pennsylvania State Labor Education Center.

CONGRATULATIONS are extended by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany to Robert M. McGlotten, the new director of the federation's Human Resources Development Institute. McGlotten, formerly a staff representative of the Dept. of Civil Rights, succeeds Merlin Taylor, who has returned to a post at the Labor Dept. Julius Rothman, left, is president of HRDI. Donald R. Slaiman, right, is the federation's civil rights director.

AFL-CIO NEWS
June 13-70

8/17/70

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
NATIONAL OFFICE: 815 16th STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 (202) 638-3912

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Executive Director

August 14, 1970

Emory Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

I have forwarded the set of materials you sent me to our southern director, Pete Babin, and also discussed it with Bob McGlotten. We would like to have all our southern staff receive your materials, and also the director of our southwest region and several of our national staff members. I have marked these names on the attached staff list.

I would appreciate it if you would send us one bill at the national office.

My best, as always, to you and Margaret.

Sincerely,

Olga Corey

Olga Corey,
Communications Director

If subscription
Note of materials

OC:df
opeiu #2, afl-cio

cc: Robert McGlotten
Pete Babin

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

National Office: 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20006

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add to mailing list

HRDI National Office Staff

President - Julius F. Rothman
Executive Director - Robert M. McGlotten
Assistant Director - Alfred P. Love
Assistant to the Exec. Dir. - Marcia Stein
Director of Job Development - James D. Boyle
National Field Director - Charles R. Hollowell
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Program Analyst - Loretta Leen

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EAST COAST

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617/482-1727

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HRDI

Reorganization Seeks to Widen HRDI Services

The Human Resources Development Institute has reorganized its national offices and field operations in an effort to improve services and to work more closely with various AFL-CIO departments.

Under the new set-up, HRDI appointed eight regional directors who are spotted at key cities across the country. Previously, field operations were directed by three national coordinators.

In announcing the restructuring, which will be effective in September, HRDI Pres. Julius Rothman and Executive Dir. Robert M. McGlotten said the changes are designed to undertake a more comprehensive effort in the AFL-CIO manpower programs.

Among the higher level positions in the national offices, Alfred P. Love was named assistant director of the institute. Charles Hollowell was appointed national field director and will oversee the operations of the regional directors. James Boyle was named job placement director.

The regional directors are Paul Flynn, with operations in Boston and Connecticut; John Burnell, New York state, Newark and Trenton, N.J.; Ben Stahl, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Camden, N.J.; James Boyle, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Virginia and West Virginia.

Other directors are Lyle Eller for the West Coast region—Portland, Ore., Seattle, San Diego, Los Angeles and Oakland; Michael Arnold, Southwest—Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Oklahoma City, Phoenix and Denver; Charles Bradford, Midwest—St. Louis, Kansas City, Nashville, Louisville, Chicago, Wisconsin and Memphis; Peter Babin, South—New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami, Tampa and North Carolina; and Kara Coates, Central States—Detroit, Akron, Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, Toledo and Indianapolis.

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THE FRESHER REFRESHER

A Review of HRDI Activities

September 1969 - September 1970

Today marks HRDI's second birthday. While two years is not a big span of time in the long perspective of the labor movement, it does provide a measure in time from which to view HRDI. It provides a benchmark by which we can judge this new instrument created by the AFL-CIO to work in the field of manpower training as part of organized labor's continuing effort to broaden its service to the community, especially on behalf of the poor, the unemployed and the disadvantaged.

During its first year of life, much of the time and effort of the HRDI staff was devoted to creating the organizational structure and program of the operation. The national and local staffs had to be hired, the 50 national field offices had to be opened, staff had to be trained and administrative procedures and program relationships established. By mid-1969, HRDI was ready to move.

The following is a brief description of HRDI's activity in several key manpower programs.

Minority Hiring in the Building Trades

Probably the most significant activity of most HRDI staff representatives during the past year, has been their increasing involvement in programs related to minority hiring in the building trades. Working closely with the Civil Rights Department staff, HRDI was able to give direction and guidance to its local staff in three areas:

a. In assisting Apprenticeship Outreach programs already established, or in helping to develop new ones.

b. In the aftermath of the summer of 1969, HRDI staff in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Seattle, and other trouble centers, was able to assist the local building trades councils by working with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in various ways, but particularly in keeping communications open between the building trades and the minority community.

c. As the "home town" or area-wide agreements began to develop, local HRDI staff representatives were called in by local building trades councils for assistance. This was true in Indianapolis, Detroit, New Orleans and Los Angeles, to name but a few of the cities where HRDI help was requested.

JOBS Program

While the building trades may have been the most visible and urgent part of the manpower scene, HRDI actually spent more time working on other manpower programs. For instance, almost every HRDI staff representative was instrumental in developing new contracts with employers under the JOBS program. Working closely with the local unions, the local National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) office, and the local representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor, HRDI staff have helped in numerous ways to effect a smooth and harmonious relationship between the unions and employers who had entered into JOBS training contracts.

HRDI staff was directly responsible for developing one of the largest skills upgrading program on record under the JOBS program. The HRDI staff representative in St. Louis, working with the Machinists union and the McDonnell-Douglas Company, was responsible for developing an upgrading program for about 400 workers which is being funded under the JOBS '70 program. Other HRDI staff have been instrumental in developing upgrading contracts on a much more modest scale.

Another important aspect of the HRDI relationship to the JOBS program is the training of "buddies" to help newly-hired disadvantaged workers make a positive adjustment to the job, the work-place, to other workers, and to their supervisors. HRDI staff have conducted 64 buddy training programs in 43 cities involving 1,105 workers from 222 local unions and 304 companies. This program is now regarded by many managements as an essential ingredient of their JOBS contract.

In an evaluation of a recent program that was held in Trenton, the NAB magazine, ONBOARD, quotes James Mitchell, vice president of Acme-Hamilton Manufacturing Company, as saying: "The disadvantaged stick with their buddies from the beginning. It's the buddies' job to help them along, even to the point of going out and finding a man if he doesn't show up for work." And the president of the company added: "These are disoriented people coming in off the street and we expect them to react like other workers. They need special attention from someone they can identify with . . . someone they can trust."

Another aspect of HRDI's relationship to the JOBS program is the work being carried forward in the national office of NAB by Brother Roy Siemiller, the full-time AFL-CIO liaison officer. Brother Siemiller is in almost daily contact with the HRDI national office. We are kept fully informed of all policy and administrative actions taken by NAB. In addition, Brother Siemiller has been able to convince recalcitrant local NAB personnel to cooperate with AFL-CIO unions generally, and particularly with HRDI. Beyond all this, Brother Siemiller has been very helpful in working with local HRDI staff in handling JOBS contracts which local staff feel in some way violate standards related to training that labor has

traditionally upheld. HRDI's working relationship with Brother Siemiller has, over the past year, been very productive.

One last function which should be mentioned with regard to HRDI's work in the JOBS program, and that is its job as a program monitor. This is a self-assigned task but one which is most necessary. There are many companies, usually quite small, which have used the federal training programs for their own advantage. For these companies, federally-sponsored manpower training has served as a source of subsidized labor. The trainees come in the front door, spend a specified time on the job, and then go out the back door. The Senate Subcommittee on Manpower, Poverty and Unemployment, in a recent report, was able to cite a number of such companies. In addition, many JOBS contracts were written covering the type of job for which little or no training is needed - almost all of these jobs being low-paid and dead-end. Local HRDI staff make it their business, to the extent that the information is available, to look at the JOBS contracts being written in their communities. The HRDI national office has, on several occasions, called the attention of the Labor Department and NAB officials to the harmful effects generated by such so-called training programs.

Summer Youth Employment

Reports from local HRDI staff indicate that organized labor made a significant contribution to local summer youth employment programs. This program is aimed at youngsters who are still in school, to provide them with the funds that will enable them to return to school in the Fall.

Rising unemployment has seriously hurt this program. Organized labor was involved in this program in many communities and the results of the work of union leadership reflect the serious attention they gave

to helping place poor youngsters in good summer jobs. In most cities, the efforts of organized labor were merged into the total community effort and there was no clear record of the jobs that were made available as a result of the intervention of union leaders. However, in ten cities the efforts of organized labor were, at least, partially identifiable. In these cities, over 1,400 summer jobs for youth were made available through the unions.

These are the over-all statistics. Perhaps a look at what happened in San Diego, where a number of unions participated in the program will best illustrate labor's concern.

Here are some of the actions that the unions in that city took at the request of the HRDI staff working through the central labor council that resulted in placing almost 600 poor young people in well-paying summer jobs:

1. The secretary of the county AFL-CIO council urged every local union to hire at least one disadvantaged youth for summer office work.

2. IBEW Local Union 465. The union requested and the San Diego Gas and Electric Company agreed to hire 160 disadvantaged youths (no dues or initiation fees).

3. Laborers' Local Union 89. Recruited and placed 300 disadvantaged minority youth in their trade at regular laborers' wage - $4.63 per hour.

4. Operating Engineers Local Union 501. Placed 5 youths.

5. Iron Workers Local Union 627 (Shopmen). Placed 21 youths.

6. Waiters and Bartenders Local Union 500. Placed 12 youths.

7. Local Union 102. (National affiliation not given.) Placed 25 youths.

8. District Council of Carpenters. Placed 20 youths.

9. Three Teamster Locals placed 25 youths.

Other Program Activity

A refreshing and heartening aspect of the local HRDI staff representative's job is his capacity for becoming involved in programs of local importance that are helpful to the disadvantaged. For instance, in some communities, HRDI staff participate in the Model Cities program, usually serving on the manpower committee. In other communities, HRDI staff has assisted local unions in obtaining OJT contracts with the Department of Labor. In many cities the HRDI staff are active members of the CAMPS Committees (Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System). This is the nearest approach to a national manpower planning system that has yet been devised.

Local HRDI staff in many cities work closely with the Work Incentive Programs (WIN), which is intended to train welfare recipients for jobs, and with the Concentrated Employment Programs (CEP), which is designed to supply disadvantaged workers in a specific area of the inner city with training and other services necessary to make them ready for placement into jobs.

These areas of program involvement serve to illustrate some of the variety of activities that local HRDI staff are engaged in.

HRDI Administrative and Structural Changes

Since early June of this year, Robert McGlotten has been the Executive Director of HRDI. He served for several years on the staff of the Civil Rights Department, and for the last year and a half, he spent much of his time working in the Apprentice Outreach Program. McGlotten's strong union background, his activities in the field of civil rights and his knowledge of the manpower field all combine with

his administrative skill to strengthen HRDI. And because of his close ties with the Civil Rights Department, he has been able to strengthen the relationship between that Department and HRDI.

It should be noted parenthetically that Merlin Taylor, the first HRDI Executive Director, withdrew voluntarily and amicably to return to the Office of National Contracts of the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, where he is responsible for all apprentice outreach programs.

In restructuring HRDI so that it can serve the needs of organized labor more effectively, the following changes have been made:

(a) National Office -

The three national coordinators positions were abolished and the following new positions were created and filled by the former national coordinators:

Assistant Director - Al Love

Director, Field Operations - Charles Hollowell

Director, Job Development and Placement Programs - James Boyle

Miss Marcia Stein was named to the post of Administrative Assistant to the Director; a new position of Director, Program Research and Analysis was created and, as yet, is unfilled; a new position of Program Analyst was created and filled by Miss Loretta Leen, formerly Administrative Assistant to the Director. Lastly, a new position of Director of Communications was created and filled by Miss Olga Corey, formerly Materials and Training Coordinator. (See Attachment A - Organization Chart.)

(b) Regional Offices -

In order to provide closer supervision and better program coordination for local HRDI staff, nine regions were created, each of which

is served by a regional director. HRDI regional offices are located in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Detroit, New Orleans, Dallas, and Portland, Oregon.

While the primary purpose of regionalization is to provide better service for local staff, HRDI also recognizes that its responsibility lies beyond those cities, areas and states that are currently being served by HRDI staff. The aim of HRDI is to provide assistance on manpower problems to AFL-CIO state and local central bodies whenever and wherever possible. We hope to be able to do this in two ways:

1. By extending the area of coverage of existing HRDI staff. For example, the HRDI staff representative in Norfolk, Virginia, will be given responsibility for the entire State of Virginia; the HRDI staff representative in Indianapolis will be given responsibility for all of Indiana.

2. By making the services of the HRDI regional directors available to state and local AFL-CIO councils that do not have HRDI staff, for consultation and assistance in the field of manpower training.

New HRDI Contract

The present HRDI contract with the U.S. Department of Labor was extended through November 30, 1970. We have a written commitment from the Labor Department that a new contract will be signed prior to the expiration of our present contract. Funds have been earmarked and set aside for the new contract which will extend for 12 months. In addition, we requested funds for two new activities - a job placement program in five cities, and a pilot project in the military

installations either in the San Diego or the San Francisco Bay area, which would assist returning servicemen with limited skills to be place in jobs or training.

Scope of Work Under New Contract

Under the new contract, HRDI agreed to pinpoint its program activities so that the results of its work would be more easily identifiable. We agreed, among other things, to have each HRDI office work with a minimum of 20 JOBS contract proposals and/or operational contracts; to the development of buddy training programs with a minimum of 150 employers; to the development of 100 upgrading proposals covering approximately 2,000 workers; to participate in the Summer Youth Employment Program by developing job opportunities through the unions and the employers with whom they have bargaining agreements; to assist in the promotion and development of apprentice outreach contracts, as well as in the development of journeymen training programs in the construction trades. The latter would be done in close consultation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

In light of our past experience, and barring an acute or prolonged downward trend in the economy, the HRDI staff is capable of carrying out the activity to which it is committed.

Other HRDI Contracts

Until February 1970, HRDI had only one contract - the basic contract with the Department of Labor. Last Winter, HRDI, somewhat reluctantly, accepted the responsibility for sponsoring the Apprentice Outreach program in Memphis. While the contract is small in dollar

terms, it was an important development in the life of HRDI, in that it marked the first venture of HRDI in direct program sponsorship.

The second contract that HRDI entered into as a direct program sponsor was with the New York State Department of Labor, to operate a job placement program through the Syracuse Central Labor Council. The Syracuse Central Labor Council has cooperated fully with HRDI in developing this program and will provide free rent and other services for the program staff. We expect this program to start up around mid-September.

The third contract that HRDI has entered into is with the national headquarters of OEO to operate five job placement programs (in addition to the five such programs approved by the Department of Labor) in as many cities. This contract will extend over a period of 14 months from August 1970.

Job Development and Placement Program

The fact that HRDI has undertaken the task of establishing Job Development and Placement Programs in eleven cities, makes this a priority program. As such, this program deserves some further explanation.

The Job Development and Placement Program is based on the assumption that jobs can be opened up for the disadvantaged, the minorities, and the

unskilled through the use of union channels. Union officers and business representatives, because of their relationships with employers, can facilitate the placement of minority and disadvantaged persons into a wide variety of good jobs which offer regular wage increases and opportunities for moving up the job ladder.

This concept was tested in New York City in a program sponsored by the New York City Central Labor Council. From its inception in late March 1968, through December 1968, with a one-man staff, 973 workers were placed into jobs. In the calendar year 1969, 2,516 workers were placed with an 80 percent retention rate. This program, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor has expanded to offices in South Bronx and Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant area), in addition to its offices in the Central Labor Council.

The program which HRDI proposes to establish in five cities will be patterned after the New York City program. HRDI will work with each of the eleven AFL-CIO central labor councils in setting up the program. Responsibility for all fiscal matters, over-all program coordination, staff training and supervision will rest in the national office of HRDI. Each local program will be staffed by a project director, one job developer/interviewer and one secretary. When space is available in the local central labor council, the program will be housed there. The local central labor council full-time executive will be asked to assume day-to-day supervision of the staff.

The jobs that are most usually available for the type of worker who comes to the AFL-CIO Job Development and Placement Program fall into several categories but most of them are in the service trades. Retail stores, food chains, building service, laundries, hotels and motels,

restaurants, and light assembly work. In many instances, when further training is needed to upgrade the worker, OJT contracts have been arranged between the union and the employer.

In addition to the New York City Program, the Alameda County Central Labor Council is sponsoring a similar program, and the Cincinnati Central Labor Council expects to initiate a similar program shortly.

The Rise in Unemployment and HRDI

The rise in unemployment has, of course, created many problems in the manpower field. Both the JOBS program and other manpower training programs are finding fewer takers. Not only are fewer training programs being initiated, but the number of trainees involved is smaller than in the past. Some employers, taking advantage of the loose labor market, are reverting to their earlier practice of demanding unreasonable qualifications for their trainees which has served as a further deterrent to launching new training programs.

It is obvious that training programs in a period of rising unemployment are not the answer for the unemployed and disadvantaged workers. The resistance of the Administration to a program of public service employment continues to block the one sure road that would open up good, socially useful employment to those workers who have not been absorbed into the private sector of the economy.

Despite the state of the economy, unions in communities and industries that have been relatively uneffected by unemployment will be urged by HRDI staff to become involved in federally-funded training efforts such as JOBS and MDTA-OJT, Public Service Careers, Job Corps, as well as others. Many AFL-CIO affiliates have shown great willingness to sponsor such programs but a substantial number have remained indifferent.

The Job Ahead

Union leadership at all levels needs to be convinced of the importance of manpower training programs not only as a socially useful device to prepare the disadvantaged for jobs, but also to meet the manpower needs of their own industries.

In the year ahead, HRDI will direct some of its efforts at working more closely with the national and international unions. But since manpower problems are, to a large degree, related to the local scene, it is obvious that the major arena for HRDI's work will continue to be in the local community.

In addition to working more closely with the national and international unions, HRDI staff will, in the year ahead, spend more time with state and local central body leaders discussing not only the role of HRDI but the broader need for labor's involvement in all aspects of manpower programming at the local and state levels.

The Administration is determined to put the operating responsibility for all manpower programs into the hands of the states under the banner of the "new federalism." Several administrative actions have already been taken toward this end. This trend obviously will place increased responsibility on the AFL-CIO state bodies for dealing with manpower problems. State AFL-CIO leadership will have to become more familiar with all aspects of manpower legislation and manpower programs. Local central body leaders will, in turn, have to become involved in local planning for manpower programs, become aware who the local program sponsors are, what kind of training they are proposing, the impact of training programs on the local job market, and so on.

HRDI staff is planning to initiate a series of informational conferences and meetings for local unions and state and local central body leaders. We would also like to bring together representatives of various national and international unions to determine how HRDI can help them with their training problems. Three national unions have already requested help from HRDI in dealing with the specific manpower needs in their industries.

HRDI's work, to a large degree, is directly related to helping disadvantaged workers, especially those from the minority groups, become part of America's work force. Organized labor has said time and again that the way out of poverty is a good job at decent wages. To the extent that HRDI has been able to create training opportunities and jobs for disadvantaged workers, to that extent have we helped to move these workers out of poverty.

The local HRDI representative is, in a real sense, the spokesman for the disadvantaged worker, who is the target for most federal training programs. The HRDI staff representative has insisted that training be realistic, preparing the trainee for existing jobs at decent pay. He has urged employers to upgradethe skills of disadvantaged workers who had proven their ability on entry-level jobs. He has insisted that employers provide all necessary supportive services to those trainees who need them. It is fair to say that the presence of HRDI in the community has made a very real difference in the kind and quality of training programs being operated.

A Final Word

Throughout the two years of its existence, HRDI has had the encouragement and cooperation of President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Kirkland. Their counsel, guidance and concern have not only helped keep the HRDI

on a straight course, but has also been a constant source of encouragement to the officers and staff. Their identification with HRDI has given it wide acceptance at all levels of the AFL-CIO and with its affiliates.

The technical proficiency and competence of Secretary-Treasurer Harold Jack in dealing with HRDI fiscal matters has been of the highest order. And Robert Mayer's sound legal advice has enabled HRDI to comply with the letter of the law at all times.

The HRDI staff, both national and local, continues to perform at a high level of competence. Turnover of staff has been low and morale has been high, despite the long delays and the consequent uncertainty resulting from the slow pace of contract negotiations with the Labor Department.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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September 9, 1970

Mr. Emery Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emery:

Olga Corey has informed me of the plans that you previously had for an Area Manpower Conference sponsored jointly by the HRDI, Southern Regional Council, and Georgia State University. I think the idea is a splendid one but due to HRDI's inactivity in the Atlanta area at this time, I would suggest that we postpone any definite planning until a later date. We hope to have our Atlanta office staffed within the next 60 days and once our new staff person is selected, we can pursue the conference at that time.

In the meantime you might contact our new Southern Regional Director, Peter Babin, III, 1016 Carondelet Building, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130, 504/525-5577 and discuss this matter with him.

Your comments on the aforementioned would be appreciated. Looking forward to seeing you in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Robert M. McGlotten,
Executive Director

RMcG:pmt
opeiu#2,afl-cio
cc: Peter Babin, III
C. R. Hollowell

HRDI

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September 23, 1970

File HRDI

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 18th, regarding a Manpower Conference in Atlanta.

I will be in touch with you as soon as we have selected a new HRDI Area Representative for Atlanta so that we can discuss this possibility further.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert M. McGlotten,
Executive Director

opeiu #2, afl-cio
RM/dej

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

815 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

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Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

What's Happening

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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Chairman of the Board

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President

Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director

Olga Corey
Editor

September 1970 Volume 1, Number 1

HRDI PLANS FOR FUTURE EXPANSION

HRDI begins its third year with a new director, a streamlined structure and a deeper understanding of its role as the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO.

The new director is Robert M. McGlotten, whose 12 years experience in the labor movement includes staff work for the American Federation of Teachers, the Transport Worker, the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, and the United Steelworkers of America.

Before joining HRDI, McGlotten was with the AFL-CIO civil rights department, working with local building and construction trades councils to set up programs for recruiting and training minority youngsters to qualify for apprenticeship.

McGlotten also represented the AFL-CIO at the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) serving as Vice President for Labor Relations.

In announcing McGlotten's appointment, AFL-CIO President George Meany pledged the support of the Federation to HRDI's efforts to increase union involvement in manpower programs for the disadvantaged:

> "These programs," said Meany, "are the spearhead we have established to open up good and productive jobs to people who have been labeled hard-to-employ and who have been pushed aside and largely excluded from our nation's economic life."

Serving with McGlotten are Alfred P. Love as assistant director and Charles R. Hollowell as national field director. James Boyle will direct HRDI's job development and placement program.

In addition, eight regional directors have been appointed to coordinate activities in the 40 cities and six states where HRDI operates. They will also be available to share their knowledge about manpower policies and programs with labor organizations in those communities which do not have HRDI staff.

Speaking to the new directors at a meeting in Washington, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland called HRDI "a basic trade union function" and "an integral part of the Federation's activities."

> " No manpower program that will ultimately help working people can be effectively mounted," said Kirkland, "without the input of those who represent the working people of America -- the AFL-CIO."

HRDI President Julius Rothman closed the three-day directors' meeting with a challenge:

> "HRDI, of necessity, has been a flexible operation," said Rothman. "With unemployment on the rise, and the problems of the disadvantaged increasing, that flexibility will be tested. The labor movement, more than ever, needs HRDI's know-how to deal with the problems ahead."

HRDI'S NEW REGIONAL STRUCTURE

MIKE ARNOLD (Dallas)
Dallas/Fort Worth, Denver, Houston, Oklahoma City, Phoenix, San Diego

PETER BABIN (New Orleans)
Atlanta, Brimingham, Miami, New Orleans, North Carolina

CHARLES BRADFORD (St. Louis)
Chicago, Kansas City, Louisville, Memphis, Milwaukee, Nashville, St. Louis, State of Wisconsin

JOHN BURNELL (New York)
New York City, New York State, Newark, Trenton

KARA COATES (Detroit)
Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Indianapolis, Toledo

LYLE ELLER (Portland)
Los Angeles, Oakland, Portland, San Diego, Seattle

PAUL FLYNN (Boston)
Boston, State of Connecticut

BEN STAHL (Philadelphia)
Camden, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh

Jim Boyle, of the National HRDI staff, will continue to handle Baltimore, Virginia, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia

HRDI HELPS FIND JOBS FOR SUMMER YOUTH

This year's summer youth program was badly hurt by rising unemployment.

In city after city, the number of jobs fell far short of what was needed and what was hoped for.

However, reports for the HRDI field staff indicate that organized labor was able to make a significant contribution to summer youth programs in their cities.

Beginning in early spring, HRDI set out to do two things -- to help get unions involved in the program and to let the community know of labor's interest and commitment.

Central and state labor bodies were urged to pass resolutions of support for the summer youth program -- and did.

Key labor leaders served on city-wide committees, issued statements to the press, appeared on local TV shows, spoke at community meetings and urged their local unions to help in any way possible. The labor press lent its support.

In some areas, where labor had not been asked to participate, HRDI volunteered help -- and it was quickly accepted.

As summer approached, HRDI became more involved in actual job solicitation. In most cities, HRDI operated as part of the Mayor's Committee on Youth Opportunity: usually, this meant working as part of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) team to get job pledges from employers.

> For example, HRDI's John Duncan contacted 30 Nashville companies and got pledges for 187 jobs.

In some cities, all job soliciting was done by employers and HRDI was asked to contact the local unions in those companies that were organized. In a number of cities, HRDI staff found additional jobs by directly contacting employers -- usually at the suggestion of the local union involved.

In San Diego, Fred Martinez helped place 300 youngsters through Local 89 of the Laborers union and another 160 at San Diego Gas and Electric through Local 465 of the Electrical Workers union.

In New York City, John Burnell and Local 3 of the Electrical Workers found jobs for 132 youngsters.

In Newark, Earl Williams found jobs for 76 youths at stores, factories, offices, car washes and small contractors.

In Kansas City, Charles Kent placed 34 youths at Ford Motor and Western Electric.

In Milwaukee, Jim Clay placed 40 youngsters at A. O. Smith with the proviso that if they finished high school, the company would give them full-time jobs.

As it became more and more clear that there would not be enough jobs in the private sector, HRDI was asked to use its contacts to find jobs in non-profit organizations.

Earl Williams was instrumental in finding jobs for 36 youths with Essex County, New Jersey agencies and another 15 with East Orange agencies.

Joe Ganie placed 24 youngsters through the Trenton Board of Education.

Al Garcia found 20 hospital jobs and six jobs at local housing projects in San Antonio.

Bill Burks found jobs at the Port of Oakland and two Oakland hospitals.

John Rober placed youngsters with the State Highway Department in Toledo.

Minona Clinton placed youngsters at the Port Authority Transit in Pittsburgh.

At the same time, HRDI helped raise money for summer youth programs in their cities, either directly through the labor councils, or by soliciting individual local unions. HRDI's efforts were particularly successful in Dayton, Miami and St. Louis.

Also in St. Louis, HRDI's Charles Bradford recruited ten members of the Labor Council Women's Auxiliary to volunteer their services as phone solicitors.

In cities where transportation was a problem, HRDI also played a role. For example, Gene Carter in Phoenix and John Rober in Toledo helped win support for getting their city some of the federal transportation finds that were made available for summer youth programs this year.

Many cities used "Job Fairs" to bring youngsters and employers together. HRDI and labor involvement was heaviest in Dallas, Denver, Houston, New Orleans and San Diego. In San Diego, Fred Martinez received a Certificate of Appreciation from the mayor -- even though he wasn't officially a member of the Job Fair Committee.

In Birmingham, the "Work-A-Teen" program was headquartered in the HRDI office. Working closely with NAB, HRDI's Glen Cole supervised the phone soliciting for jobs and set up three-day training sessions for the youngsters, who were sent over by their high school counselors.

Gardening and clean-up jobs were found for 72 boys and Mothers' Aide and Nursing Home Aide jobs for 57 girls. Each trainee carried a "Work-A-Teen" identification card and was available for work on 24 hours notice. Many of the youngsters will continue to work on afternoons and Saturdays during the school year.

And the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union did its part by providing one full-time and four part-time jobs for the summer.

MORE HAPPENINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY THIS SUMMER

CHICAGO.....Training began under the now-funded Chicago Plan for Equal Employment Opportunity Inc. to increase minority employment in the building trades. Ninety men, from ages 17 to 40, are enrolled in an eight-week program conducted by Local 150 of the Operating Engineers.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI representative Arline Neal has been elected to the 21-member National Labor Advisory Committee of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

INDIANA.....HRDI President Rothman and Director McGlotten spoke at sessions of the State Summer School in Bloomington. Rothman also spoke to the OEO Midwest Labor Leadership Training Conference.

SOUTH CAROLINA.....Ninety blacks and other minority youths will be prepared for apprenticeship in the building and construction trades in four new Urban League programs in Aiken, Charleston, Columbia and Greenville. They will receive ten weeks training to pass entrance exams in the trades plus additional counselling after they become apprentices.

TENNESSEE.....HRDI's Memphis representative, Bill Ross, conducted the session on manpower training at the Tennessee State Labor School in Gatlinburg. Ross also served as a resource in the workshops on public relations and community relations.

ST. LOUIS.....The Ironworkers have adopted a national program to increase minority employment. The union hopes to recruit 100 already-experienced mechanics who can qualify as journeymen immediately. Another 500 will enter an upgrading program at whatever level is appropriate to theri skills and experience. The Labor Department has funded the 18-month, $1.2 million contract.

CONNECTICUT.....State Labor President John Driscoll has appointed HRDI representative Don Wrenn to the Economic Opportunities Committee which reports to the state AFL-CIO convention this month.

NORTH CAROLINA.....HRDI's role as the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO was discussed at the Young Workers School in Raleigh. HRDI representative L.G. Holleman was the speaker. Twenty-six union members under 30 from 11 southern states attended.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....A program to create 150-200,000 new public service jobs is proposed in a bi-partisan bill which goes to the Senate in September. The bill provides federal funds for 80% of the cost of creating jobs in local hospitals, schools, police and fire departments and other agencies. Up to 3 billion dollars is authorized for the first year of operation.

HOUSTON.....HRDI representative Don Bridges was one of the experts on hand to brief teenagers at the 5th Texas AFL-CIO Summer Youth Citizenship Conference. Youngsters attending this annual five-day conference are sponsored by local unions to help defray expenses and Bridges was responsible for contacting some 100 locals.

WISCONSIN....."The Crisis in Our Society" was the subject of talks given here by HRDI Director Robert McGlotten, who spoke at summer schools conducted by the Molders and the Machinists.

PHOENIX.....HRDI representative Gene Carter reports a successful Labor and Manpower Conference jointly sponsored by HRDI, the Phoenix and Maricopa Federation of Labor and Lodges 715 and 763 of the Machinists' union. Speakers from labor, business and government discussed current programs for helping the disadvantaged.

TRENTON.....Commencement speaker at ceremonies of Trenton Junior High School Number Five was HRDI representative Joe Ganie. Ganie is a member of the Trenton School Board.

# # # # # # # # # #

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Gwen Sapp

Apprenticeship - Outreach
South Carolina

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OCTOBER, 1970 Vol. I, No. II

Olga Corey
Editor

NO MATTER HOW YOU FIGURE IT, UNEMPLOYMENT HAS HIT AMERICA HARD!

More than four and a half million men and women were out of work -- and actively looking for work -- in September.

Nearly a quarter of those out of work had been without jobs for 15 weeks or more -- the highest this figure has been since 1965 and double what it was a year ago.

> The total unemployment figure includes 1,562 men 20 years and older, and 1,598,000 women 20 and over, and 1,131,000 teenagers of both sexes.
>
> Rates for both white and Negro workers were up in September. The white rate rose from 4.8 to 5.1 percent, the highest since July 1963. The Negro rate was at 9 percent, up from 8.4 percent in August and slightly more than the high reached earlier this year.

ENTIRE CITIES HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THE SHARP RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT

The jobless rate has hit 6% or more -- which the Department of Labor classifies as "substantial" -- in 35 major metropolitan areas: this is the largest number of metropolitan areas to be affected since 1964 and 30 more than a year ago.

Three cities remain on the Labor Department's list of areas with "persistent" unemployment: this means unemployment has been 6% or more for at least a year and 50% or more above the national jobless figure for several years.

> HRDI Representatives service seven of the major metropolitan areas with "substantial" unemployment -- Detroit, Kenosha (Wisconsin), New Britan (Connecticut), New Orleans, Portland (Oregon), Seattle, and Racine (Wisconsin).
>
> All three cities with "persistent" unemployment -- Cleveland, Newark, and Oakland -- have HRDI Area Manpower Representatives.

One final statistic --

> Unemployment in the construction industry has hit 13.8% -- more than double the national average.

The worsening unemployment situation comes as no surprise to HRDI. Weekly reports from HRDI field staff have been sending up warning flags for some time.

For example, Wisconsin HRDI Representative Dick Sawicki reported on unemployment in Milwaukee among the building trades on April 17, 1970:

> "There are 2,650 building trades journeymen out of work. Eighty-nine apprentices are unemployed and another 530 are on the waiting list to be indentured."

On April 27, Sawicki was in Janesville, Wisconsin (population 43,500) and reported:

> "A thousand people have filed for unemployment compensation here. I have not seen such long, long lines of people waiting to file, not since the Fifties."

The effect of the overall economic picture on HRDI activities will be discussed in depth at a meeting of HRDI's National Staff and Regional Directors later this month and at a full staff meeting in November.

ROTHMAN REPORTS TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Closer cooperation between HRDI and organized labor was stressed by HRDI President Julius Rothman in his report to the HRDI Board of Trustees on September 10.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, presided.

Rothman indicated that, in addition to working more closely with national and international unions, HRDI would spend more time with state and local central bodies "discussing not only the role of HRDI but the broader needs for manpower programming at the local and state levels."

President Rothman also emphasized the significance of HRDI's operation to the labor movement's dedication to improving conditions for all Americans.

> "The local HRDI representative is, in a real sense, the spokesman for the disadvantaged worker, who is the target for most federal training programs.
>
> "The HRDI staff representative has insisted that training be realistic, preparing the trainee for existing jobs at decent pay. He has urged employers to upgrade the skills of disadvantaged workers who had proven their ability on entry-level jobs. He has insisted that employers provide all necessary supportive services to those trainees who need them.
>
> "It is fair to say that the presence of HRDI in the community has made a very real difference in the kind and quality of training programs being operated."

MINORITY APPRENTICESHIP INCREASES

Three thousand young Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians entered the building and construction trades during the year ending June 1970 as a result of the Apprenticeship Outreach program.

This is nearly twice the total number of minority youth who were apprenticed during the first two years of the program.

Apprenticeship Outreach recruits minority youths and provides special training for from four to ten weeks to prepare the young workers for apprenticeship exam in their chosen trade. Since the program began, a total of 6,914 minority youth have been apprenticed in 18 different building and construction trades.

According to Department of Labor figures just released, more than half the apprentices are in five trades -- carpenters (1,410), electricians (746), plumbers and pipefitters (643), painters (633), and sheet metal workers.

Labor Department statistics also indicated that during the year ending June 1970, the largest increase in minority apprentices was made by carpenters (641). Next came the painters (310), electricians (309), plumbers and pipefitters (275) and operating engineers (216).

The Apprenticeship Outreach approach was designed by the AFL-CIO Civil Rights and Building Trades Departments to increase minority participation in the building and construction trades. Local Building Trades Councils actually conduct 26 out of 78 projects now in operation. Other sponsoring agencies included the National Urban League (29) and the Workers' Defense League (16). HRDI operates the program in Memphis.

NEW MANPOWER HEAD APPOINTED

A union man has been chosen to direct the Department of Labor's manpower programs.

He is Paul Fasser, Jr., of the United Steelworkers of America, who has been named U.S. Manpower Administrator and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower.

In his new post, Fasser will direct the Labor Department's $2.6 billion effort to find jobs and training opportunities for the jobless and the underemployed.

BIRMINGHAM.....Jobs for 61 disadvantaged workers have been made available under a JOBS '70 contract which HRDI's Glen Cole helped negotiate. The Tutwiler Hotel and Local 886 of the Hotel and Restaurant workers are cooperating in the program, which includes 11 different occupations. The hotel has also agreed to have HRDI train union members as buddies for the new workers.

PITTSBURGH.....Trainees at the Opportunities Industrialization Center here will learn about labor unions during their orientation program, thanks to efforts of HRDI's Minona Clinton. The labor education course includes six once-a-week sessions and will use labor and community resources.

TAMPA.....HRDI's Hal Reddick has been recruiting minority youths for the Urban League's LEAP program to prepare them for apprenticeship in the building and construction trades.

TOLEDO.....At the request of the University of Toledo, HRDI's John Rober helped to put together a program to have trainees at the Office of Economic Opportunity Skill Center do remodeling work at the University. Thirty-five trainees are now getting practical experience which will help them qualify for membership in five building trades unions -- the Carpenters, Painters, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Electrical Workers, and Sheet Metal Workers, with the cooperation of the local Building Trades Council.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI Regional Director Ben Stahl reports funding of two new JOBS '70 contracts. One provides for hiring 125 disadvantaged workers at Building Maintenance, Inc. where Local 125 Service Employees International Union is the bargaining agent, and the other for 30 slots at Oscar Mayer whose employees are represented by Local 195 of the Meatcutters union.

KANSAS CITY.....The Greater Kansas City Central Labor Council has set up a Manpower Advisory Committee. HRDI's Charles Kent is the chairman.

RALEIGH.....HRDI Director Robert McGlotten addressed the North Carolina AFL-CIO convention here on HRDI and manpower programs.

NEW YORK.....Furniture Workers Local 140, with the help of HRDI Regional Director John Burnell, has put together a consortium of 15 companies that have agreed to hire 140 disadvantaged workers, 70 at a time. This program is funded by the New York State Department of Labor.

TAMPA.....HRDI Representative Hal Reddick spoke to undergraduates at the University of South Florida in a panel on the problems and attitudes of the inner city. Reddick talked about AFL-CIO's program for helping the disadvantaged through union involvement in manpower programs.

INDIANAPOLIS.....The Indianapolis Plan for Equal Employment, Inc. has been awarded $449,982 by the U.S. Department of Labor for a program to increase minority employment in the building trades. Under the plan, 80 minority youths will be prepared for apprenticeship openings in the various trades. The plan will also upgrade the skills of 420 minority construction workers to enable them to achieve full journeyman status and union recognition.

BIRMINGHAM.....HRDI's Glen Cole reports that the Joint Apprenticeship Committee will operate a 10 contractor consortium for training 10 bricklayers with funds allocated under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

OKLAHOMA CITY.....HRDI's Oneida Sawyer reports the awarding of a JOBS '70 contract for 50 slots to the Hol-O-Met Corp. Included in the contract is a clause providing for HRDI to train union members to serve as buddies to help the new hires adjust to their jobs.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI Regional Director Ben Stahl has put together an On-The-Job-Training program to instruct 24 women in the new food-serving techniques. The program is being sponsored by the School District of Philadelphia in cooperation with Local 434, School Cafeteria Workers Union and is being funded through the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Eight present employees and 16 newly-hired are involved.

NEW YORK.....HRDI Regional Director John Burnell reports that a 20-week program to train clerk typists is now underway. Local 153 of the Office and Professional Workers' Union sponsored the program, which was funded as an MA-6 contract. The union and HRDI took the initiative in bringing together employers who have contracts with Local 153. HRDI also helps in the recruiting.

TOLEDO.....HRDI Director Robert McGlotten spoke to the Ohio State Building Trades convention on "The Role of HRDI in Developing Manpower Programs."

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NOVEMBER 1970 VOL. I, NO. III

Olga Corey
Editor

NEW PROGRAMS --

Organized labor in Syracuse is mobilizing union resources to find jobs for 200 disadvantaged workers.

The drive is sponsored by the Greater Syracuse Labor Council and its 92 affiliates -- in co-operation with the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute. The New York State Department of Labor is contributing $43,000 for operating expenses.

Here's how the Syracuse program will work --

> All Syracuse business agents, local unions, and national union staff representatives will be asked to canvass the companies they deal with for job openings. These job opportunities will be reported to the Syracuse Council's job development and placement staff. The Council will work with the New York State Employment Service, the Urban League and PEACE (Syracuse's anti-poverty agency) in finding workers to fill the openings. Once the workers are placed, the Council will keep in touch with them to provide help or counselling that may be needed.

The Syracuse program is part of a nationwide effort by HRDI to open up job opportunities for the poor, for minorities and for the underemployed. James Boyle, of HRDI's national office, heads the drive and reports that labor councils in ten cities will be starting similar operations. Union-sponsored programs already exist in Oakland, California and New York City.

Speaking at the Labor Council luncheon which launched the Syracuse program, HRDI President Julius Rothman pointed out that in a period of increasing unemployment, unions can play a key role in finding jobs that might not be available through other channels.

Rothman emphasized that this concern for the disadvantaged is part of the labor movement's commitment to full employment as a national goal. Said Rothman:

> "We believe that only a good job at a decent wage gives a man the dignity and security he needs to become a useful member of society."

AND NEW FACES AT HRDI

HRDI has new staff in four cities -- Atlanta, Baltimore, New Orleans and New York.

> In Atlanta, the new man is Walter C. Rucker, editor and former secretary for Local 32 of the United Federation of Postal Clerks.
>
> In Baltimore, HRDI will be represented by Joseph Jones, president of Local 716 of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers.
>
> In New Orleans, Ernest Colbert, Jr. succeeds Peter Babin, III, who is now Regional Director for HRDI in the south. Colbert, a member of the Laborers' union, was on the staff of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees at the time of his appointment.
>
> And in New York, Henry E. Kaltun, lawyer and former business representative for the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 15, succeeds John Burnell. Burnell has been named Regional Director for New York and New Jersey.

HRDI's Job Development and Placement Program has named Dorothy R. Harding as its Director of Research and Evaluation. Mrs. Harding was formerly Administrative Assistant to the President of Local 82 of the Building Service Employees Union.

UNEMPLOYMENT STILL RISING -- HITS HARDEST AT YOUNG, BLACKS

Unemployment continues to increase and youth unemployment is higher than it has been since 1964.

Figures now in for the third quarter of 1970 show that 4,341,000 Americans were jobless -- as compared to 3 million a year ago. The number of men and women unemployed 15 weeks or more is nearly twice what it was a year ago.

Hardest hit were young people between 18 and 21 -- particularly blacks. While over-all youth unemployment hit 15.7%, unemployment among black youth went up to 30%. Although non-whites constitute only one-eighth of this age group, they accounted for one-third of the increase in unemployment over last year.

There was a significant increase in unemployment among young men, which rose from 11.5% last year to 15.5% this year, as compared to the increase from 14.3% to 15.9% for young women.

Unemployment among non-whites continues to be higher than among whites. For example, the number of black men who were jobless increased 4% over last year while the number of unemployed white men increased 2.3%.

The already-poor parts of the country continue to suffer more severely than the rest of the nation. While over-all national unemployment hit 5.2% this year, unemployment in areas designated as poverty neighborhoods went up to 8.3%.

And five more major labor areas have just been added to the list of those experiencing "substantial unemployment" -- 6% or more. Included are HRDI cities of Los Angeles/Long Beach and San Diego.

UNEMPLOYMENT SHORT-CIRCUITS NAB-JOBS PROGRAM

Increased unemployment is one reason the National Alliance of Businessmen's JOBS program failed to reach its goal of finding jobs for 338,000 disadvantaged workers, according to a study made for the Department of Labor by Greenleigh Associates.

The study cites several other problems which hindered the NAB-JOBS (the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) effort. They are --

Lack of sufficient support for the program in the local business community -- except for those firms actually involved.

A negative attitude toward both business and government among those residents of poverty areas that the program was designed for.

Employer resistance to federal guidelines.

The 137-page report suggests two major shortcomings in the NAB-JOBS program:

The majority of jobs offered were "low-level, dead end jobs, which are, and have been technologically threatened for some time."

Not enough use was made of the supportive services available from federal agencies, to help the disadvantaged worker increase his chances of job success and improvement.

Positive benefits of the program, to both the worker and the employer were cited:

Average family income of the disadvantaged worker -- if he stayed with the program -- rose from $2,438 to $3,600 a year.

While 15% of those who entered the program were on welfare, only 5% of those who remained found it necessary to get public assistance.

Generally, employers found that they encountered far less problems in hiring the disadvantaged than they had anticipated.

Employers also found that their entry requirements --particularly educational-- were unrealistic and could be lowered without affecting production.

The report was based on interviews with JOBS trainees, company officials, manpower program specialists, community action agencies, grass roots organizations, public officials, schools personnel, health and welfare agencies and the communications media in ten metropolitan areas.

PORTLAND.....HRDI's Lyle Eller helped put together a Chamber of Commerce consortium which provides for 120 training slots. The three companies involved are the First National Bank of Oregon, the U.S. National Bank of Oregon and Pacific Northwest Bell. At Eller's suggestion, Portland CEP (Concentrated Employment Program) will provide the supportive services. The program has been approved and is awaiting funding.

ANAHEIM, CALIFORNIA.....HRDI Director Robert McGlotten spoke to the National Joint Apprenticeship Conference of the Operating Engineers on "New Training Needs and Opportunities."

PHILADELPHIA.....The National Institute of OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Center) will work with inner-city black employers to promote NAB-JOBS contracts for hiring and training the disadvantaged. The 18-month program is funded by the Labor Department for $327,866 and will operated in 30 cities.

TOLEDO.....HRDI's John Rober has been named to represent labor on the MDTA Advisory Committee of the Board of Education.

GULFPORT, MISSISSIPPI.....Field Director Charles Hollowell and Regional Director Pete Babin met with 125 Seabees who were discharged here to advise them of job opportunities in their trades, what union benefits they could expect and how their construction experience in the service would affect their apprenticeship status. Another session will be held in Port Hueneme, California, next month.

COLUMBUS,OHIO.....HRDI was the subject of a speech by Executive Director Robert McGlotten to the Ohio State Apprenticeship Conference.

COVINGTON, KENTUCKY.....The Kentucky State AFL-CIO voted to set up a statewide Human Resources Development Committee to work with HRDI.

LOS ANGELES.....HRDI's George Garland has been appointed to the Technical Advisory Committee on Testing of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission. Garland represents labor on the committee, which is analysing the effect of testing on fair hiring practices.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Peter Babin reports that the Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO Council has just set up a Manpower Advisory committee to work with HRDI.

NEW YORK.....HRDI representative John Burnell reports that an MA-5 contract has been awarded to nine employers under contract to Local 1707 Community and Social Agency Employees Union. Twenty-three women have been hired and are being trained for nine secretarial and 15 clerk-typist jobs. The starting rate is $2.25 an hour.

BIRMINGHAM.....HRDI's Glen Cole reports that the JOBS '70 contract for four slots at Gold Seal Pet Food includes a provision for HRDI to train buddies to work with the new employees. Local 422 of the Packinghouse Workers represents the company and will provide the buddies.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.....Bill Burks has been appointed to the MDTA Advisory Councils of both Alameda and Contra Costa Counties.

NEW YORK.....HRDI's John Burnell reviewed a JOBS training proposal at the request of the Laundry Workers Joint Board. The program now has union approval for 250 job slots in seven companies which have contracts with the union. Supportive services will be provided by OIC.

BIRMINGHAM.....Mayor George Seibels has appointed HRDI representative Glen Cole to serve on the Mayor's Committee on Apprenticeship and Training.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI's Arline Neal has been elected a vice-president of the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area.

SAN ANTONIO.....HRDI representative Al Garcia has just been elected to the Board of Directors of the Community Welfare Council as labor's representative.

SEATTLE.....HRDI's George Williams has been elected a member of the Everett County Joint Apprenticeship Committee.

SALT LAKE CITY.....HRDI President Julius Rothman spoke on "The Role of Organized Labor" to the 34th annual meeting of the Interatate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

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Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director

DECEMBER 1970 VOL. I, NO. IV

Olga Corey
Editor

HRDI GETS SET FOR MEETING NEW CHALLENGES

HRDI's plans for 1971 are geared to the hard economic fact that jobs are getting scarcer and scarcer -- for everyone.

At a four-day meeting in Kansas City, HRDI's national and field staff reviewed past successes and disappointments, analyzed new developments in manpower legislation and set priorities for the months ahead.

Underlying the discussion was an awareness of rising unemployment -- currently at its highest in 7½ years. The question before the conference was : WHAT ARE THE SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS THAT HRDI AND ORGANIZED LABOR CAN MAKE TO GOVERNMENT MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED?

The answers are spelled out in the new one-year contract between HRDI and the Labor Department which provides HRDI with $2,180,280 to continue to serve as the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO.

New elements in the HRDI program include --

Job Development and Placement

As jobs get scarcer, informal channels of finding jobs become more important. For example, union officers may know of jobs at the companies they represent -- or may be able to develop jobs there -- which can then be made available to the disadvantaged.

HRDI, working with local councils, will set up job development and placement programs in at least five cities, with a goal of placing 20 persons a month in each city. James Boyle, of the HRDI National Staff, will direct the new HRDI program.

Assistance to Returning Servicemen

HRDI will develop a program for helping returning veterans find jobs -- or job training opportunities -- in their home towns. This program will have two parts --

> An HRDI staff person will be stationed at the discharge center and will advise the veteran of what chance there is of his finding a job in his home community, using the skills he has. If further training is advisable, the veteran will be told of what opportunities exist.
>
> HRDI field staff in 50 cities will furnish information on local jobs and training programs and will follow-up with the veteran when he returns home.

Charles R. Hollowell National Field Director will be in charge.

Upgrading Programs

As part of its overall program of cooperation with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), HRDI will emphasize the development of JOBS contracts for upgrading employees who might otherwise be locked into low-level jobs. Other opportunities for upgrading programs will be explored.

Working with International Unions

HRDI will step up its program of providing technical assistance on manpower programs to AFL-CIO international unions. It will encourage unions to develop national training programs, where feasible, and will help resolve problems that may arise in developing such programs. HRDI Assistant Director Alfred P. Love will be in charge.

Job Corps

HRDI will play a more active role in working with existing Job Corps Centers and in encouraging international unions to sponsor their own training programs at Job Corps Centers.

Minority Employment in the Building Trades

HRDI will help develop programs to recruit, tutor, train and place minority workers with construction experience on jobs that will lead to full journeyman status.

HRDI will offer technical assistance, when requested, to local Building and Construction Trades Councils and local unions involved in developing "home town" area-wide agreements to increase minority employment in the building trades.

HRDI will continue to work with existing Apprenticeship Outreach programs, providing whatever help is needed. Where no program exists, HRDI staff will actively assist in developing such programs.

In all these activities, HRDI will work in close cooperation with the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department and Building and Construction Trades Department.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI has appointed Michael J. Nash as its Director of Program Analysis. Nash formerly was Assistant Director of Project Build, the Greater Washington Central Labor Council's program for recruiting minority youth into the building trades. Before that, he was in charge of the AFL-CIO Building Service Employees' Custodial Maintenance Training Project here. He previously worked on the staff of the Catholic Interracial Council for three years.

HRDI's program analysis branch is responsible for analysing data from HRDI's fifty field offices to determine local and regional trends and relate them to the overall manpower picture. Nash will be assisted by Loretta Leen, Program Analyst.

HOUSTON.....HRDI's Don Bridges reports that the University of Houston's Public Service Careers program is now in operation. Fifty disadvantaged workers will be trained for clerical, professional and custodial jobs. There will also be an upgrading program for 50 employees already working there. In addition, to the on-the-job training, the program provides for classroom instruction at the University and elsewhere.

BOSTON.....HRDI's Paul Flynn reports a highly successful Veterans' Job Market here. The two-day Job Mart was attended by 23,000 veterans and 220 companies. HRDI represented the labor movement and assisted in the planning and running of the program.

NASHVILLE.....Organized labor's support has been enlisted for an intensive new program to help ex-convicts adjust to society. At the request of the warden of the Tennessee State Prison, HRDI's John Duncan helped set up the program and represented Nashville labor on the overall coordinating committee. Duncan also spoke to the inmates at the prison on what job opportunities would be available to them and how labor could help.

DENVER.....HRDI's Frank Gallegos conducted a four-hour session on the problems of the disadvantaged worker for employees at the Union Mattress Company. This is one of the companies that participated in HRDI's program to train buddies for the newly-hired disadvantaged employees. Local 22 of the Upholsterers is the union involved.

LOUISVILLE.....HRDI's Dick Mahoney, at the request of the Employment Service, helped set up the Job Bank for the Frankfort area. It is expected to be operational early next month.

OAKLAND.....Local 29, Office and Professional Employees, is graduating its first WIN trainee after a 12-week training program to upgrade her secretarial skills. Local 29 has agreed to place the trainee with an organized company in the area. WIN is providing the funds.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl reports that the Building Trades Council here has signed a contract with the Philadelphia Housing Authority to train one hundred residents of three housing projects, aged 18-21, for jobs as maintenance aides. The Council will provide teachers for the 4-6 week classroom training in carpentry, plumbing, electricity, plastering and landscaping. All trainees will become union members after 30 days.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI is helping win support for a program to find meaningful employment for rehabilitated narcotics addicts. Two Retail Clerks' locals -- 888 and 1500 -- have already agreed to find jobs with companies where they are the bargaining agent.

RALEIGH.....HRDI's L.G. Holleman reports approval of an on-the-job training program at Cross Poultry Company through the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Forty trainees start work early in January. Local 525 of the Meatcutters union is the bargaining agent.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI's Henry Kaltun and Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers have developed a program for hiring 40 disadvantaged workers as nurses' aides, orderlies, dietary aides and housekeeping aides at Long Island Jewish Hospital. Twenty-two weeks of on-the-job training is provided, after which the trainees will receive $118 a week. The program begins this month.

CANTON.....At the request of the NAB office here, HRDI's Akron representative, Charles Anderson, has been working with their staff on the whole question of labor and community involvement in the program.

SAN DIEGO.... HRDI's Fred Martinez has been appointed to the Board of Directors of the Urban Coalition as representative of the Economic Opportunity Commission here.

OAKLAND.....HRDI's Bill Burks reports that three Building Trades unions are helping train 40 minority youth working on low-income housing rehabilitation in the inner city. Local 36 of the Carpenters, Local 29 of the Painters and Local 216 of the Sheet Metal Workers are providing instructors for the 42-week program funded by MDTA. Both the on-site and classroom training are provided under the sponsorship of the local Building Trades Council.

WILMINGTON,N.C....."HRDI and New Manpower Legislation" was the subject of a talk here by HRDI Director Robert McGlotten at the Southern Advanced Labor School here. Fifty-five trade unionists from 13 states attended.

MADISON, WISC.....HRDI's Dick Sawicki has arranged for business agents from the Madison Building Trades Council to talk to trainees at the Apprenticeship Center sponsored by the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council. The trainees study eight weeks in classes of 15 and are apprenticed when the program is completed.

CAMDEN, N.J.....A seven-county NAB operation has been set up here and HRDI's Ben Stahl will be working closely with it.

MILWAUKEE.....HRDI's Jim Clay has been working with trainees at the Opportunities Industrialization Center to provide them with some help and counselling during their training period.

STORRS, CONN.....HRDI's Don Wrenn represented AFL-CIO at a seminar of the University of Connecticut's Vocational Education Fellows. Wrenn spoke to them on the role of vocational education in existing manpower training programs.

ALBUQUERQUE.....HRDI Director McGlotten spoke on the need for a closer association between vocational education and apprenticeship at the Rocky Mountain States Apprenticeship Conference.

PHOENIX.....A labor-sponsored conference here on problems of aging was attended by 43 retired workers from five international unions. HRDI's Gene Carter was one of the speakers and acted as official recorder.

What's Happening

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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HRDI

Olga Corey
Editor

AFL-CIO OPENS DRIVE TO HELP VIETNAM VETERANS FIND JOBS

AFL-CIO President George Meany has called upon organized labor to help find jobs for veterans returning from Vietnam.

In a letter to all AFL-CIO State and City Central Labor Councils, Meany stated the AFL-CIO's "moral commitment" to help find employment for the one million servicemen who will return to civilan life sometime this year.

Specifically, Meany urged support for the new AFL-CIO Veteran Assistance program which the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute is developing in cooperation with the U.S. Departments of Labor and Defense. HRDI's Charles Hollowell is in charge.

> "With the full cooperation of your Council in this program," wrote Meany, "organized labor can begin to repay a portion of the debt we all owe the men who defended freedom in Vietnam."

The program will get underway next month at four military separation centers, in the San Francisco Bay area. William H. Burks, former HRDI Area Manpower Representative in Oakland, is in charge there.

Details of the new program were spelled out in a letter to the Councils from HRDI President Julius Rothman and Executive Director Robert McGlotten. Here's how it will work --

> HRDI will have a staff person at each separation center. His first job will be twofold -- to brief each returning veteran about jobs and job opportunities in his home town and to get some idea of the serviceman's skills and job preference.
>
> He will also make sure the veteran has the name and telephone number of the HRDI staff representative in the city closest to where the veteran lives.
>
> Or, if there is no HRDI office in the area, the serviceman will be given the phone number of the closest AFL-CIO Central Labor Council office.

The HRDI man at the base will then forward all the pertinent data about each serviceman to the HRDI (or AFL-CIO Council) office which the veteran will be contacting. The job of the local HRDI (or AFL-CIO Council) staff person is to help the veteran, in every way possible, to find a suitable job -- or a meaningful job training program.

HRDI's letter points out the urgency of the problem --

> Many of the returning servicemen will be seeking their first full-time job
>
> Most of them are in the 20-24 age group, which is hard hit by rising unemployment.
>
> Nearly 20% have less than a high school education.
>
> Approximately 10% are members of minority groups.
>
> And many will be returning to urban centers where unemployment has been the worst.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE WORSE THAN EVER -- AND STILL RISING

Unemployment continues to rise and is at its highest peak in nine years.

For the first time since 1964, there are more than a million men and women who have been without a paycheck for 15 weeks -- or longer.

Overall unemployment is up 3.5% over a year ago with almost every major category of industry affected. In the construction industry, joblessness has hit 11% as compared to 6% a year ago.

In the white collar field -- particularly among technical and professional workers -- unemployment is at its highest since 1958.

During 1970, unemployment hit hardest in the already-poor neighborhoods of our cities --

> 7.6% of the residents in these poverty areas were without work -- as compared to 5.5% last year.
>
> 24% of the teenage residents of these areas were jobless -- as compared to 19.9% a year ago.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics --

> "The general decline in economic activity in 1970 reversed the improvement that has been made by poverty area residents between 1967 and 1969."

AFL-CIO ACCELERATES DRIVE TO FIND JOBS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

In spite of the bleak unemployment picture, organized labor is continuing its drive to help find jobs for the disadvantaged.

In three cities -- Milwaukee, St. Louis and Washington, D.C. -- HRDI has opened up Job Development and Placement offices in cooperation with the Central Labor Councils.

> In Syracuse, the Job Development and Placement Program -- in its first month -- was able to place 21 applicants. Cooperating unions were Local 116 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Local 12 of the Carpenters, Local 545 of the Operating Engineers, Local 105 of the Roofers and Local 320 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

Seven additional cities are expected to set up Job Development and Placement Programs shortly. HRDI's James Boyle is in charge.

HRDI APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH REPORTS 100% RETENTION RATE

HRDI's Apprenticeship Opportunity Program in Memphis is not having much of a drop out problem!

So far, 25 minority youth have been indentured as apprentices -- and all 25 are still on the job.

Another 17 applicants have been placed in well-paying jobs, according to HRDI Area Manpower Representative Bill Ross.

The Program is also making a special effort to help returning servicemen and is currently helping 42 young Vietnam veterans find jobs or job training.

NORTH CAROLINA.....HRDI's L.G. Holleman has been named Co-Chairman of the Manpower Committee of North Carolina Community Action Corporation. The corporation was set up to analyze the manpower needs of the State and make recommendations for the future.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI's Charles Bradford spoke to the Missouri delegation of the House of Representatives on what the St. Louis community -- labor in particular -- is doing to meet the problems of unemployment. Bradford serves as Manpower Chairman of the Mayor's planning group "Challenge of the '70's," which is analyzing the needs of the total community.

PHOENIX.....HRDI's Gene Carter reports success in refunding the Ironworkers Indian Reservation Apprenticeship program. Local 75 is the union involved.

NEW YORK.....HRDI's John Burnell reports approval of a NAB-JOBS consortium to provide 600 entry-level jobs for the disadvantaged. Local 153 of the Office and Professional Workers, Local 3 of the Newspaper Guild, the National Maritime Union and Locals 1 and 2 of the Utility Workers are among the unions involved. Fifty-two companies are participating.

TOLEDO.....HRDI's John Rober has been elected to the Occupational Work Experience Advisory Committee of the Toledo Board of Education.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl reports that 36 companies will hire 179 disadvantaged workers under an MA-6 contract with the Philadelphia Manpower Consortium. Unions involved were Local 724 of the Machinists, Local 375 of Pulp and Sulphite Workers, Local 10 of the Laundry Workers, Local 333 of the Papermakers, Local 196 of the Meatcutters, Local 415 of the Retail Clerks, Local 155 of the United Electrical Workers, the Textile Workers Joint Board and Locals 463, 596 and 837 of the Teamsters.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Ernest Colbert represented labor on a 30-minute TV show called "Opportunities Line." Purpose of the program is to tell the community what the local job situation is. Colbert emphasized AFL-CIO's involvement in placing returning servicemen.

PHOENIX.....HRDI's Gene Carter will represent labor on the Governor's Task Force which hopes to provide jobs for 50,000 returning servicemen during the next 12-18 months.

HOUSTON.....HRDI's Don Bridges reports 16 enrollees in a Skill Center program to train clerks and checkers for major grocery chains. Classes run up to eight weeks, depending upon individual progress. Bridges helped develop the program and Local 455 of the Retail Clerks is providing the instructor. Funds are provided under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton is helping the Operating Engineers expand their contacts in the community to recruit more trainees for their Apprenticeship program.

ST. LOUIS.....James Adams, President of Local 396 of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, is HRDI's new staff member here. Adams is a delegate to the Greater St. Louis Labor Council, the St. Louis Building Trades Council and the Missouri State Labor Council. He succeeds Charles Bradford, HRDI Regional Director for Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

DETROIT....."Unions' Adaptation to Changes in the Labor Force" was the subject of HRDI Director Robert McGlotten's talk to 150 members of the Industrial Relations Research Association. McGlotten spoke at IRRA's 23rd annual meeting here.

ERIE, PA.....HRDI's Minona Clinton reports funding of a consortium sponsored by the Urban Coalition here to hire 40 disadvantaged workers. Union support came from Local 1637 of the Electrical Workers, Local 38 of the Molders and Local 12850 of District 50.

PORTLAND.....HRDI's Lyle Eller has arranged a tour of the Job Corps Residential Manpower Center here for 15 key area labor leaders. They will study the type of vocational training being offered and explore areas of increased cooperation between the local labor movement and the Job Corps.

FORT WORTH.....New HRDI rep here is Michael McMillan, Vice-President of Local 263 of the Ironworkers and a delegate to the Tarrant County Central Labor Council. A graduate of the Harvard University Trade Union program, McMillan also attended the Texas AFL-CIO Law Institute and Texas AFL-CIO Advanced Leadership Conference. McMillan will service both Dallas and Fort Worth and will work closely with Regional Director Mike Arnold.

NEW YORK.....Thirty inner-city students have just completed a Work-Study program sponsored by IUE Local 408 in cooperation with the optical industry and the New York City Board of Education. Retention rate was 100% and HRDI's John Burnell has promised HRDI help in setting up similar programs in the industry.

TOLEDO.....HRDI's John Rober was the main speaker at a union members' seminar on manpower programs co-sponsored by HRDI and Community Services. Rober organized the seminar which included speakers on the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), On-the-Job Training (OJT) and programs for returning servicemen.

TAMPA.....HRDI's Hal Reddick has put together a program for hiring disadvantaged workers and training them as cable splicers and telephone installers. Local 108 of the Electrical Workers is sponoring the program with funds provided by the Hillsborough County Board of Public Education. Six to nine months training will be provided for 40 trainees at a time with a goal of training a mininum of 200 workers. IBEW members will be used as instructors and the Local 108 hall will be the training facility.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton has been elected chairman of the Apprenticeship Information Center.

ST. LOUIS.....A key feature of the AFL-CIO education conference here was a closed circuit TV interview with four brand new AFL-CIO members -- aged 20 to 29 -- on their views of the labor movement. HRDI's Charles Bradford and Jim Adams helped find the four young trade unionists, who were members of the Retail Clerks, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Carpenters Joint Council and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Other HRDI staff participating in the conference were Mike Arnold, Eddie Campbell, Minona Clinton, Olga Corey and Bill Ross. Conference theme was "Reaching the Union Member."

NEWARK.....HRDI's Earl Williams is working closely with District 10 of the Painters' union on recruiting for their pre-apprenticeship training program.

HAZELTON, PA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl reports funding of a JOBS '70 contract for 25 entry level jobs and four upgrading slots. Local involved is United Textile Workers 1171-A.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Ernest Colbert has been appointed to the Mayor's Youth Opportunity Council to begin preparation for the 1971 summer program.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....A three-day seminar on Manpower Problems at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center featured a number of HRDI staff members. Executive Director Robert McGlotten spoke on "Opening Employment Opportunities for Minority Groups in the Construction Industry," Regional Director John Burnell and McGlotten jointly conducted a session on HRDI, and Regional Director Charles Bradford discussed Upgrading programs in the panel on "How Programs Operate." HRDI co-sponsored the seminar.

The seminar was an in-depth examination of present programs and new policies that can be expected in the future. HRDI Area Manpower representatives Don Bridges, Jim Clay and Joe Jones participated, as did the HRDI headquarters staff.

AKRON.....HRDI's Charles Anderson has been named to the Training Needs Committee of the MDTA Advisory Committee.

CHICAGO.....A veteran Steelworker has been named to the HRDI staff here. He is Harry Gough, active member and Civil Rights Chairman of USA Local 1438.

Employers push hard against drug abusers

Employees who use drugs are more likely to be fired than are those suffering from alcholism and emotional ilness, the Bureau of National Affairs reports.

Most companies have yet to develop policies and means for dealing with industry's newest headache—drug abuse—and in their absence management has adopted a stern attitude, the BNA study showed.

Typically, the report said, the drug user faces termination upon detection, rather than any of the counseling or assistance commonly provided by long-established and fairly liberal policies for handling alcoholics and emotionally disturbed employees.

BNA and the American Society for Personnel Administration surveyed 200 executives in large and small businesses. The findings are contained in a report entitled "The Employee with Problems."

The hard-nosed attitude toward drug addicts is due in part to a fear that the drug user will "contaminate" other employees before any rehabilitative steps can be taken. Employers reported that the number of drug users in industry has increased since a similar survey of employee problems was conducted two years ago.

The study also found that alcoholism is the more common of the three problems. But most employers said they do not feel that alcoholism and emotional illness are any more common now than two years ago.

Checks with prior employers and pre-employment physicals are the most effective means of detecting such problems among new job applicants. Such detection methods as application blank inquiries on arrest records and medical history are not reliable, employer representatives report.

Job performance and absenteeism are the key factors in detecting drug abuse, alcoholism or emotional illness among employees already working for a company. Company executives polled in the survey said that practically all of the detection methods used by their firms are dependent on observations made by an employee's immediate supervisor.

Although the supervisor is the mainstay of the early warning system on the existence of an employee's problem, most companies do not permit the supervisor to deal with the employee's problems alone, the study found.

Professional assistance is most frequently given in dealing with drinking problems. Help in dealing with emotional problems is provided less frequently, and assistance in the area of drug abuse is relatively uncommon.

IAM fighting strike insurance for USA's local service airlines

The IAM will oppose the airlines' recent admission of six local service carriers to their Mutual Aid Agreement, a strike insurance plan.

John Peterpaul, IAM airline coordinator, said admission of the local service airlines will be opposed at a Civil Aeronautics Board hearing Feb. 2 in Washington, D.C.

The IAM will cite their admission as another reason for CAB rejection of the entire plan, Peterpaul said. The IAM and other major ai rtransport unions oppose the pact on grounds that 12 years of experience show that it prolongs rather than prevents strikes.

The local service airlines admitted are Mohawk, Frontier, North Central, Piedmont, Ozark and Hughes Air West. Mohawk has been shut down since early November by a Pilots strike, idling 500 IAM mechanics and other ground service employees. They are now in negotiations for a new contract.

Under the Mutual Aid plan Mohawk can start drawing benefits equal to 35 per cent of its normal shutdown operating costs retroactive to Jan. 1.

Last July Mohawk and North Central asked the CAB to disapprove the agreement because local service airlines weren't included. CAB would not disapprove on this ground and urged the trunk and local service airlines to get together.

The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that during the five-month Northwest Airlines strike by the Airline Clerks, Northwest received amounts estimated at upwards from $20,000,000 from other airlines through the pact. Earlier in 1970, National Airlines drew $25,000,000 during a four-month strike of Air Line Employees Association.

During the Northwest strike, which idled nearly 4,000 IAM members, U.S. Reps. Donald Fraser and Joseph Karth of Minnesota and seven other House members introduced bills to outlaw the Mutual Aid agreement.

In addition to the local service airlines, carriers that have been in the pact for some time include Northwest, National, United, Eastern, Braniff, Trans World, American and Pan American.

Chamberlain

Lower employee payments to rail pension plan sought

Reducing employee contributions to railroad retirement and increasing employee benefits from the unemployment and sickness plan are top goals of the Railway Labor Executives' Association in 1971, Charles Chamberlain, chairman, reports.

These and other proposals were made at a recent RLEA meeting in Washington, D.C. RLEA unites the IAM and 13 other rail labor unions.

Under the RLEA proposal, the present 50/50 employee-employer contribution to the Rail-Road Retirement Fund would be changed to a 75 per cent employer, 25 per cent employee ratio. An increase in the employer-paid taxes to the Railroad Unemployment and Sickness Insurance plan would bring about an increase in benefits to employees, under the RLEA plan.

RLEA also recommended establishment of an emergency railroad commission to deal with rail industry problems on a continuing rather than stop-gap basis. The commission could consider railroad nationalization in whole or in part, develop new sources of capital for railroads and help bring about much-needed reform of the Railway Labor Act.

RLEA went on record favoring the abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The organization said it would wholeheartedly support adequate funding for the new Railpax corporation and "for the new railroad safety program, the high-speed ground transportation program and all other Federal programs aimed at improved transportation by rail."

Reminder

When is your next union meeting? Better plan to be there.

Machinist Photo

Five IAM members on manpower staff

Five members of the IAM are now working full time on the field staff of the Human Resources Development Institute, the manpower training arm of the AFL-CIO. Charles Hollowell, the national field director, reports that the IAM now has the largest representation on his staff of any international union. Shown here, as they greet Robert M. McGlotten, right, the executive director of the Institute, are Hollowell, Henry Kaltun, Eugene Carter, Frank Gallegos and Charles Bradford.

Hollowell is a member of IAM Local 834, Wichita, Kan. Bradford, the Midwest regional director, is president of IAM Local 41, St. Louis, Mo. Kaltun, recently retired directing representative for IAM District 15, is the manpower representative for the New York City area. Gallegos, a member of IAM Local 606, Denver, Colo., is also a manpower representative as is Carter, who belongs to IAM Local 715, Phoenix, Ariz.

The Institute, which is three years old, is presently working at job upgrading of the under educated and under skilled already on the job. It is also establishing a new program to help locate job training opportunities for returning service men from Vietnam.

Veteran wins $430 from G.E.

Terry Dubay, left, member of IAM Local 1256, Portland, Me., shows Grand Lodge Rep. Roger Hare a check for $430 Dubay won from General Electric, South Portland.

Hare reports that Dubay worked at G.E. before becoming a member of the IAM. While at G.E., Dubay was drafted into the Armed Forces. He served a tour of duty in Vietnam. When Dubay returned, G.E. refused to re-hire him at his old job rate.

Dubay took a job with the Portland Co. as an assembler and became a member of Local 1256. He told Hare and local members of his treatment by G.E. Hare made several inquiries and appealed through the Veterans Administration on Dubay's behalf. G.E. paid the $430 as compensation.

Pennsylvania Machinists Council schedules second editors-public relations conference

The Pennsylvania State Council of Machinists has announced that it will conduct another session for local and district editors' and public relations committeemen in conjunction with its 25th annual convention June 10-13, 1971. Participants in the Council's first editors' conference in 1970 rated it a success.

William Cockerill, public relations director for the Council, reports that the second editors' conference will be held June 9, at 3:30 p.m. at the Yorktowne Hotel, York, Pa. A financial officers' meeting will be held at the same time and date. Members will receive more details soon.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS

1971

MACHINISTS LEA

"Learning union skills for progress" is the theme of the 20 Machinists' Leadership Schools scheduled at colleges and universities across the United States and Canada in 1971. The schools offer training for local IAM leaders to help them cope with the varied and complex problems facing union members.

John Brumm, IAM education director, reports that 13 of the schools will be for first-year students. These schools are known as Leadership Schools I. The course of study focuses on teaching the fundamentals of trade unionism and the basic laws, policies and operations of the IAM.

Second year students—those who have attended leadership schools in other years—will attend Leadership School II. Instructions at these schools will build on the first-year studies and probe into more complex aspects of union policies and programs.

Leadership Schools are sponsored by the IAM Vice President in each territory for local leaders in that territory. They will be held at leading universities in the United States and Canada (see map below). The programs are planned and conducted by the IAM Education Department and territorial Education Representatives in cooperation with the universities.

Again this year, there will be two schools for French-speaking members, one Leadership I, and one Leadership II.

Purpose

Machinists' Leadership Schools offer planned courses of classroom instruction on workers' problems and union techniques. They help local union leaders develop the skills required to improve union operations and activities.

Officers, stewards and committeemen study and discuss problems facing unions today to help prepare for tomorrow's programs. Special attention will be given to methods of arousing members' in activities.

Leadership School I (First year)

The 13 Leadership I schools plar consists of four classes: Trade uni legislative issues; collective bargai ministration, and improving con union. In addition, the one week an opportunity to participate in with local lodge activities.

Leadership I schools are open to stewards, committeemen and inte have not attended a previous M School.

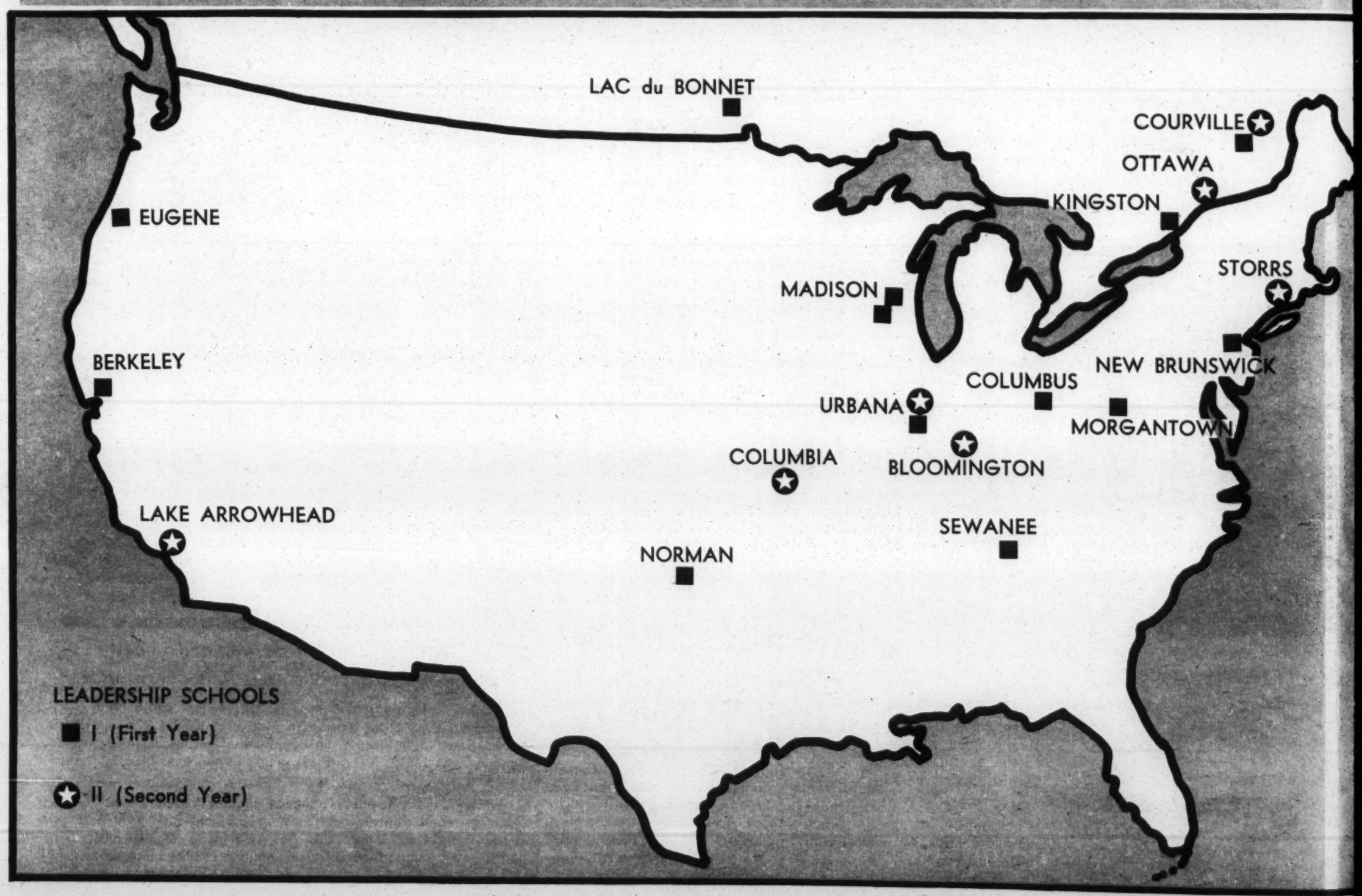
Leadership School II (Second yea

The seven Leadership II schools classes and a workshop which expa in Leadership I training. The classe gaining, government and politics, a community. Workshops will be techniques of communication whic in every day local operations. In provides an opportunity for stud current developments in the IAM ment generally.

Leadership II schools are open have attended a former Basic or and have not attended a former ship II school.

Who should attend

Lodges should select active men from schools to put their knowle union. Both Machinists' Leadership designed particularly for officers, members of local union education tive, MNPL and publicity committe



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Instruction

Teachers at each school include IAM staff members, university faculty members, representatives from the AFL-CIO and other organizations involved in labor education. Talks, films and discussions are included in the one-week program.

Cost

The cost of tuition, food and lodging is $90. Locals sending students should also consider lost time, travel cost and miscellaneous expenses.

Activities

Each Machinists' Leadership School opens on Sunday afternoon and continues through Friday afternoon. The schools are a one-week residential, serious study program. All participants should be made aware that the week will involve a concentrated period of class study. Certificates will be awarded to those who participate in every phase of the program.

Applications

More detailed information will be sent to all locals and districts. Officers are requested to read this information carefully before submitting applications. This precaution can reduce errors.

Locals are urged to send in applications as soon as possible. There is a limit on the number of applicants that can be accepted at each school. The IAM Education Department expects that most schools will be filled by April 15. Applications will be accepted in order of their receipt depending on space available at the particular university.

Applications and additional copies of this announcement for posting on bulletin boards are available. Write IAM Education Department, 912 Machinists Building, Washington, D.C. 20036.

DERSHIP SCHOOLS

Leadership Schools I

(First year)

May 16-21
Maison Montmorency
Courville, Que.
(French)
(Canadian territory)

May 30-June 4
Queen's University
Kingston, Ont.
(Canadian territory)

June 6-11
West Virginia University
Morgantown, W. Va.
(Great Lakes territory)

June 13-18
University of the South
Sewanee, Tenn.
(Great Lakes and Southern territories)

June 20-25
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Okla.
(Southern territory)

July 18-23
University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.
(Midwest territory)

July 25-30
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wis.
(Midwest territory)

Aug. 1-6
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, N.J.
(Northeast territory)

Aug. 8-13
University of Oregon
Eugene, Ore.
(Northwest territory)

Aug. 15-20
University of Calif. at Berkeley
Berkeley, Calif.
(Southwest territory)

Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio
(Great Lakes territory)

Aug. 29-Sept. 3
Wendigo Conference Center
Lac du Bonnet, Man.
(Canadian territory)

Sept. 12-17
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wis.
(Midwest territory)

Leadership Schools II

(Second year)

May 16-21
Indiana University
Bloomington, Ind.
(Great Lakes territory)

June 6-11
Maison Montmorency
Courville, Que.
(French)
(Canadian territory)

June 27-July 2
University of Missouri
Columbia, Mo.
(Midwest territory)

July 4-9
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ont.
(Canadian territory)

July 11-16
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Conn.
(Northeast territory)

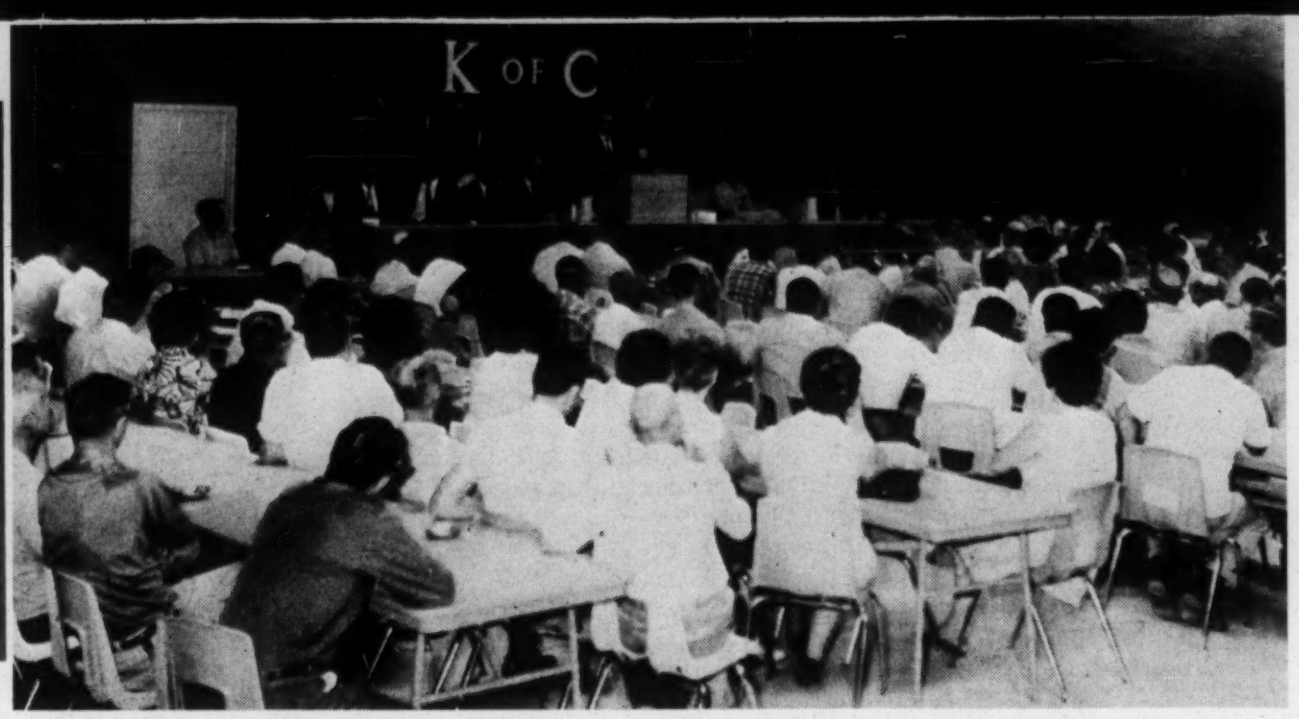
July 25-30
UCLA, Arrowhead
Lake Arrowhead, Calif.
(Southwest territory)

Aug. 1-6
University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.
(Midwest territory)

Attention Air Transport Lodges

In two of the Leadership II (Second year) schools, there will be a section of the collective bargaining class especially for members of Air Transport lodges. These are the schools at the University of Indiana, May 16-21, and the University of Illinois, Aug. 1-6. Air Transport lodges are encouraged to send participants to either of these two Leadership II schools.

A union grows in Central Texas



Full house—The hall was filled for the first meeting of IAM Local 2427, Temple, Tex. C. L. Gresham, representative of District 776, Fort Worth, addresses the membership.

In Temple, Tex., midway between Waco and Austin, big things are happening. A trade union is growing.

IAM Vice President George Watkins of Dallas, reports that the first IAM contract for 468 employees of the American Desk Manufacturing Co., is now being negotiated. That contract will also be the first industrial union agreement in this town of 31,000 people.

Watkins explains that the happening at Temple is part of the emergence of the New South. Trade union growth is catching up with the industrialization. As a result, wages and working conditions are beginning to improve despite the handicaps of so-called "right-to-work" laws.

When the IAM's new Southern territory was reorganized two years ago, Vice President Watkins gave organizing the number one priority. Since then it has become the territory's number one success story.

The photos on this page show the employees of American Desk Co., at their first meetings as members of IAM Local 2427. The basic work they did in these photos and the work they are doing now at the bargaining tables are helping a union grow in central Texas.

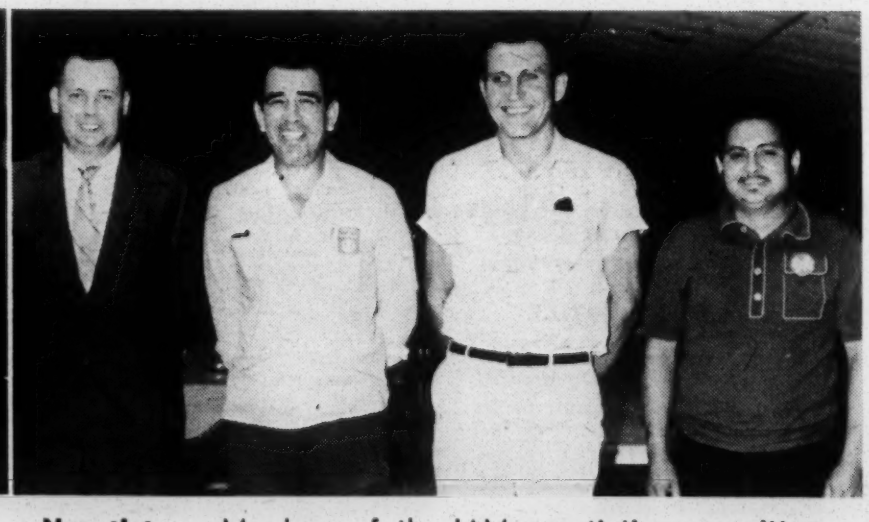
Leadership—Local, district and international representatives brief the new members. Head table, l to r, Walter Jones, president of Local 2427; Grand Lodge Rep. Nep Peralta; Art Madrid, representative for District 177, San Antonio; V. T. Taylor, representative for District 776, Fort Worth; C. L. Gresham; Irene Sadler, local trustee; Tom Saffold, recording secretary; Pedro Naranjo, local vice president; and J. E. Floyd, District 776.

Machinist Photos

Initiation—Here are some of the 200 employees of American Desk taking their IAM obligations. They were initiated by Vernon McKimmey, administrative assistant to Vice President George Watkins of Dallas.

Greetings—McKimmey brings greetings from Vice President Watkins as he addresses a membership meeting of Local 2427.

Officers—The first officers elected by members of IAM Local 2427 are, front row, l to r, Lawrence Carter, secretary-treasurer; F. Arguelles, shop committee; Tony Yepez and Irene Sadler, trustees. Back row, l to r, Robert Wilkerson, trustee; J. T. Bone, sentinel conductor; Tom Saffold, recording secretary; Pedro Naranjo, vice president; and Walter Jones, president.



Negotiators—Members of the IAM negotiating committee for the first contract at American Desk are, l to r, Walter Jones, Pedro Naranjo, Elmo Winkler and Johnny Cruz.

HRDI

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 1, 1971

AFL-CIO UNIT AWARDED $2.2 MILLION CONTRACT
TO AID MANPOWER PROGRAMS

WASHINGTON -- The AFL-CIO has been awarded a new contract by the Labor Department to continue its assistance in Federal manpower programs for another year, Assistant Secretary of Labor Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., recently announced.

The contract between the Manpower Administration and the labor organization's Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI) is for $2,180,280 to help labor and management to recruit, train, employ, and upgrade the skills of the unemployed and underemployed.

Under the terms of the contract which will run through December 1971, HRDI, operating in 45 major labor areas, will:

-- Work with the National Alliance of Businessmen and the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program to promote approximately 800 projects with employers and unions;

-- Promote the "buddy system" of training with 150 employers, mostly in the JOBS program, matching experienced workers with trainees;

-- Upgrade 1,500 individuals, working with employers, both inside and outside the JOBS program;

-- Promote Neighborhood Youth Corps summer programs with employers and unions;

-- Assist in post-training placement of Job Corps men and women and in locating qualified instructors for Job Corps installations;

-- Develop jobs and placements among employers in five selected cities, working with local labor councils and unions, with a target of 20 persons a month for a total of 1,200 placements. The cities are tentatively Dayton, Atlanta, Dallas. Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh;

(MORE)

-- Begin a pilot recruitment program in the San Francisco Bay area for returning servicemen who seek training in the construction trades;

-- Assist in all apprenticeship entry preparation programs for minority youths wherever HRDI operates in the same locality;

-- Help to place about 2,000 minority group construction workers in 15 cities through the journeyman training programs for upgrading skills; and

-- Work with "hometown" minority-group hiring plans in the construction industry by providing technical assistance to building trades councils developing such plans.

HRDI is a nonprofit corporation set up by the AFL-CIO to mobilize the resources of the labor movement in manpower programs. Its chairman is Federation President George Meany. Julius Rothman, associate director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Urban Affairs, is president.

Thirty international labor unions are represented by HRDI, founded in 1968 with the aid of a Labor Department grant.

Under its first contract with the Manpower Administration, HRDI set up staff and operated in 45 major labor areas, introduced the buddy system with more than 100 employers, promoted JOBS hiring and upgrading programs with more than 500 employers, and promoted the Neighborhood Youth Corps summer program among unions.

# # #

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
501 PULLIAM STREET, S.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30312 (404) 524-0222

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February 4, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsuth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I thought you would be interested in reading the enclosed address, "Black Rage White Fear: The Full Employment Answer", by Bayard Rustin.

This booklet contains the text of Mr. Rustin's address to the - 1970 CONVENTION OF THE BRICKLAYERS, MASONS AND PLASTERERS INTERNATIONAL UNION.

I hope you find it interesting and helpful.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally,

Walter C. Rucker

Walter C. Rucker
Area Manpower Representative

WRC/db
opeiu #2
AFL-CIO

L Rollader

biographical sketch

MAR 1 0 1971

ROBERT M. MCGLOTTEN

Executive Director, AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute

Robert M. McGlotten was appointed Executive Director of the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute on June 1, 1970. At the time, he was serving as a staff representative for the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

In his new post, McGlotten directs a field staff of AFL-CIO manpower specialists in forty cities and six states: their job is to increase union involvement, at the community level, in manpower programs for the hard-to-employ.

A native of Philadelphia, McGlotten is a member and former staff representative of the Transport Workers Union. His 12 years in the labor movement have also included assignments with the American Federation of Teachers, the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, and the United Steelworkers of America.

During his three years with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, McGlotten negotiated Apprenticeship Outreach contracts with the Labor Department which brought 6,500 minority workers into apprenticeship programs of the building and construction trades unions, increasing minority representation from 2% to 11%.

McGlotten also represented the national AFL-CIO at the National Alliance of Businessmen, serving as Vice-President for Labor Relations.

Before coming to the national AFL-CIO, McGlotten served as National Labor Relations Specialist for the Opportunities Industrialization Center's 26-city job training program for the disadvantaged.

McGlotten attended the University of Pennsylvania and was graduated from St. Joseph's College for Industrial and Labor Management. He served in the U.S. Army.

A Vice-President of the Negro Trade Union Labor Council since 1962, McGlotten is an advisor to the Workers Defense League and is a member of the Urban League and the NAACP. He belongs to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials and the Industrial Relations Research Association.

-30-

September 1970

What's Happening

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (202) 638-3914

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Chairman of the Board

Julius F. Rothman
President

Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director

MARCH 1971 VOL. I, NO. VI

Olga Corey
Editor

HRDI

AFL-CIO LEADERS EXPLORE IMPACT OF NEW MANPOWER POLICIES

New directions in the operation of manpower programs was the conference theme that brought together HRDI staff and key union leaders from 17 states.

At HRDI-sponsored meetings in Atlanta, Chicago and Philadelphia, officials of 14 State Labor Federations and 19 Central Labor Councils aired their concerns about recent developments in manpower training and discussed problems of mutual concern with Regional Manpower Administrators of the Department of Labor.

Specifically, labor wanted to know what effect the trend towards greater decentralization of manpower programs would have.

The need for greater union participation in manpower programs at the local level was expressed earlier this year in HRDI President Rothman's report to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which said --

> "The Labor Department's Manpower Administration has been pressing for decentralization and de-categorization of manpower programs in anticipation of future legislation.
>
> With the expected enactment of public service employment legislation, and with possible changes in the welfare structure relating to manpower training, the push to use state and local governments as the key agents in manpower programming and administration will go on.
>
> This presents a challenge to the HRDI, that we cannot, and do not wish to evade."

HRDI called the meetings to provide a forum for the labor movement to indicate its frustrations -- as well as its goals -- in helping to find meaningful jobs for the unemployed and the underemployed. Additional meetings will be held in San Francisco and Dallas in April.

At each meeting, HRDI Executive Director Robert McGlotten outlined the new directions HRDI is taking in its role as manpower arm of the AFL-CIO.

> Assistant Director Al Love reported on HRDI's stepped-up technical assistance to International Unions in developing training programs.
>
> National Field Director Charles Hollowell described HRDI's pilot Veterans' Assistance Program for helping returning servicemen find good jobs or training opportunities in their home towns.
>
> And Jim Boyle, Director of Job Development and Placement, detailed the progress being made in HRDI's 11-city program for using union channels to find jobs for the disadvantaged.

State Federation officers who attended the meetings were:

A.G. Trammel, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Harold Bockman, President, Delaware State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Thomas Schrank, President, Delaware State Building Trades Council, AFL-CIO
H.H. Mabry, Secretary, Georgia State AFL-CIO
John Norris, Staff Representative, Indiana State AFL-CIO
E.J. Bourg, Secretary-Treasurer, Louisiana AFL-CIO
August Scholle, President, Michigan State AFL-CIO
Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO
Wilbur Hobby, President, North Carolina AFL-CIO
Pat Greene, Director of Community Services, Pennsylvania AFL-CIO (for President Boyer)
Lee Case, Secretary-Treasurer, Tennessee State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Julian Carper, President, Virginia State AFL-CIO
Miles Stanley, President, West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
John W. Schmitt, President, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

Central Labor Council officers at the three meetings were:

Thermon Coggins, President, Birmingham Labor Council, AFL-CIO

J.C. Turner, President, Greater Washington Central Labor Council

B.C. Parker, President, Hillsborough County Central Labor Council (Tampa)
Ed Stephenson, President, Dade County Federation of Labor(Miami)

John Wright, President, Atlanta Labor Council

Al Towers, Assistant to the President, Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council

Bernard Hanley, President, Central Labor Council of Marion County (Indianapolis)

Herb Hale, Secretary, Greater Louisville Central Labor Council

A.P. Stoddard, President, Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO Council

Thomas Turner, President, Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO

J.E. Jervis, President, Asheville Central Labor Union, AFL-CIO

James Culver, Secretary, Trumbull County AFL-CIO Council (Warren, Ohio)
Lewis Eiben, Assistant to the President, Cleveland AFL-CIO
Robert Kidney, President, Akron Labor Council, AFL-CIO
William P. Sheehan, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council
Dale Stormer, President, Toledo Area AFL-CIO Council
William E. Wycoff, President, Greater Canton AFL-CIO Council

Marvin Wallace, President, Norfolk Union Labor Council

Warner Schaefer, President, Milwaukee County Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Also in attendance were representatives of AFL-CIO Regional Offices -- James Freeman in Atlanta, Dan Healy in Chicago and Joe Garvin in Philadelphia.

Representing the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department were Director Don Slaiman, who spoke at the Philadelphia meeting, Southern Area Director Al Kehrer who attended the Atlanta meeting, and Staff Representative William Pollard who was in Chicago.

SEATTLE..... HRDI Executive Director Robert McGlotten met with delegates to the National Convocation of Opportunities Industrialization Centers here to discuss areas of cooperation between the HRDI and OIC.

BIRMINGHAM.....HRDI's Glen Cole helped develop a JOBS '70 contract for 22 jobs at Cosper Foundry, working with Local 256 of the Molders' Union.

PHILADELPHIA.....Jimmy Jones, Jr. has been named Director of the HRDI Job Development and Placement office here and Robert Fleuhr is the Job Developer. Jones is a member of Local 103 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and formerly headed the Apprenticeship Outreach Program in Camden, New Jersey. Fleuhr was an organizer for Local 1199 C, the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

MILWAUKEE....HRDI's Jim Clay worked closely with the just-funded JOBS '70 contract to place 52 disadvantaged workers at three companies. The unions involved are Local 5503 of the Communications Workers of America and Lodge 66 of the Machinists.

ST. LOUIS.....The HRDI Job Development and Placement office here is now in operation and Harry Van Romer of Carpenters Local 1596 is the Director. Ted Jackson of Local 788 of the Transport Workers is the Job Developer.

KANSAS CITY....HRDI's Charles Kent reports funding of two JOBS '70 contracts to provide a total of 25 jobs. Service Employees Local 96 is the bargaining agent at Pitts Commercial Janitorial Service, which is hiring 20 disadvantaged workers. The other five jobs are with Jack Witherspoon Tire Company, where the workers are represented by the Automotive Petroleum and Allied Industries Union Local 522.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI's Henry Kaltun worked with Service Employees Local 32B on a NAB JOBS program for hiring 100 disadvantaged workers. Cooperating companies are RCA, Alcoa and Rockefeller Center.

ARLINGTON, TEXAS.....HRDI is one of the sponsors at a Labor Leadership Program at the University of Texas Campus here. HRDI's Mike Arnold helped develop the program, which includes nine evening lectures on labor and community development.

MILWAUKEE.....The Job Development and Placement program is in full swing here. Heading it up is Nellie Wilson, formerly AFL-CIO's staff representative with the OEO Leadership Training Program for the state of Wisconsin, and a member of Directly Affiliated Local Union 19806. James Zancanaro, of Laborers Local 113, is the Job Developer.

INDIANAPOLIS.....Richard D. Cobb has been appointed Area Manpower Representative here, succeeding Bernard Hanley, who was elected President of the Marion County Central Labor Council. Cobb is the former President of Local 1262 of the Steelworkers and served as Vice President of the Marion County Central Labor Council for three years.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's new representative here is Charles J. Sims, former President of Local 165 of the IUE and an active member of the IUE Social Action-Civil Rights Committee. Sims succeeds Ben Stahl, now HRDI Regional Director for the Mid-Atlantic states.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Ernie Colbert reports funding of a JOBS '70 proposal for hiring 10 disadvantaged workers at the Boland Machine Manufacturing Company. Colbert helped put the program together and worked with the unions involved -- Boilermakers Local 37, Ship Carpenters Local 584, Marine and Shipyard Local 821, Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 60, Laborers Local 89, Painters Local 1244 and Cresent City Lodge 37 of the Machinists.

TAMPA.....HRDI's Hal Reddick spoke to a special meeting of Tampa area labor leaders to discuss HRDI's programs and goals. Thirty full-time officers and staff attended, including Florida State AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William Allen.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI's Henry Kaltun developed an upgrading program to train 42 assembler technicians at Kollsman Instrument Corporation. Machinists' Local 797 is the bargaining agent.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton helped develop an orientation program for high school counselors. Mrs. Clinton is chairman of the Pittsburgh Apprenticeship Information Center, which is sponsoring the course.

WEST VIRGINIA.....HRDI's Larry Barker reports funding of three JOBS '70 contracts which will provide 75 jobs for the hard-to-employ. Barker worked with United Mine Workers District 17 on developing the contract. The three companies involved are Associated Furniture, Big Mountain Coal and the Walker Machine Company.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl has put together a second, expanded training program for cafeteria workers in the public school system here. Ten weeks of on-the-job training will be provided to 48 new employees and 16 employees already on the job will get ten weeks training to upgrade their skills. The first program upgraded 8 workers and provided training for 16 new workers.

SAN FRANCISCO.....HRDI's Bill Burks has met with more than 1,000 returning servicemen at Treasure Island Naval Base here to explain HRDI's program to help them find jobs -- or job training opportunities -- when they return to their home towns.

COLUMBUS.....The Director of the new HRDI Job Development and Placement office here is Verlin Sparks of Local 2342, United Steelworkers of America. Phyllis Tucker, Local 1632, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is the Job Developer.

NORFOLK.....HRDI's Vince Moretti reports funding of a 17-company consortium which will provide jobs for 122 disadvantaged workers. The unions cooperating on this are Local 919 of the Auto Workers, Local 684 of the Boilermakers, Local 1163 of the Laborers and Local 147 of the Operating Engineers.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI President Julius Rothman has been appointed to the President's Jobs for Veterans Committee. Twelve AFL-CIO International Presidents were also appointed, including two HRDI Trustees -- United Steelworkers of America President I.W. Abel and the Operating Engineers' Hunter P. Wharton.

CHICAGO.....HRDI's Gene Gough spoke on HRDI and its goals at the monthly meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council.

ATLANTA.....The Atlanta Labor Council voted to set up a Veterans' Manpower Committee to work with HRDI's Walter Rucker.

PHOENIX.....HRDI's Gene Carter helped develop the Urban League Labor Leadership seminar here which was attended by 35 trade unionists including members of all minority groups. HRDI Executive Director Robert McGlotten spoke to the group on "HRDI and the Labor Movement."

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.....HRDI's Paul Flynn met with the South Middlesex Labor Council here to discuss the Veterans' Assistance Program. A five-man Veterans' Committee was appointed by the Council.

ATLANTA.....HRDI President Julius Rothman spoke to the Textile Workers Union Executive Board meeting here on HRDI and manpower programs.

MEMPHIS.....HRDI's Bill Ross reports funding of two On-the-Job Training programs at Burgie Foods and Memphis Sash and Door. Local 282 of the Furniture Workers is the union involved.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI President Julius Rothman and Area Manpower Representative Arline Neal conducted sessions on "Labor and the Community" for the Leadership Training Institute of the American Federation of Government Employees 12th District.

What's Happening

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APRIL, 1971 VOL. I, NO. VII

Olga Corey
Editor

HRDI

AFL-CIO HELPS OPEN UP JOBS AT MISSISSIPPI SHIPYARDS

Organized labor will play a major role in recruiting and training some 10,000 Mississippians for skilled jobs at Litton Industries' Pascagoula shipyards.

Recruiting has already begun for jobs as welders, shipfitters, pipefitters, electricians, machinists and sheet metal workers under the joint direction of the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute and the A. Phillip Randolph Institute Education Fund/Workers Defense League.

Many of the jobs to be filled are at the new Ingalls shipyard which has a $2.6 billion contract with the Navy to build 30 nuclear destroyers during the next 10 to 12 years.

> A special Outreach program to find and train workers is being developed by WDL for the Mississippi State AFL-CIO and the Pascagoula Metal Trades Council. A recruiting desk, manned by HRDI and WDL has been set up in the local Mississippi State Employment Security office.
>
> HRDI will also recruit and train local union members already working at the yards to act as "buddies" to the new workers.
>
> And under a new agreement negotiated with the company by the AFL-CIO Civil Rights and Maritime Trades Departments, some 300 workers who were "locked in" to low paying, dead-end jobs, will be able to move into better jobs.

At the request of Mississippi AFL-CIO President Claude Ramsay, HRDI drafted a training proposal to meet the manpower needs at the new shipyard. A special Presidential Task Force reviewed the proposal and accepted all of HRDI's recommendations. Requests for funding have already been submitted.

HRDI Southern Director Pete Babin moved quickly to find staff and headquarters and the HRDI Pascagoula office is now in full swing.

1,500 BUDDIES EXTEND HELPING HAND TO NEW WORKERS

This month, HRDI begins its third year of training union members to be "buddies" to newly-hired disadvantaged workers.

The theory behind the buddy training program is a simple one --

> The first days on a new job are hard for everyone.
>
> But for a worker who has had no work experience, the situation is doubly difficult.
>
> Supervisors can help. Union stewards and officers can help. But what this new worker needs most is someone to act as a friend when things don't seem to be going too smoothly, either on or off the job.

And more than 1,500 union members across the country have been trained by HRDI to do just that.

> HRDI's first buddy training program was held in St. Louis on March 11 and 12, 1969. The 16 buddies were volunteers from five different local unions and were chosen by the unions in cooperation with the companies involved.

Since that time, HRDI has trained members of 248 different local unions in 48 cities. More than 400 companies have cooperated with the program. Of the 1,512 buddies, 577 were members of minority groups.

The buddy program could never succeed without strong support from the labor movement. Central Labor Councils in city after city have loaned their facilities, paid for meals, urged local unions to cooperate, spoken at training sessions, and even paid for lost time when the companies were unwilling to do so.

Fifty-seven different International Unions have cooperated with HRDI's buddy program.

> The largest on-going buddy program is the one at Western Electric near Kansas City, where 210 members of CWA Local 6360 have been trained as buddies over a 15-month period -- and another session is scheduled later this month. HRDI's Charles Kent is in charge of this program.
>
> The largest one-shot program was the one conducted by HRDI's Hal Reddick in Tampa, which trained 95 members of Local 433 of the Boilermakers Union, who work at the Tampa shipyards.
>
> Heading the list of the other cooperating unions is the United Steelworkers of America with 129 buddies for 22 locals in 12 cities.
>
> The Plumbers and Pipefitters and the Service Employees are next with 78 buddies from each International. Then comes the Retail Clerks with 62, the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers with 58, the Machinists with 56, the Amalgamated Meatcutters with 45 and the IBEW with 41.

The actual buddy training uses a variety of teaching techniques to help the buddy relate to the problems of new hires. Actual situations are presented to the group for their solution. For example --

> What do you do if the new worker wants to borrow five bucks from you the first day on the job?
>
> What do you say to the other workers in the department when a disadvantaged worker is given a break after showing up drunk -- for which other worker have been fired or disciplined?
>
> How do you handle the supervisor -- or union steward -- who's afraid you're infringing on his job?
>
> What do you do about the new worker who works hard, and produces, but can't seem to get to work on time?
>
> How do you help a Spanish speaking worker who feels left out because he isn't included in the lunchtime bull sessions?

After two days of training, the buddy is assigned to one -- or more -- of the new hires. Then the problems presented in the classroom become real ones.

> The National Alliance of Businessmen works closely with the HRDI on this program -- by letting the HRDI know which companies plan to hire the disadvantaged, by setting up briefing sessions on the buddy program for key management personnel, by supplying films, training materials and supplies, by helping make program arrangements -- and sometimes picking up the tab for the buddies' lunches during the two-day training sessions.

There are no figures to illustrate to what extent the buddies have improved retention -- nothing except the testimony of company after company that this is the case.

> A Houston company increased its retention to 85% after instituting the HRDI's buddy program -- as compared to an overall NAB retention figure of 54%.
>
> A Birmingham company with a retention figure of practically zero was able to keep 80% of its new hard-core workers after introducing the HRDI buddy program.

And in New Orleans, a buddy intervened with both the company and the union to reinstate a hard-core employee who had been fired for tardiness before the buddy had been given a chance to work with him. The man was rehired, assigned a buddy, and has had a perfect attendance record from then on.

The AFL-CIO is proud of the role it has played in helping thousands of disadvantged Americans adjust to the world of work and in increasing understanding among its union members for the difficulties and frustrations faced by the hard-core unemployed.

HRDI HOLDS REGIONAL MEETINGS IN DALLAS AND SAN FRANCISCO

HRDI staff met with city and state labor leaders from the West and the Southwest this month at meetings in Dallas and San Francisco. The purpose of the meetings was to discuss new trends in manpower programming and how these trends affect the labor movement. Similar conferences were held last month in Atlanta, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Attending the Dallas meeting, in addition to HRDI staff and U.S. Department of Labor Regional Manpower Administrator William T. Bailey, were:

J. Bill Becker, President of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO

John L. Campos, State Director, Operation SER

Ellis Barrera, also of Operation SER

Gene Freeland, Secretary-Treasurer, Dallas AFL-CIO Council

Don A. Horn, Secretary-Treasurer, Harris County AFL-CIO Council

Dave Keeler, Secretary-Treasurer, Dallas Building and Construction Trades Council

Donald Kirkham, President of the Oklahoma County AFL-CIO Council

Nicholas Kurko, Director of AFL-CIO Region XVII

Henry L. Likes, President of the Oklahoma State AFL-CIO

Cletus E. Ludden, President of the Denver Area Labor Federation, AFL-CIO

Henry Munoz, Director of the Human Resources Department, Texas State AFL-CIO

Herrick S. Roth, President of the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Santo Ruiz, Staff Representative, AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

J. W. Sifford, President of the Tarrant County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO

A.P. Stoddard, President of the Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO Council

And attending the San Francisco meeting, in addition to HRDI staff and Associate Regional Manpower Administrator Phillip Lawlor, were:

Sigmund Arywitz, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

Daniel V. Flanagan, Director, AFL-CIO Region XXII

William Gilbert, Assistant Director, AFL-CIO Region XXII

Ray Gonzales, State Director, Operation SER

Abe Newman, Director of Community Services, Central Labor County of Alameda County, AFL-CIO

R.R. Richardson, Secretary Treasurer, San Diego-Imperial Counties Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO

PORTLAND.....HRDI's Lyle Eller reports funding of a 50-company consortium to hire 105 disadvantaged workers. Eller worked closely with NAB and the unions involved in the development of this program. The unions are Local 2009 of the Carpenters, Local 3-246 of the Industrial Workers of America, Local 1311 of the Machinists, Local 324 of the Meatcutters and Locals 2500 and 2750 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers.

NEW YORK CITY.....At the request of Coalition-JOBS (NAB), HRDI's Henry Kaltun was a key resource in NAB's three-week training for 20 loaned executives who will be serving as NAB Job Developers.

MILWAUKEE.....HRDI's Dick Sawicki was appointed by Wisconsin State AFL-CIO President John Schmitt to represent labor on the Opportunities Industrialization Center here.

TOLEDO.....HRDI's John Rober reports that building trades unions here are helping renovate the Chase Park Community Center to make room for day care facilities for the children of working mothers in the area. The Ironworkers built the fire escape and the Carpenters and Painters will be doing the repair work. Rober did the contacting that made the union cooperation possible.

MILWAUKEE.....HRDI's Dick Sawicki is one of three labor representatives on the Advisory Committee of the Milwaukee Area Technical College-Milwaukee Campus.

TAMPA.....HRDI's Hal Reddick reports that both the Hillsborough County Central Labor Council and the Tampa-area Building Trades Council have voted support for the Veterans' Assistance Program. Reddick is a member of the Labor Council's Veterans Committee.

PENNSYLVANIA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl has been meeting with Pennsylvania State AFL-CIO President Harry Boyer to discuss labor's relationship to state and federal manpower programs.

HOUSTON.....HRDI's Don Bridges is helping Local 84 of the Ironworkers recruit over-30 minority workers for its Journeymen Training Program. The program will provide training for 40 men.

SAN DIEGO.....HRDI's Fred Martinez reports funding of a $384,000 NAB-JOBS consortium which will provide 113 jobs for the disadvantaged. Martinez worked closely with NAB on this and with the business agents of the unions involved -- Locals 36, 481, 542, 683 and 986 of the Teamsters.

SAN ANTONIO.....HRDI's Al Garcia reports funding of an On-the-Job Training program which provides 15 weeks of pre-apprenticeship training for 15 trainees. Garcia helped Local 14 of the Carpenters union develop the contract.

DANVILLE, KENTUCKY.....HRDI's Kentucky representative, Dick Mahoney reports that the Central Labor Council here has set up a committee to work with Mahoney on manpower programs.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI... .HRDI's Charles Kent reports that the Greater Kansas City Central Labor Council has set up a Veterans' Assistance Program.

TRENTON.....HRDI's Joe Ganie helped develop a Career Opportunity Program to provide 72 para-professional jobs and training in the Trenton public school system. The trainees will be able to take college level courses in order to eventually qualify as teachers. Thirteen slots for veterans are included in the program, which begins next month.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI's John Burnell was one of the panelists in WABC-TV's filmed discussion of the Cooperative Education program, which provides high school students with out-of-school learning opportunities. The program was one in the series "Its All About Young People."

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.....Two New Careers trainees will be working for the North Carolina AFL-CIO here -- thanks to HRDI's L.G. Holleman and AFL-CIO State President Wilbur Hobby.

BIRMINGHAM.....HRDI's Glen Cole has been appointed to the three-member Evaluation and Status Committee of the Concentrated Employment Program here to evaluate community representation on the CEP Governing Board.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Ernie Colbert will represent labor on a special city-wide task force set up by the Mayor to find city jobs for veterans.

What's Happening

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 (202) 638-3914

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MAY 1971 VOL. I, NO. VIII

Olga Corey
Editor

HRDI

HRDI SPEARHEADS AFL-CIO PROGRAM FOR RETURNING VETERANS

The AFL-CIO pilot Veterans Assistance program is now in full swing at Treasure Island Naval Station and Oakland Army Terminal.

Returning soldiers, sailors and marines at these West Coast separation centers are meeting with HRDI staff to find out what the opportunities for jobs -- or training -- are in their home towns.

HRDI then forwards information on the veteran's skills and job preferences to the HRDI office -- or AFL-CIO Labor Council -- in the veteran's home town. By the time the veteran gets home, he has someone to talk to who can give him the kind of specific information he needs.

Bill Burks, formerly HRDI Area Manpower Representative for Oakland, is in charge of the West Coast operation. Assisting him are Jesse Cooksey at Oakland, and Joseph R. Goglio, Jr. at Treasure Island.

Cooksey is Vice-President of Local 3009 of the Laundry and Dry Cleaners Union and a delegate to the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

Goglio is the former Business Agent for Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250 (SEIU) in San Francisco.

HRDI's National Field Director for Special Projects, Charles Hollowell, is in charge of the HRDI veterans national program and reports that HRDI has so far counselled more than 6,000 veterans at the two bases and -- upon request -- made 507 referrals.

AFL-CIO Central Labor Councils are setting up Veterans Committees to work with HRDI staff. In those cities where HRDI has special AFL-CIO Job Development and Placement offices, veterans go directly there for help.

Other programs to help veterans have been launched by several building trades unions under the Department of Defense OPERATION TRANSITION. These programs provide 240 hours of pre-apprentice training by union journeyman instructors at military installations throughout the country.

The Carpenters have expanded their program and will be training 2,400 veterans at ten installations.

The Bricklayers are providing training at 11 bases for 2,600 servicemen.

The Operative Plasterers have a program for 1,440 veterans at 12 bases.

All three programs provide job counselling and placement assistance at the end of the training period.

UNEMPLOYMENT STILL RISING, HITS YOUTH HARDEST

The days get longer and hotter, teenage unemployment continues to rise, and the prospect for summer youth jobs gets bleaker.

> Last month, 16 to 19 year olds were jobless at a rate nearly THREE TIMES HIGHER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE. For black teenagers, the unemployment rate was even higher -- more than five times the national average.

Overall unemployment in April hit 6.1 percent, just under the nine-year high of 6.2 recorded last December by the Labor Department.

Hardest hit were the already poor neighborhoods, where unemployment during the first quarter of this year hit 9.6 percent, as compared to 6.3 percent a year ago. In the 100 cities included in this survey, white unemployment increased 38 percent over a year ago, just slightly under the increase of 41 percent for minorities.

> AGAIN, TEENAGERS WERE THE HARDEST HIT. Joblessness for whites hit 18.1%, black teenage unemployment was more than twice as high.

And, for the first time in ten years, there has been a significant increase in the number of Americans living in poverty. According to the Census Bureau figures, THIRTEEN PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL DURING THE YEAR JUST ENDED. This represents an increase of 5.1 percent and reverses a ten year trend during which the number of poor was gradually declining. The year 1970 was also the first in nearly a decade that the median income of American families failed to rise.

Prospects for summer youth are not good.

The National Alliance of Businessmen has pledged that it will try to find jobs for 150,000 disadvantaged youth this summer.

And the State Employment Security offices have set a goal of 250,000 summer youth jobs in both the private and public sector.

And the U.S. Civil Service Commission hopes to find 50,000 federal and -- perhaps -- 25,000 state and local government jobs.

> However, the U.S. Conference of Mayors estimates that 641,639 FUNDED SUMMER YOUTH JOBS ARE NEEDED IN THEIR 465 MEMBER CITIES.
>
> According to the Labor Department, mayors will be playing a key role in coordinating summer youth activities. The President's Council on Youth Opportunity, which formerly coordinated goverment efforts to find summer youth jobs, was disbanded last month.

In cities staffed by HRDI, labor is already involved in making plans to help find summer youth jobs -- despite the unemployment situation. In this effort, HRDI works through the Central Labor Councils, Building Trades Councils and local unions in the area.

> LAST YEAR, ORGANIZED LABOR IN HRDI CITIES FOUND JOBS FOR MORE THAN 2,000 YOUNGSTERS.

MEMPHIS.....HRDI's Bill Ross reports refunding of HRDI's Apprenticeship Outreach program here. The program, directed by Don Arant, Sr. of Operating Engineers Local 369, will recruit and tutor 50 minority youths for apprenticeship in the building trades. Last year, HRDI placed 34 in the building and construction trades as craftsmen and 27 as construction laborers.

MISSISSIPPI.....Carol B. Turner has been appointed HRDI Area Manpower Representative for the State of Mississippi. A Vice-President of Machinists' Local 1133, Turner is also Vice-President of the State Council of Machinists and a Delegate to the Metal Trades Council of Pascagoula.

OKLAHOMA CITY.....Thirteen AFL-CIO members completed a two-day buddy training program conducted by HRDI's Oneida Sawyer. They are members of Local 329 of the Carpenters and Local 1524 of the Firefighters, and have volunteered to help newly-hired disadvantaged workers on the job.

SAN ANTONIO.....HRDI's Al Garcia reports that 32 of the 50 youngsters he referred to the Civil Service Commission will be placed on summer jobs.

TRENTON.....HRDI's Joe Ganie placed twelve workers at Atlanta Products and Kohn's Bakery and spent two days counselling the new hires. Local 167 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers is the bargaining agent at Kohn's.

CLEVELAND.....HRDI's Harold Winbush has been appointed by the Mayor to the Public Employment Committee of the Manpower Planning and Development Task Force.

BIRMINGHAM.....Alabama State Labor Council, AFL-CIO President Barney Weeks will head a statewide Alabama AFL-CIO HRDI Advisory Committee.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Charles Sims reports funding a NAB-JOBS contract for twelve slots at Merit Metals. Local 837 of the Teamsters is the union.

PORTLAND.....HRDI's Lyle Eller has been appointed labor's representative on the Mayor's Manpower Commission.

CHICAGO.....HRDI's Gene Gough has been appointed to the Mayor's Task Force for Veterans.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton reports funding of a program to upgrade 15 employees at Hillman Barge Company and provide entry-level jobs for 15 disadvantaged workers. Local 3312 of the Steelworkers is the union.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI's Arline Neal has been re-appointed to the Model Cities Commission by the Mayor.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....Forty-eight placements were made by the HRDI Job Development and Placement office here during April, reports Larry Owens. Laborers' Local 456 placed eight on construction jobs with a starting salary of $4.82 an hour. Other locals helping in placement included Local 82 of the Service Employees, Local 77 Laborers and Teamsters Local 639.

HOUSTON.....HRDI's Don Bridges has been named chairman of the Manpower Committee of an experimental Group Guidance program which helps youngsters make informed decisions about their job future -- while they are still in school. Bridges is responsible for coordinating labor's part in this program. So far, 16 Houston and Harris County high schools -- 13 of which are in low income areas -- are participating in the two-year program.

CHICAGO.....HRDI's Gene Gough reports funding of a JOBS program at Inland Steel that will provide jobs for 520 disadvantaged workers. Hiring began this month and will continue at the rate of 20 a week. Local 65 of the Steelworkers is the bargaining agent.

ST. LOUIS.....Members of six building trades unions here attended a buddy training program conducted by HRDI's Jim Adams. The six buddies are members of Bricklayers Local 1, Carpenters Local 47, Ironworkers 396, Laborers 42, Operating Engineers 513 and Sheet Metal Workers 36.

COLUMBUS.....Thirteen buddies were trained by HRDI's Clarence Butler to work with newly-hired workers at four companies here. The buddies belong to Local 2306 of the Machinists, Local 505 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Local 379 of the Retail Clerks and Local 2342 of the Steelworkers.

MIAMI.....HRDI's new Area Manpower Representative here is James O. Savits. Savits is President of Local 511 of the Transport Workers Union and a member of the Dade County Federation of Labor Executive Board and Community Services Committee. Savits is a member of the Board of Directors of Goodwill Industries and serves on the Budget Committee of the United Fund and the Health Planning Council of Dade County.

TRENTON.....The Central Labor Council and the Mercer County National Alliance of Businessmen have agreed to jointly review and coordinate all summer youth employment pledges. HRDI's Joe Ganie will represent the Labor Council.

MILWAUKEE.....HRDI's Nellie Wilson reports placing ten men and five women through the AFL-CIO Job Development and Placement office. Unions that assisted in the placement included Local 444 of the Retail Clerks. Local 9 of the Office and Professional Employees, Local 150 of the Service and Hospital Employees, Local 122 of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union and Local 989 of the Memorial Park and Cemetery Employees.

NORFOLK.....HRDI's Vince Moretti reports that Seaward Luggage Company has been awarded a NAB-JOBS contract to hire and train 188 disadvantaged workers. Local 524 of the Leather Goods Workers is the bargaining agent.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton reports funding of a hiring program for the disadvantaged at the Western Division of Pennsylvania Bell Telephone. Thirty-six entry level jobs are provided in the contract and the company expects to ask for another 36 after a year. Local 1944 of the IBEW is the bargaining agent.

BALTIMORE.....HRDI's Joe Jones reports that eighteen jobs for the disadvantaged have been opened up through funding of a NAB-JOBS contract at Ratrie, Robbins and Schweizer Inc. Union involved is Laborers District Council.

PHILADELPHIA.....The Pennsylvania Heavy and Highway Contractors Bargaining Association is hiring 20 disadvantaged under a just-funded NAB contract, reports HRDI's Charles Sims. District 50 of the Allied and Technical Workers. is the union involved.

NORFOLK.....HRDI's Vince Moretti reports approval of a NAB-JOBS contract he helped put together which will provide 122 job slots at five organized companies here. The unions involved are Local 648 of the Boilermakers, Local 2514 of the Carpenters, Local 919 of the Auto Workers and Locals 307 and 397 of the Laborers.

NEW YORK.....HRDI's John Burnell is the 1970 recipient of the Black-American Heritage Citation for Labor given by the JFK Library for Minorities. The awards are given annually to outstanding representatives of labor, business and government.

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Olga Corey
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HRDI REPORTS UNION JOB PLACEMENT PROGRAM PROGRESSING RAPIDLY

The AFL-CIO's new Job Development and Placement Program is now operating in Cincinnati, Columbus, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Syracuse and Washington D.C.

In each of these seven cities, HRDI staff is working with Central Labor Councils to find jobs for disadvantaged workers -- largely unskilled -- by using union contacts.

> This is the beginning of a national effort by AFL-CIO to open up opportunities for the poor, for minorities and for the under-employed.

As unemployment rises, informal channels of finding jobs become more important. Union officers may know of jobs at the companies they represent -- or may be able to develop jobs there -- to which unemployed workers can be referred.

While many of the jobs are unskilled, they offer higher wages, better working conditions and more fringe benefits than are usually open to the unskilled worker, because they are in organized plants. They also offer a chance to move up on the job ladder.

> For example, eight of 48 placements made by HRDI in Washington D.C. in April were on jobs with a starting salary of $4.82 per hour.
>
> Placements, of course, vary with the employment picture. However, the Columbus office has found jobs for 37 workers and 46 workers have been placed by the Milwaukee office.

All applicants for jobs in this program must meet the "poverty" definition. This means that HRDI staff maintain close contact with community organizations -- in addition to working with the State Employment Service in their cities.

Some of the organizations making referrals to the AFL-CIO Job Development and Placement Program have been --

- Apprenticeship Information Centers (AIC)
- Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)
- Model Cities groups
- Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC)
- Spanish-American Centers
- Summer Youth Programs
- United Appeal
- Urban League
- Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

Many local youth groups and neighborhood organizations are also playing an active role.

In other words --

> HRDI staff works with local AFL-CIO leaders to find the jobs, and
>
> HRDI works with government agencies and community organizations to find the people.

The AFL-CIO Job Development and Placement Program was officially launched in Syracuse late last year. Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by the Greater Syracuse Central Labor Council, HRDI President Julius Rothman described the new program as part of the AFL-CIO's commitment to full employment. Said Rothman:

> "The AFL-CIO believes that only a good job at a decent wage gives a man, or woman, the chance to achieve dignity and security and become a useful member of society.
>
> "We need to make a special effort to make that chance a reality for the unemployed and the underemployed."

Each city participating in the program has a professional staff of two -- a Director and a Job Developer. James D. Boyle, of the HRDI National Office in Washington D.C., serves as National Director of the program. Working with him are Richard G. Womack, Assistant Director, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Harding, Director of Research and Evaluation.

> Newest members of the staff are the Director and Job Developer for Cincinnati. The Director is Ralph J. Cannon, Recording Secretary of Local 1 of the Plasterers and Cement Masons and a delegate to the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, the Cincinnati Building Trades Council and the Ohio Conference of Plasterers and Cement Masons.
>
> Working with him as Job Developer will be Willie Mae Bolden, an active member for 10 years of Local 771 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, particularly in the area of community services and civil rights.

Union cooperation is the key to the program's success. So far, 36 local unions have been able to place workers directly on jobs at the companies they represent. These locals have been affiliated with the following international unions:

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders
Carpenters and Joiners of America
Communications Workers of America
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
International Union of Elevator Constructors
International Union of Operating Engineers
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union
Allied Industrial Workers International Union
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers
Laborers' International Union of North America
Leather Workers International Union of America
Office and Professional Employees International Union
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry
Retail Clerks International Association
Service Employees International Union
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
United Steelworkers of America
Textile Workers Union of America

The program is expected to be operating in 10 cities by July 31.

HRDI TRAINS FOR GREATER UNION PARTICIPATION IN MANPOWER PROGRAMS

Organized labor will be playing a greater role in community manpower planning -- and will need greater technical know-how to do it.

> This was the theme of regional training conferences in New Orleans, Phoenix and Hampton, Virginia, for all HRDI national and field staff.

Purpose of the three-day meetings was to prepare HRDI staff for the new, decentralized operations of the Manpower Administration, effective September 30. Under this new set-up, a network of Manpower Planning Councils will be created at the local and state level. Their job will be to advise Mayors and Governors on manpower needs and priorities and to make recommendations for program funding.

> HRDI staff presently serve on state or local CAMPS (Cooperative Area Manpower Planning Systems) committees which the Councils will be replacing. All Mayors and Governors are advised by the Manpower Administration to appoint representatives of organized labor to these Councils.

HRDI Executive Director Robert McGlotten talked to the staff about their new role. He said:

> "Our opportunity to affect manpower planning is greater than ever before -- and so is our responsibility. As the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO, we must supply the technical expertise that will make it possible for labor representatives to make effective use of their new role in manpower planning at the local and state level."

BOSTON.....Thirteen blacks are training for jobs in the broadcast industry under a NAB-JOBS program that HRDI's Paul Flynn helped develop. The program provides for 26 weeks full-time training at Boston University's radio station for one management and 12 technician jobs. The trainees' salaries are being paid by six cooperating radio and TV stations. Local 1228 of the Electrical Workers worked with Flynn on the program.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton reports funding of a thirteen-week program to train 30 cashier checkers. Mrs. Clinton worked with the Appalachian Council on the program and with Local 1407 of the Retail Clerks and Local 500 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

CINCINNATI.....Classes begin next month for a training program developed by HRDI's Eddie Campbell and Local 20 of the Stationary Engineers. The program provides six hours' training for 15 weeks for refrigeration, air conditioning, firemen and licensed engineer jobs. At least 40 trainees will be in the program and Local 20 has promised to place all graduates on jobs.

NORFOLK.....Fifty local union officers and union counsellors are studying the problems of new employees -- and disadvantaged workers in particular -- as part of a new training program put together by HRDI's Vince Moretti and sponsored by HRDI and the Norfolk Union Labor Council. The six-week training program is being held at Old Dominion University.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....Fifty minority contractors will receive training and technical assistance under a program which HRDI's Arline Neal helped develop. The program is funded by Model Cities and is endorsed by the Washington Building Trades Council.

DENVER.....A five-week training program is now in operation at the Laborers' Training Center here. HRDI's Frank Gallegos worked with the Laborers' District Council on the program, which is funded as a NAB-JOBS '70 contract. Thirteen companies are participating in the program and will provide jobs -- and 19 weeks on-the-job training -- for the graduates.

OKLAHOMA CITY.....HRDI's Oneida Sawyer reports approval by the Oklahoma State AFL-CIO Executive Council of a resolution supporting the Veterans' Assistance Program.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Charles Sims reports funding of a JOBS '70 program to provide 39 jobs for the disadvantaged at Ebby Company. Local 123 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers is the bargaining agent.

ATLANTA.....HRDI's Walter Rucker will work with "Summer Jobs Atlanta" and will be provided office space at their headquarters. HRDI is one of 14 organizations cooperating in the program which is being coordinated by North Georgia NAB.

SAN DIEGO.....The North Island Navy Base here has agreed to hire 40 graduates from the Economic Opportunity Commission's Operation Mainstream program as a result of a meeting set up by HRDI's Fred Martinez. EOC is paying wages and supplying supportive services for the trainees, who are being prepared for public service jobs.

PASCAGOULA.....HRDI's Carol Turner reports that training has started for 75 jobs as pipefitters, outside machinists and pipewelders at Litton shipyards here. Another 75 trainees are expected to take the 12-week course in September.

PHILADELPHIA .....HRDI's Charles Sims reports funding of a second training program with the School District of Philadelphia and School Cafeteria Workers Local 434. The program provides training for 48 new workers on entry-level jobs and upgrades the skills of 16 employees already on the job. The program is funded through the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council and is a repeat of a successful program which provided training for 24 workers -- 16 new hires and eight already employed.

NORFOLK.....HRDI's Vince Moretti reports funding of a NAB-JOBS consortium for 122 slots. Moretti helped develop the contract and recruited union members at the four organized companies to serve as buddies to the new employees. Unions involved were Local 684 of the Boilermakers, Local 1138 of the Laborers, Local 417 of the Operating Engineers and Local 919 of the Auto Workers.

HOUSTON.....A 22-week pre-apprenticeship program is now underway at the Skill Center here to train 20 men and two women for jobs in the meatcutting industry. The program was developed by HRDI's Don Bridges and Local 408 of the Meat Cutters for disadvantaged workers referred by the Houston Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). Local 408 is supplying the equipment and the instructors. Trainees receive $41 a week plus $5 for each dependent and $2 for travel expenses. Graduates will be employed at a starting salary of $3.30 an hour.

SAN ANTONIO.....Eighteen apprentices in their fifth year of training as refrigeration fitters have volunteered to be buddies to some of the younger, minority apprentices and have completed a two-day buddy training program conducted by HRDI's Al Garcia. Garcia has conducted similar programs for 5th year apprentices in the plumbing and welding apprenticeship programs.

PITTSBURGH.....A 26-week Apprentice Meat Cutters training program developed by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council with HRDI's Minona Clinton is now underway. Training will be provided for new workers on entry-level jobs and three workers already on the job will be trained for better jobs.

PHILADELPHIA.....HRDI's Ben Stahl reports that thirty 10th grade students at Mastbaum School here are enrolled in a new pre-apprenticeship carpenters' training program. The thirty students were selected from over 200 students throughout the city. Those who graduate will automatically be indentured as apprentices.

WEST VIRGINIA.....HRDI's Larry Barker reports funding of a NAB-JOBS '70 program which will provide jobs and training for 40 truck drivers and 40 heavy equipment operators. Barker worked with the Allied Technical Workers and the West Virginia Contractors Bargaining Association in developing the program.

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RDT

On July 12, the Emergency Act of 1971 became law.

It will provide approximately 150,000 new public service jobs for the unemployed and the underemployed during the next two years with the federal government paying 90% of the cost.

The new job-creation goes into effect nationally when overall unemployment remains at 4½% or more for three consecutive months. If the unemployment rate drops, no new monies will be obligated but projects underway will continue.

Congress has authorized $750 million for the first year and $1 billion for the second year to carry out this "general assistance" part of the program. Each state is entitled to at least $1.5 million the first year.

Another $250 million will be made available for "special assistance" to inner city depressed areas -- such as Bedford-Stuyvesant , Hough, Watts -- where unemployment has been averaging 6% for several months. These funds are not affected by any drop in the national unemployment rate.

Total cost of the overall program is $2.25 billion for a two-year period.

Cities of at least 75,000 population, states, governmental units such as school boards, and Indian tribes can apply for funds under the Act.

They must provide assurance that the jobs are not dead end jobs and will lead to permanent employment.

Eighty-five percent of the federal share must be used for salaries and other employee benefits.

No more than a third of the jobs requested by one unit can be allocated to professional jobs -- except teachers.

No job can pay more than $12,000 a year out of the federal share.

The new jobs can be in any public service occupation -- health care, public safety, education, crime prevention, housing, sanitation, recreation, transportation and environmental protection.

Special features of the bill of interest to union members include --

If a proposal includes hiring people for jobs covered by a collective bargaining agreement, the union involved must be notified and given time to comment to both the applicant and the Secretary of Labor.

Public workers who are laid off can be rehired.

Workers on the new jobs must be paid either the state or federal ($1.60) minimum wage, whichever is higher -- or the prevailing wage paid by the employer for similar work.

HRDI President Julius Rothman, in commenting on the new legislation, said --

> "The Public Service Employment program will provide useful employment for at least some of those who are unemployed and underemployed and at the same time supply our cities with much-needed services.
>
> "HRDI and the AFL-CIO intend to do everything we can to expedite the effective implementation of the Act."

Rothman indicated that all HRDI field staff have been advised to inform locals of AFL-CIO unions of public service employees that HRDI is available to provide technical assistance when so requested.

SPECIAL AFL-CIO CONFERENCE ON JOBS MEETS IN WASHINGTON

Six hundred trade unionists from throughout the United States came to Washington for a two-day Jobs Conference sponsored by the AFL-CIO.

They heard speaker after speaker -- union leaders and members of Congress both -- describe the economic situation in phrases that included "a backwash of uncontrolled inflation and unemployment" and "just plain lousy."

AFL-CIO President George Meany opened the meeting with this summary of the problem --

> "5 million workers are unemployed.
>
> "Hundreds of thousands have exhausted their unemployment compensation.
>
> "The cost of living is going up at an annual rate of about 6%.
>
> "In three years, a half-million American jobs have been lost because of outmoded foreign trade policies.
>
> "The number of people who live in poverty has grown to over 25 million.
>
> "The unemployment rate among returning GI's is over 13%.
>
> "Among construction workers unemployment is over 10%."

Meany urged a comprehensive national job-creation program to make full employment a reality.

A working session of the conference -- attended among others by HRDI national staff and regional directors -- dealt with Public Service Employment. Details of the new legislation were discussed and proposals were made to involve organized labor -- especially AFL-CIO affiliates that represent public service workers -- in making sure that the guidelines and regulations developed by the Labor Department are in line with the intent of the legislation.

NAB CONFERENCE HEARS MEANY'S VIEWS ON JOBS AND JOB TRAINING

In a speech for the National Alliance of Businessmen, President Meany also referred to rising unemployment and pointed out that manpower programs are helpful only when there are jobs available after the training period is over.

> The Meany speech cited HRDI's efforts in the Veterans' Assistance program as an example of organized labor's efforts in job placement. He cited June figures indicating that 207 veterans from two West Coast separation centers had been placed by unions in their home towns at jobs averaging $3.06 an hour.

HRDI Trustee Roy Siemiller, who serves as Vice President of NAB for Labor Relations, delivered the speech on behalf of President Meany.

COVINGTON, KENTUCKY.....Thirty-six residents of the Model Cities area here are getting training for jobs as carpenters, cement masons, plumbers and sheet metal workers under a program that HRDI's Eddie Campbell helped put together. The trainees get six hours training a week for four months at the Northern Kentucky Area Vocational School. Graduates will be referred to the Journeymen Employment and Training program in Cincinnati.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.....HRDI's Ben Stahl reports funding of a Public Service Careers program to hire and train 50 disadvantaged workers in all departments of the city government and upgrade 31 workers already on the job. HRDI worked with the Mayor, the Labor Department and Local 320 and District 81 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to make sure of union involvement in this and all future training programs where there is a bargaining agent. Wage rates on the entry-level jobs range from $2.29 to$3.86 an hour.

NEW YORK CITY.....HRDI's Henry Kaltun is working with the city's Narcotics Commission to help find on-the-job training openings for addicts certified by the Commission as ready for training. The program is funded by the New York State Department of Labor. Trainees can be paid up to half of their salaries for a maximum of 39 weeks.

OKLAHOMA CITY.....At the request of Painters'Local 807, HRDI's Oneida Sawyer met with 30 trainees in their Journeymen Upgrading Program to discuss the problems of the disadvantaged workers and organized labor's role in manpower programs. The one-day session was part of a 10-week training program which is funded by the Painters'Union.

SAN DIEGO.....HRDI's Fred Martinez has been appointed to Mayor's New Jobs Task Force.

TOLEDO.....HRDI's John Rober helped develop an on-the-job training program for two entry-level jobs and four upgrading slots at Romanoff Electric. Local 1076 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was the bargaining agent.

CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY.....HRDI's Joe Ganie is serving as a training resource in a program to improve the skills of para-professionals in hospitals, schools and libraries. Thirty trainees are in the program which is sponsored by the Camden County Council on Economic Opportunity and funded by the Labor Department.

CONNECTICUT.....HRDI's Don Wrenn reports that 56 union members have been trained as "buddies" and will be working with newly-hired workers in their plants. At Groton, the 25 "buddies" are members of Boilermakers'Lodge 614 working at General Dynamics. At Waterbury, 31 members of the Autoworkers' Union employed at Scovill Manufacturing and at Chase Copper and Brass went through the program. Training was conducted by HRDI.

NEW YORK CITY.....Graduate students in education at St. John's University heard HRDI's John Burnell speak on the relationship of school guidance counselors to manpower programs and the labor movement.

PITTSBURGH.....HRDI's Minona Clinton has been appointed a member of the Governor's Human Services Task Force.

TAMPA.....HRDI was the main sponsor of a brainstorming session on the problems of finding jobs for summer youth. HRDI's Harold Reddick developed the program in cooperation with NAB and the Mayor's Youth Council. Nineteen representatives of labor, business, the employment services and community agencies attended the all-day meeting.

NORFOLK.....A unique program is underway at Chesepeake County Jail to provide job training and rehabilitation to prisoners BEFORE their release. This new program -- first of its kind in the State of Virginia -- was developed by HRDI's Vince Moretti working with the City Sargeant. It provides opportunities for selected prisoners to work for participating companies during the day and return to jail at night. Moretti represents labor on the steering committee for the work-release program.

TRENTON.....HRDI was one of the sponsors of an all-day "Rap-In" at Rider College here. Sixty high school and college students talked with the experts on youth employment, educational opportunities, legal rights and military service. HRDI's Joe Ganie spoke on "Organized Labor, Manpower and the Community."

BIRMINGHAM.....Forty disadvantaged workers are getting eight weeks on-the-job training as bricktenders under a program that HRDI's Glen Cole helped put together. Cole worked with Hod Carriers and Laborers' Local 559 and the Employment Service to get the program funded.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI's Arline Neal has been appointed to the Mayor's Manpower Advisory Board.

LOUISVILLE.....Seven members of Local 369 of the Electrical Workers have volunteered to be "buddies" to new workers hired at Queen Products under a JOBS '70 contract. HRDI's Dick Mahoney is in charge of the "buddy" training program.

SAN JUAN.....HRDI's John Burnell spoke on "HRDI and the AFL-CIO's Role in Manpower Programs" at a conference of Local 2614 of the American Federation of Government Employees here.

HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA.....HRDI's Oneida Sawyer represented labor on a panel discussing "Women and Apprenticeship" at the Southern States Apprenticeship Conference here.

SAN DIEGO.....HRDI's Fred Martinez played a key role in getting approval from the California Human Resources Department for a program which is training 256 disadvantaged workers on jobs averaging $2.50 an hour. Unions cooperating with Martinez on the program are Local 465 of the Electrical Workers, Locals 229 and 627 of the Ironworkers and Locals 775 and 1125 of the Machinists.

GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI.....Forty disadvantaged workers will be hired at the Binswinger Mirror Company here. HRDI's Carol Turner worked with Glass and Mirror Workers Local 1967 to get union concurrence for the NAB-JOBS '70 contract.

WEST VIRGINIA.....HRDI's Larry Barker reports funding of a statewide program to provide 10 weeks skill training for 100 experienced barbers and 20-22 weeks training for two new hires. Barker worked with the West Virginia Journeymen Barbers' Union and the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council to develop the program.

AKRON.....HRDI's Charles Anderson has been helping recruit blacks for jobs as interviewers with the Social Security Administration.

NEW ORLEANS.....HRDI's Ernest Colbert conducted a four-hour session on the problems of the disadvantaged as part of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee's six-week training program for union counselors. The 36 counselors are members of 16 different unions.

Human Resources Development Institute

Transmittal Slip

DATE: 7/28/71

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Olga Cruz

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
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July 28, 1971

Mr. Reese Cleghorn, Editor
SOUTH TODAY
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

Thanks so much for mentioning our HRDI Newsletter in SOUTH TODAY. I hope some of your readers will be interested. All our southern field staff get your publications and have been much impressed.

Sometime ago, I spoke briefly with Emory Via about the possibility of a story on Pascagoula for your newspaper and I promised to get some material together when the program was further along.

We now have a state HRDI representative stationed in Pascagoula and the Workers' Defense League has opened an Outreach office there. I enclose some background material on the operation: let me know if you're interested.

Sincerely,

Olga Corey

Olga Corey,
Communications Director

OC:df
opeiu #2, afl-cio

enclosures

What's Happening

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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Editor

HRDI

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1971 VOL. I, NO. XII

AN EDITORIAL

HRDI has been, to a considerable extent, identified with many of the recent major manpower programs developed under the aegis of the Manpower Administration. This is completely understandable in light of HRDI's commitment to assist in the promotion and development of these programs, and to stimulate organized labor's participation in them.

To assume that HRDI has been content to limit its activities only to these programs is to ignore a whole area to which HRDI staff has given leadership, guidance and direction. These activities are largely related to manpower programs developed in the local community designed to meet specific needs.

In this connection, the HRDI staff representative has sometimes been the initiator of local programs, sometimes he has been the facilitator, sometimes the catalyst. But in almost every instance the HRDI representative has been the person with the technical skill, the knowledge and the ability needed to put a program together, get it funded and into operation.

The HRDI staff in many communities found time to work with prisoners - in released-time programs, in finding jobs for those who have served their term, and in counselling. They served on anti-poverty agency committees and boards dealing with job training, and they served on official local manpower planning bodies and contributed toward the development of program standards and objectives for a large part of the whole community manpower package.

HRDI takes pride in the involvement of its local staff in a variety of manpower programs that are helping to prepare minority and disadvantaged workers for a place in our economic system. And we are particularly pleased that a number of the projects and programs they are involved in are directed at young people. The objective of these programs is to enable those youngsters who come from disadvantaged backgrounds to get involved in imaginatively designed programs that lead to real jobs and good pay.

For example, an existing high school in Jamaica, New York, a mile from John F. Kennedy International Airport, was completely refurbished and opened this Fall. This school will offer courses and programs related to aviation and the air transport industry. The change-over from a traditional high school to one that intended to encourage minority youth to enter the aviation industry was sparked by an HRDI staff representative, who involved the representatives of the aviation industry, all unions in the transportation field, the community, and the New York City Board of Education.

The pre-delinquent training project that the HRDI representative developed in conjunction with the Houston-Gulf Coast Building Trades Council, is another example. And in two dozen or more cities, HRDI can point to hundreds of disadvantaged youngsters who had jobs this summer only because the HRDI representatives made it their business to work with unions and employers in tracking down every possible opening. And in Philadelphia, it was the HRDI staff that made it possible for the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council to get a grant from the Neighborhood Youth Corps that paid over 500 disadvantaged youngsters for performing socially useful jobs in public and nonprofit agencies.

It is indeed true that HRDI has been identified with the large national manpower programs. It is equally true that HRDI staff has made a solid contribution to their local communities by using their skill, knowledte and resourcefulness to help the unemployed and disadvantaged become self-supporting, productive human beings.

HRDI EFFORTS TO UPGRADE A VOCATIONAL SCHOOL PAY OFF

In Jamaica, classes began this month for youngsters at August Martin High School, a new city-wide comprehensive school specializing in aviation studies.

The story of Martin High School really begins in 1960 when HRDI's John Burnell, a member of Local School Board District 28, became concerned with the morale at a vocational high school, then called Woodrow Wilson. Although the school had a capacity of 2,200, there were only 1,000 students enrolled and 500 attending classes. Graduating classes averaged 125.

Because the school was located just a mile from Kennedy airport, Burnell began to think about turning it into a school specializing in some area of aviation. A survey of the job situation in the industry indicated that ground support personnel at New York's three major airports outnumber flight personnel by 7 to 1. So Burnell went to work.

> First, he contacted the unions involved -- Machinists, Transport Workers, Service Employees and Teamsters -- and won their support. Then he approached the Aviation Industry Committee of Greater New York and the Port Authority of New York, which owns the airport, to interest them.
>
> At the same time, Burnell used his contacts with the New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers to get them working on curriculum ideas. And finally, he touched base with the parents groups and community organizations in the area to explain the whole concept to them.

In 1969, an Advisory Commission to the new school was established, with Burnell as a member. In 1970, the Board of Education voted its approval and renamed the school after a black aviator killed while flying emergency relief supplies to Biafra as a volunteer with the International Red Cross.

> It took a long time, but the dream became a reality. And as a result, thousands of New York City children will get a better education and have a chance for a better job.

MIAMI....Ray Link has been appointed to head up the Job Development and Placement office here. Link is the former business agent of Local 365 of the Painters Union and a delegate to the Dade County Federation of Labor, the Miami Building Trades Council and Painters District Council 56. He is a former trustee of the United Fund of Dade County and a member of the Dade County Personnel Board.

Assisting Link will be Willie Nicholson, member of Local 478 of the Laborers, who served for five years with the Miami Police Department and worked part time with the YMCA as a Youth Counsellor.

LOS ANGELES....HRDI's George Garland is working with the Teamsters on their Transportation Opportunities Program (TOPS) which provides special assistance to veterans in preparing for the written portion of the truck driver test.

SAN JUAN....HRDI's newest office was opened with Governor Luis A. Ferre and Labor Secretary Julia deRivera de Vincenty doing the ribbon cutting. The Governor and the Secretary both praised the work of HRDI in speeches at the dedication luncheon hosted by Keith Terpe, president of the Central Labor Council. Speaking for HRDI were President Julius F. Rothman, Executive Director Robert M. McGlotten and Regional Director John Burnell.

HRDI's representative in Puerto Rico is Harold M. Nugent, a long-time resident of Puerto Rico and formerly an organizer for the Seafarers International Union.

NORFOLK....HRDI's newest Job Placement office is headed by Thomas G. Bunting, former business agent for the Virginia State Building Trades Council. Bunting is a member and former business agent of Local 83 of the Asbestos Workers, AFL-CIO. He is a Vice-President of the Southeastern Building Trades Conference and serves on the Virginia Safety Codes Commission as an appointee of the Governor.

Assisting Bunting is Edward D. White, a member and Vice-President of Local 684 of the Boilermakers, AFL-CIO. White serves as a delegate to the Port Council of Norfolk and the Norfolk Union Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

NEW YORK CITY....HRDI's Henry Kaltun brought together Local 1175 of the Laborers and the Transurban Corporation, industrial housing builders. The result was a NAB MA-6 contract to hire and train 55 people on entry-level jobs which start at $3.00 an hour and increase to $3.20 an hour after 30 days.

NEW YORK CITY....Training in how to handle new air conditioning equipment is being given to 100 new workers at the World Trade Center as a result of a NAB JOBS '70 contract which Henry Kaltun helped expedite. The jobs pay $4.00 an hour during training. Local 32B of the Service Employees is the union involved.

ST. LOUIS....HRDI's Jim Adams is responsible for initiating a program to provide on-the-job training for window washers with a starting rate of $2.69 an hour and an increase to $3.19 after six months. Adams interested Local 51 of the Service Employees Union and arranged meetings between NAB, the Department of Labor and the company.

CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY....HRDI's Joe Ganie helped develop a contract to provide on-the-job training for veterans for jobs as tool machine set-up operators. The trainees start at $2.50 an hour and will be earning $2.80 an hour when the 22-week training is completed. Ganie worked with Camden NAB on the program, which is funded by the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry.

HOUSTON....Eighteen trainees -- including one woman -- have completed the 26-week Meatcutters Apprenticeship course which HRDI's Don Bridges developed in cooperation with Local 408 of the Meatcutters. The graduates -- all black or Spanish-speaking -- are now being placed on jobs by the Local and will continue to study four hours a week for nine months. Three veterans are among the trainees.

INDIANAPOLIS....HRDI's Richard Cobb reports the scheduling of a fifth course to train professional truck drivers. Prototype for the eight-week course was developed by HRDI in cooperation with the Central Labor Council of Marion County and Local 135 of the Teamsters. The program is funded by the State's Vocational Education System and includes extensive road training as well as 140 hours of classroom instruction.

SAN DIEGO....HRDI's Fred Martinez reports approval of a comprehensive manpower plan for the San Diego area to provide the entire spectrum of manpower services -- job market analysis, recruitment and counselling, job placement and training and supportive services. Martinez helped develop the plan for spending more than a million dollars of combined Labor Department, San Diego County and Office of Economic Opportunity funds: it will be administered by the San Diego Economic Opportunity Commission, which Martinez heads. Some of the programs already in operation include New Careers Operation Mainstream and JOVE, a special program to help find jobs for former convicts.

SEATTLE....HRDI's George Williams played a key role in developing an MDTA-funded training program for aerospace engineers laid off by the Boeing Company. Twenty-four trainees are working at Freezer Research Incorporated under this "special impact" program. Another 1,000 applications are on file if the program is extended.

CROZETT, VIRGINIA....HRDI's Vince Moretti worked with Local 29 of the Teamsters here on a program to hire and train 210 disadvantaged workers at Morton Foods Company here under a NAB JOBS '70 contract just funded.

SAN DIEGO....Two hundred disadvantaged workers will be hired and trained for jobs in the hotel and restaurant industry as a result of a program developed by HRDI's Fred Martinez in cooperation with NAB. It provides on-the-job training for jobs as cooks, engineers, janitors and office workers and includes special instruction in English as a second language. Cooperating unions are Locals 402 and 500 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 501 of the Operating Engineers and Local 102 of the Service Employees.

TOLEDO....HRDI's John Rober will represent organized labor on the Veterans Task Force of the Toledo City Council.

MEMPHIS....Thirty disadvantaged workers now have jobs at Wabash, Inc. here under a NAB JOBS '70 contract which HRDI's Bill Ross helped develop.

SAN ANTONIO....A successful pre-apprenticeship program developed by HRDI's Al Garcia in cooperation with Local 2 of the Bricklayers resulted in indenturing 15 minority youth. The Local is now conducting a second eight-week training program, working with the local Outreach program to recruit trainees.

NASHVILLE....HRDI's role in helping prisoners find jobs and start working before their final release was recognized when HRDI's John Duncan received one of 14 certificates awarded by the Governor of Tennessee for outstanding contributions to the program.

AKRON....HRDI's Charles Anderson will represent labor on a new Advisory Committee to the MDTA Training Center here.

CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY....HRDI's Joe Ganie was successful in bringing together local NAB representatives and the management of Custom Alarms Systems, Inc., a minority-owned business. The result was a NAB JOBS '70 contract to hire and train protective signal repairmen who will be guaranteed $2.50 an hour when they finish their training.

CHICAGO....HRDI's Gene Gough worked with Local 1033 of the Steelworkers to train 22 union "buddies" to help newly-hired disadvantaged workers at Republic Steel get through their probationary period.

PITTSBURGH....HRDI's Minona Clinton has been appointed to membership in the Manpower Advisory Council of the Bureau of Employment Security. She also has been appointed a member of the Governor's Human Services Task Force.

ATLANTA....HRDI's Walter Rucker worked with Firemen and Oilers Union Local 288 to get union cooperation on a NAB JOBS '70 program to hire 35 disadvantaged workers at Kearney-National here.

PITTSBURGH....Seventy-eight disadvantaged workers are being hired at Westinghouse Electric here under a NAB JOBS '70 contract that HRDI's Minona Clinton worked on with Local 601 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. The jobs have a starting rate of $3.19 an hour.

ATLANTA....HRDI's Walter Rucker reports success in developing a program which will train 40 Model Cities residents to qualify for apprenticeship programs in bricklaying and carpentry. Rucker first interested Local 8 of the Bricklayers and Local 2358 of the Carpenters and then sold the idea to Model Cities and set up the final meeting between Model Cities and the Building Trades Council to work out details. The program provides for trainees to move at their own pace and enter apprenticeship programs as soon as they are ready.

CINCINNATI....HRDI's Eddie Campbell played a key role in developing 18 contracts under which 138 disadvantaged workers received on-the-job training in 26 different job classifications. Cooperating unions are District Council 51 of the State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 1224 of the Electrical Workers, Local 177 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Local 42 of the Roofers.

WATER VALLEY, MISSISSIPPI....HRDI's Carol Turner reports funding of a NAB JOBS '70 contract for hiring 90 disadvantaged workers at Motts, Inc., after Turner and Local P 1224 of the Meatcutters first made sure that all laid-off workers were recalled.

HRDF Speech

Hunger Task —

Employment Task
Dan Revin Textile worker
3 kys, Training of white who is
now a supt.

Existing Transp. patterns — re jobs
summary DOT Secy.

Urban planning Task —
Rapid Transit Stops
Black access for many
thousands — no occupan
Atl. Stadium Story —

Trans. example

Books & Studies say:
efficiency determines
It's important

But political power
enters into actual determination
Who has it?

If we have recognized
a social problem — such
as hard ~~core~~ Unemployed
Do we leave it to the "pol
Power" of the Unemployed to
work out or do we act?
What way will they express
their "power" and why

Md.

Some of you are
old timers — &
Will take new
Committment & new
Study & insights

You will be project
oriented — & I hope
result oriented —
there will be times of
leading the lab. mov. on spec.
issues — analysis at another

Long time love affair
with the labor movement
(esp. what it could be)
All of professional life
has been related to it

People oriented,
disinterested, concerned

Now I know it's argued
that all of union activity is
for folks — not so — Some
is institutional and too much
is just for some folks —

Transition from
Youth to jobs

College & Univ are a
form of transition &
training -

What provision for
H.S., or drop out

Shifting the cost of flexibility
in our society onto those
least able to afford it -
e.g. push Unemployment up
to reduce inflation

Transferring from hand
to machine labor

Changing Society — Jobs

Need — Bless Bed
— Unemployment
Underemployment
Ghetto & Slum
Welfare Rev of 30's vs. 60's
Pull out of poverty
Pull to extent

"Causes" of Poverty
Institutional
Age
Education & Training
Discrim
Location — Region, Rural
Poverty, Slum

Human Capital Concepts
Training for Profit
Discriminating & for individuals
Can lead to

Cures —
Job matching Services
Strong economy
Training & Education
Interim Measures
Reducing Discrimination
Sensitiveness and highly structured
Jobs, where need not be —

Chidings & Praise

The Challenge
of the week
of their work

Labor obstacles

Prejudice — Race, Racial Destiny

Union structure & rigidities
(relying rules for future growth)

Union Image
Part of what HRDI will change

A CONVERSATION

On Revolution

Scott Buchanan

with

Joseph P. Lyford

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

G 1/5/71

This is one of a series of Conversations about issues involved in the maintenance of a free society. These Conversations and related materials are published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California. The Center is the main activity of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

The studies of the Center are devoted to clarifying basic questions of freedom and justice, especially those raised by the emergence of twentieth century institutions. Among the areas being studied are the economic order, the political process, law, communications, science and technology, the American character, war as an institution.

Scott Buchanan, professor of philosophy, former Dean of St. John's College, and Consultant to the Center, is the author of several books. Lippincott has recently published a new edition of his 1929 study, *Poetry and Mathematics*. Joseph P. Lyford has been a member of the executive staff of the Fund for the Republic since 1955 after a number of years in journalism.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is a non-profit educational enterprise established by the Fund for the Republic to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented as a contribution to the discussion of the free society.

Sample copy free. Prices on bulk orders, and a full list of other Center publications, will be provided on request to Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California. Tape recordings of this Conversation, running approximately 59 minutes in length, are available at $5 each from the Center.

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On Revolution

Lyford: Despite the fact that the world is now being swept by a whole series of revolutions in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the standard literature in the West on the subject of revolution is very small. Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court says that in his travels in Asia he finds that the only literature on revolution being read by the Asians is Communist literature. Yet we Americans consider that our nation is a prime example of a country born out of revolution.

Buchanan: It might be worthwhile to recall that probably the first use of the word revolution in the Western tradition is in Plato. In his dialogue, *The Statesman,* he describes revolution in perhaps its most comprehensive terms. He is imagining that the government of human beings was originally government by gods. In their control of the world things improve as if they were wound up on a spindle to achieve a high tension and power control. Then at a certain point the gods decide

that they will let this unwind, and this is the period when human beings take over.

After this happens, human beings become worse and worse at the art of government, until finally government degenerates into a kind of chaos, anarchy, tyranny, and so forth. When it gets bad enough, the gods decide they will take over again, and so they begin – perhaps through a man–to wind up the process again, and it begins to improve.

It is interesting that when Virgil celebrated the beginning of the Roman Empire in the *Aeneid,* he went back to the fact that "pious Aeneas" was an agent of the gods when he founded Rome, that Troy was a case where humans had let government run down, and that Aeneas was taking over under the auspices of the gods in establishing Rome.

Revolution here means something very profound. It reminds us of a number of things about governments that are very important, including the fact that they are not eternal. The Roman Empire boasted to be a thousand years long, but it wasn't boasted even by the poets to be more than that.

Lyford: How would you define revolution in terms of the American tradition? Harvey Wheeler, in the Center's Occasional Paper, *The U.S. and Revolution,* makes the point that although we Americans consider that we were born in revolution and in a sense have a corner on revolution, our revolution actually was an eighteenth

century middle-class liberal revolution with no relevance to the types that are taking place today. He says that we have to adjust our attitudes if we are to understand the current revolutionary ideology, which is much fiercer, more violent, and more disruptive than we had in 1776.

Buchanan: I think it is true that the American Revolution and the French Revolution and the so-called British Revolution of the seventeenth century were all revolutions in behalf of the bourgeois idea, the modern liberal idea. Of course there had been revolutions before that, revolutions in behalf of the nobility; and since then there have been many revolutions, small and big, in behalf of the proletariat. If we are talking about a principle of revolution or of a revolution as a general human fact, it goes much farther than the ordinary American understanding of our revolution. Someone has said that the American Revolution was actually brought off by conservatives, by aristocrats. Our understanding of it is pretty well colored by that fact.

Lyford: The world, it's been said, owes all its onward impulses to men ill at ease. The happy man inevitably confines himself within ancient limits. Since we are an affluent, comfortable society we are mainly concerned with preserving the status quo. How can an American be a revolutionist unless he is one of the minority of the dispossessed?

Buchanan: Now we are moving into another sector: what the causes of revolution are. I use the word "cause" here in two senses; that is, the efficient cause, what makes it take place; and the cause in the other sense of what human beings want, what they will fight for in the end. It is often said that revolutions don't come off unless people are hungry. In my opinion revolutions don't happen unless there is a deep sense of injustice. This is what moves people in both senses of "cause." It makes them act and also tells them what they are acting for.

Lyford: How can we really be said to be in sympathy with revolutions in other parts of the world, because don't they affect the status quo as far as we're concerned? Doesn't this make us enemies of revolution?

Buchanan: Yes, but if we were sensitive to the state of affairs in this country now, I think we would find enough injustice to make us think about revolution. Galbraith and other people have said that affluence somehow snows us under. We lose our sensitivity. Of course the revolutions in Africa, South America, and Asia, if I'm right about my assumption of injustice as being the cause, are based on very deep and inveterate injustice. These people have been aware of injustice a long time. It's only their expectation now that they can do something about it that makes it so vivid to us. I think we will come to comprehend it. We may even

comprehend Russia a little better if we understand their revolution in this way.

Lyford: Justice Douglas says that the United States, because of its revolutionary tradition and tradition of political independence, should support revolutions everywhere in the world. Doesn't this statement need to be qualified? There are revolutions that are anti-democratic and destructive of world order.

Buchanan: The Justice was very interesting about this. I remember his saying that he thought young men ought to go to the Middle East, and if they would sit down in any café with any group of people there and talk about the American Revolution the people would probably produce one overnight. Everything was so ripe for it. I think he is very sensitive to this and perhaps not too concerned about what the ins and outs of revolutions are.

What you are saying is that there is a difference between revolutions. Some are destructive; some of them might be constructive. There is a drift of opinion at present—in the writings of Rebecca West, for instance—that revolutions are vicious. These people look over history and conclude that there has never been a good revolution. Their point is that what the revolutions started out to achieve never came off. The people who started them suffered a good deal, destroyed a good deal, and never realized their original vision.

I am a little out of patience with that point of view because this means that revolution is not about anything very important. I think revolutions go through a stage at which any aims that there might have been at the beginning have to be reconsidered, and perhaps lost, and new aims gained because of what was learned during the revolution.

Revolution is a very profound thing if it is a real one. It means that the people who revolt get re-educated as well as the people against whom they're revolting.

Lyford: But when we look at the situation in Cuba, for example, where there is certainly an economic, political, and social revolution, the great majority of Americans would say that this revolution, despite the evils of the government it displaced, has set Cuba back. Is this a realistic attitude toward what is happening in Cuba? Do you think that the American attitude toward the Cuban revolution shows a lack of understanding of what a true revolution means?

Buchanan: Our view of Cuba at present is very characteristic of our general view about revolution. This goes back to Harvey Wheeler's remark. We tend not to look at the situation before the revolution, what brought it off, what injustices were there. We simply look at it as to whether it is a good thing *now*. Even if the country may be in the middle of its struggle we say, well, this isn't as good as we are, when, of course,

we should be realizing that a lot of the people are saying that anything is better than the injustice they had lived under, and they mean *anything*. And they are still looking for the right thing to come out of it.

In a very interesting little book on Cuba, Sartre claims from long acquaintance with Castro that it was a pragmatic revolution, that Castro didn't know what he was aiming at. Of course, Sartre with his existentialism was thinking that this was a revolution almost on the existential metaphysical principle, and was praising it for that.

Lyford: It gets back again, it seems to me, to the fear that the American people have of any sort of civic violence, a fear that perhaps stems from the fact that we are a society that worships equilibrium. We tend to say that we have achieved a balance. People who are rude, who make nasty speeches, who cause strikes, students who might riot or demonstrate in universities on political issues, all of these things are bad for the body politic. When this happens abroad, we are much more disturbed because of our psychological commitment to maintaining stability, whether it is an actual stability or not.

Buchanan: When you consider the sort of mystery there is about civic order, what it is that maintains it, or perhaps more radically what it is that can initiate it and establish it, I suppose there is a good deal of pro-

found wisdom in our fear of revolution. There is something here, the mystery of political community, that we don't really understand well enough to re-establish after we have destroyed it, and therefore we tend to want to hold on to what we have, no matter how bad it is.

Perhaps this would be the point to bring in the notion that is now running strong in the world, stemming from Gandhi more than anyone else but going back to people like Tolstoy, too, that there can be a non-violent revolution. This is not the same thing as saying that we don't want revolutions because they are disorderly. Non-violent civil disobedience can be very disorderly in its effect on the body politic. But it does say that perhaps something can be saved if there isn't too much violence. Violence is an irrational and terrible thing.

It may be that in the next period of the world's history this will be the great discovery, that revolutions can happen without violence if there is enough understanding of what the revolutionary process is. To put it in its most paradoxical form, a legitimate government should be able to find some way of extending its understanding, its intelligence, its reason, and its tolerance to the revolutionary process. I sometimes think that the only future for this country is that it will realize this about the revolutions all over the world and will help to bring a theory of revolution to bear upon our foreign relations. It would be a great thing if we could discover what it is that would bring revolution in as a legitimate process.

Lyford: I'm not sure that we haven't already made great progress in discovering how to build into our own system opportunities for revolutionary activity. Take the case of the Negro, who is attempting by civil disobedience, by passive resistance, sometimes by the courts and the political process, to change the whole fabric of society so that he can take his place in it. This seems to me to show that we can entertain revolutionary activity in our society and that far from being broken apart by it, or being bathed in blood, we find we can proceed in a relatively orderly fashion.

Another revolutionary type of activity perhaps is the sort of thing that took place during the depression, when the threat against established institutions and against the traditional techniques of dealing with economic and social problems was so great that it socialized the outlook of most of our national leaders.

Buchanan: Yes, both are worth remembering. And any success we have had has been due to the fact that somebody took thought in the generation before or perhaps several generations before about the injustices involved and tried, to use the phrase of Roosevelt, to stretch the powers of government to comprehend the injustice and to do something about it.

In that sense, although it is paradoxical to say so, a government can somehow prepare itself for a revolution against itself and gain in depth of understanding and even of justice by doing so. I suppose the ballot is

the great classical case. The ballot took the place of a revolution, and now we have regularized it so that every four years in the case of the national government, and in shorter intervals in other cases, we arrange to have a revolution. We kick the rascals out, is the phrase. This is a fairly violent phrase in its origin. It's humorous now because we do it with the usual business about campaigns and elections, but even in these you find the spirit is there. There is a fight.

Fighting is a good word when you use it politically. We're going to fight for this, we're going to kick the rascals out, we're going to get rid of the tyrannies involved in an old regime that has become all tangled up. The ballot is a great example of an orderly process that now manages to use the principle of revolution periodically in political life and community life. This is a great discovery. There must be other things of this sort. This is what we are looking for.

Take the history of labor unions. First in Europe, and then in this country, almost everything that labor did in its initial attempt to organize itself was literally illegal, so that there grew up a tradition among labor people of the threat of illegal activity. In fact, governments responded very often by making laws against what labor unions were doing and thus making them illegal. There was a kind of conspiracy between the two, to recognize an ordeal by combat. We now have, since the New Deal and the Wagner Act, a kind of legitimacy in the labor union. This legality was

achieved by illegal activity in the past – steady, persistent, and finally fairly successful.

The interesting thing about all this is that the labor unions, because of their success, have lost a great deal of their revolutionary spirit. And of course we're puzzled by this. Isn't it interesting that the labor movement, having won its battles, should be somehow at an end?

Lyford: But isn't this due, again, to the fact that we are an affluent society, that we don't have the popular discontent that seems to be the necessary ingredient to revolutionary activity? If there is a change, then the union again becomes militant.

Buchanan: I have a German friend who was a fighting socialist all his life, a Marxian; in fact, he boasted some years ago that he was lecturing on eight radio stations in Germany for the socialist party and talking Marxism. One of the ironies of this, he said, was that this, saying he was Marxist, was his way of telling people that he wasn't a Communist because the Communists were no longer Marxian. But he had a kind of crisis within himself when he went back to Germany after the war and discovered that the labor movement, the socialist party in Germany, didn't know what its aims were any more. I asked him, "What went wrong?" And he said, "The wages are too high." Then he laughed and said, "This is a terrible thing. What are we going to do about it now?"

But perhaps we ought to say a word here about a continuing fighting labor movement that exists in this country right now and has us puzzled. Jimmy Hoffa, according to . . .

Lyford: You mean he's a revolutionary?

Buchanan: Yes, according to some academic people who have made a study of Hoffa.

Lyford: But I thought all revolutionists were hungry men, men with small financial resources, who were on the bottom of the heap. Mr. Hoffa rather reverses that description, doesn't he?

Buchanan: Well, he is hungry for power, but he is aware of some injustices still going on. He hasn't quite fallen for his own affluence. The story about him is that his appearance of illegality is an accident or a consequence of the fact that he is still a militant labor leader. He is still fighting for a new kind of union in this country, which is just forming itself.

For instance, the people who have studied this say that there is no case of Hoffa's ever calling an unjustified strike. There is no case of his doing something that is against the interest of the labor movement as a whole.

Lyford: Hoffa is probably a militant labor leader in the sense that he is leading an organized revolution

within labor and is seeking control of the labor movement. But he certainly doesn't have the social or economic militancy that would cause him to be looked on as a revolutionary by business. Paul Jacobs, the director of the Center's labor study, said that businessmen find it very easy to deal with Hoffa. They feel that he's not tainted with ideological considerations, with these rather old-fashioned ideas about management's exploiting the workers. He is the kind of man you can sit down at a table with and sign a paper with, and then when the paper is signed he sees that his end of the deal is kept up. I just wonder whether, when you say he is a militant labor leader, this doesn't have to be kept in mind.

Buchanan: What you are saying is reminiscent of conversations between American businessmen and Stalin at one stage. Do you remember? Joe Stalin was someone who could get along with American businessmen but not with American politicians. I don't mean to be saying that American business is socialistic, or labor-minded, or anything like that, but there is a kind of conspiracy here among them against the government. They understand each other when they meet. I should think that a businessman would understand Jimmy Hoffa. He might not approve of all his behavior, because there is a real labor element in Jimmy Hoffa that businessmen wouldn't like, particularly after a certain point.

Lyford: When I look back through the history of the strikes and the violence that took place between labor and management in the latter part of the nineteenth century I get a very different picture of militancy. I remember the Coeur d'Alene Massacre and the shooting of the Governor of Idaho, the violence of the Pullman strike, and the Wobblies and Big Bill Haywood, and the constant beating up of people on both sides. This is the violent kind of revolutionary activity that seems pretty much to have disappeared. But suppose we suddenly became discontented again, suppose the bottom dropped out of the market and unemployment went up to 30 million people. There would be a sudden change. Unions would not be what they are today. They would then become instruments for probably violent social and political and economic reform.

Buchanan: Yes, I suppose this is true. It's rather like what is being said now about the bomb. If we got into all-out war and devastation took place on a large scale, American society would have to be reorganized suddenly and spontaneously. This would be a revolution of a sort. You can say this, of course, about the New Deal, when an emergency precipitated inventive new forms and incipient revolutions were absorbed by the government. But I am not sure that this helps us to understand the principle too well.

Let's see if I can put it another way. Given the situation in the world at present—two-thirds of the

people in real poverty and increasing poverty and the other third getting more and more prosperous—it will be necessary, if we are going to be democratic and live a life in common, for the democratic system or the governmental system to extend itself in areas that now seem to us violent, dark, and in some deep way incomprehensible. We are going to have to take a chance. We won't have the blueprints for this; we will have to learn by doing.

A friend of mine in India, a socialist, had a platform for his party some years ago—I believe it still is in effect —that had three things in it. One was the use of the ballot. Another was constructive, voluntary labor; that is, community labor on roads and latrines and things like that.

Lyford: The spade.

Buchanan: The spade. And, third, jail-going. This was the willingness to go to jail for a cause. This man happens to be a Gandhian. He practices civil disobedience. I saw him recently in Athens and he said that he had a record now of nineteen periods in jail, and the last one was not so long ago. What he is doing is trying to get the Congress Party to extend its intelligence, its sympathies, its feelings, far enough to take into account the deep poverty and lethargy and disorder that exist in the Indian villages. This is something that I think we have to understand. We are not so far removed from

this problem. If we did understand, we would recognize a lot of what is happening in our country that we don't understand at present.

Lyford: Why don't we have more jail-going of this type? I know we have people who refuse to go under during the air raids, and we have people who climb up on the nuclear submarines at New London and are carted off to jail. But we tend to regard them as isolated fanatics and don't pay much attention to the significance of how they are demonstrating their disagreement. Do you think that a new attitude about going to jail for your beliefs would be a healthy thing in our society?

Buchanan: Well, it is interesting that academic people more than other people in this country are thinking about this at present and, as you know, are doing things about it. College students who are going on freedom rides are going to jail. They know they are going to jail. That's their intention. And in some cases they are saying, I am willing to die for this. This is another point beyond jail-going which has something to do with revolution. Revolutionaries are not very good unless they are willing to die for their cause.

I think we have a long tradition in our past that is not completely dead at present; it's coming to life. And this would be a great thing. We would be joining the human race here a bit. You know, it is a remarkable fact that in Asia, Africa, and probably in South America, which I

know less about, you haven't quite got your credentials unless you have a jail record. You are not quite decent. You're not certified as honest unless you have been to jail.

Lyford: In our country if you have a jail record you can't get a job.

Buchanan: That might go along with it. I'm not sure about these people in Asia, Africa, and in South America. I don't know whether they can get other jobs or not. They don't bring that into it because they have a badge of honor. They get a job in a revolution.

Lyford: There is a difference between being thrown in the pokey by a government that is an alien government —being thrown into jail in Indo-China because you are a threat to the French or being thrown into jail in India because you're protesting against the presence of Lord Halifax—and being thrown into jail in the United States because you don't like something that has been done with the national budget. Here you don't have the advantage of being regarded as a protester against foreign intervention or exploitation; you are simply regarded as Thoreau was. Don't most people still think that Thoreau was somewhat of a crackpot?

Buchanan: I think everybody reads his essay on civil disobedience as a piece of American folklore that is

pretty distant. They don't take it very seriously. They think of Thoreau as just a type.

Lyford: He's good for a laugh. When Emerson came to see him in jail and said, "What are you doing in there, Henry?" Thoreau looked out through the bars and said, "What are you doing out there, Ralph?"

Buchanan: Yes. That's the proper spirit for these people. And that is more or less what my Indian friend is saying even to me. He's sort of saying, "What are you doing out there?"

I think perhaps we ought to fill in a little of this. There is a theory back of my friend, which is Gandhi's. You must remember that Gandhi was trained in England as a lawyer. Although when he was in London getting his training he had some doubts about the British Empire, when he got to Africa, where he lived for some time, he began taking corporation cases, and he says in his autobiography that one assumption he always made was that the law was just. But the facts he would present very often proved the law unjust. And it was at that point, where the courts in some way fudged the evidence or couldn't take it on, that Gandhi began thinking about civil disobedience.

I think this is a very important point about revolution. That is, in some way the assumption that the law is just gives the revolutionary a kind of floor to operate on, although his intention is to show that in the end the

law is not just. A revolution is supposed to bring around the case in such a form that the injustice of the law will appear in the material, in the fact.

Now, my Indian friend is an old friend of Nehru, and it is Nehru who he considers puts him in jail. He assumes that Nehru is the government. And there is a funny story that is told about the two of them. Nehru sends him fruit when he is in jail, it is said. It's a very interesting relation that they have. My friend will never say that this is really true, but he likes to hold this up as a kind of picture of what is going on all the time between the two of them, in which Nehru almost likes him to go to jail because Nehru is an old jailbird too.

Lyford: If this were transferred to the American political scene, where political oppositions would put each other in jail and send each other fruit, we would have quite a revolutionary atmosphere. Of course we do have people who, right along in these post-war years, have gone to jail on a basis of principle, who plead the First Amendment or the Fifth Amendment, and not all of them Communists by any means. But they are subjected to discredit and are generally regarded as ruffians in their efforts to maintain some principle.

What about the West Coast lawyer who crossed out that part of a loyalty oath which said that he would not engage in any effort to overthrow the government by revolution? He justified his crossing out this section by saying, I don't know what this government might be

ten years from now. Suppose it turned into a fascist or Communist dictatorship. I would reserve my right to revolt against it. He's talking Lincoln to me.

Buchanan: I wonder about this. I'm thinking of Gandhi now. I wonder if it wouldn't be a better thing to sign the oath and go to jail.

Lyford: Why would you be put in jail by signing it?

Buchanan: Well, what are the evidences for or against your belonging to such-and-such an organization or advocating things the loyalty oath says you shouldn't advocate? They are very difficult to prove. In certain courts, and given a certain temper of the country, you probably couldn't prove your innocence. Perhaps it would be more telling to go to jail and let this be a kind of witness to what has happened, rather than to dodge the oath itself. Although Gandhi knew that certain British laws were not just, he assumed they were. And he found the leverage that proved they weren't just by going to jail himself. There were occasions when the judge said, "Oh, we won't send you to jail now," and Gandhi said, "It's your duty, Mr. Justice, to send me to jail."

This is a technique that is worthy of consideration, and I'm considering it myself.

Lyford: The university would seem to be a potential

source of revolutionary ferment in this country. Do you think it might be a channel of revolutionary activity if such activity ever began to be noticeable in our society?

Buchanan: The evidence for the university's being a revolutionary agency in our society is almost nonexistent. I remember, when I was looking up years ago the history of the great disputations in the medieval university, I discovered that there were disputations of the medieval kind in American universities before our Revolution. In fact, our present commencement exercises are imitations of medieval disputations. One of the favorite topics for disputation by students before the assembly and before the president of the college and the faculty in those days was whether people have the right of revolution or not. This was a kind of fermenting doctrine long before the Revolution. But outside of that kind of thing there is very little evidence for our universities ever having that kind of function in our society.

However, there is an interesting unrest on the part of American students at present. When they look at the world outside their own country they are beginning to ask why it is that all revolutionary movements seem to have their home in the universities. And they are beginning to wonder why they don't do this, too. We had a paper read to us here at the Center some months ago by a sociologist at the University of California, who saw some signs in universities of a revival of political thought and political action. But he concluded that it

was a false dawn because these students, no matter what they developed in the way of political awareness and commitment at the university, would have no place to go after they graduated. There is no place for them to take on political responsibilities. The present political parties have no ideas. You have to get into it by some other kind of activity which is not really political in its origin. He was saying that these things would therefore have a short life.

On the other hand, a group of younger students who also were here were saying that they weren't afraid of their future in politics. They would take their chances on that. They thought that they ought to be responsible at least when they were students. They were also saying another thing, and that was that they had a responsibility to the university they belonged to to be revolutionary. The education they are getting is dull and conformist and affluent in its source and in its general temper, and this is intolerable to them. They themselves are graduate students who are going to spend the rest of their lives teaching, and they have formed a kind of national organization. It's not a tight organization at all, it's built around a magazine they get out, called *New University Thought*, in which they are trying to find out these two things: what issues should they as citizens take to be politically important for the country, and, secondly, what can they do about reforming and re-establishing American university education on a good basis.

These boys seemed to me very serious and very able. I was perhaps most impressed by the fact that they could see the difficulties they were in and what the problems were.

Lyford: Against this picture is the system under which attendance at college has become primarily a social function. You go to college in order to be rendered more acceptable. A boy who goes to college with the idea of being tapped by General Electric for a top engineering job some day is not going to get very far if he is known as a troublemaker. He is not going to be acceptable in Grosse Pointe society, perhaps, if he is known to have a jail record or to have had his head cracked when he was demonstrating against bomb tests, or to have been put in jail in the South because he got on a bus with some Negroes.

In contrast to this is the situation at, say, the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru. The Vice-Rector there told me that not only are the students there in order to train themselves as leaders of their country, and in a very revolutionary atmosphere, but they participate in the administration of the university. This can have bad effects, too, of course. But there is an ideological ferment going on in this university and in others in Latin America that seems to be totally lacking in most of our own universities. How can this be changed? Doesn't it require a basic psychological change in the reasons people go to college?

Buchanan: Yes, and I must say I am not very optimistic about this. Some things have to get worse before they get better. These students that I was talking about are very much aware of what you are talking about. They are also very much aware of what they are being taught as having a curious smearing effect on most of their concerns. Sociology is a specialist in this kind of thing at present. A good many sociologists don't know what the word justice means. They say this. I think they mean it in the sense that they can't find out where it belongs.

It's awfully hard to know what will produce a change because, you know, the natural sciences and the social sciences are big business today, academically speaking. They are very strongly entrenched departments with very high competition in them. Most of what the students are learning in these fields tends to dull their judgment on political issues.

Lyford: Let me make a 180-degree shift and quote Richard Hofstadter, who has said that the real revolutionaries in this country—the people who are intent on overturning the established customs and even the law of our land as it has developed—are not the Leftists but the extreme Right-wing elements. Is it possible that a member of the John Birch Society, who is committed to such techniques as the suppression of opinion with which he doesn't agree and the indoctrination of people in our armed forces with the thesis that democracy is really mobocracy, who believes that the democratic

process should be replaced by government by the elite, is it possible that this type of person is the real revolutionary? Isn't he trying to sponsor a revolution or to foment one?

Buchanan: Of course, one of the great puzzling phenomena of our time is that there are revolutions of the Right and of the Left all over the world and that these are in some way organically connected. I don't know what the cause-and-effect relation was between Russia and Germany during the Hitler period, but there are people who say that there is a very strong influence both ways in imitation and in the general common revolutionary notion. If you read the first chapters, the first half actually, of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, you get the most drastic critique of the democratic process that you can find almost anywhere.

I think we have to admit that revolutions might happen from any side here. If I am correct, there is a sense of injustice back of the extreme Rightist at present. He is feeling disfranchised in some way. His understanding of things is being violated by what is going on. The general paradoxical situation surrounding the cold war has everybody puzzled. If he is a little simple-minded, he will go off on one simple solution the way Leftists sometimes do on their side.

I think one has to admit that there is a genuine revolutionary base here, although it may be very small. This is a part of the general mutual persuasion that goes on

in society, persuasion not always reasonable, sometimes coercive and sometimes very vicious-looking. I know some people would say about the Rightists what some other people say about Russia, that they are stinging us into a kind of life, they're gadflies in the sense that Socrates was. They are making us stand to our colors a bit, making us ask ourselves whether we really believe in free speech among other things, and whether we want them to be allowed to talk. This is a pretty good test of how closely we hold to our principles, it seems to me. I'm not sure that the Birch Society is a bad thing in this sense.

Lyford: I wonder whether there is any real relationship between Leftism and Rightism and the revolutionary temper. It seems to me that we tend to think of a revolutionary as being a Leftist or a Communist.

Buchanan: Let's see if I can restate our problem. Let's say that our society is based upon a revolutionary foundation, that the right of revolution is the fundamental right, as we stated in our Declaration of Independence, and that all the sanctions in our society that hold us together finally run back to this thing. This is nothing more than to say that government rests on the consent of the governed. When you haven't got consent, you go into a constitutional deliberation, a constitutional convention if you like. What is happening now is that we are realizing more than we did a hundred years ago, or

whenever it was that things seemed stable, that revolution is at the base of things. We are frightened of it because we are not used to looking at it this way, but actually what is taking place is a new constitutional convention.

As to the Birchites and the Leftists, whoever they are, or whoever else may be around dissenting from our general common life, these people are raising basic questions to be solved. We should be reconsidering our democratic form of government, or our republican form if you want to use the Birch expression for this. It is the duty of people who are concerned about government to respond to these things in as reasonable and sensitive and understanding a way as possible, and, as far as possible, to legitimize these revolutionary activities, including the Birchites.

For about two years now we at the Center have been getting papers from everywhere in the world – some from European writers, some from our own people in the academic community and from people in real politics in this country—and they show very little faith in the democratic process. They are saying that probably we have to give up and settle for an elitist form of government. These are serious people who mourn this for the most part, but they have no answers to such matters as the Birchites are raising. If we haven't got a better answer than we seem to have, then the Birchites had better talk; we'd better have a lot of people talking, and making us all talk better than we have been.

Lyford: I'd like to go back, before we end, to another person whom I think you consider somewhat of a revolutionary. At least he was the great apostle of nullification. Perhaps you would like to give me your feeling about the argument that John C. Calhoun made for the right on the part of the governed to resist arbitrary acts by the government.

Buchanan: Yes. I'm a sort of convinced Calhounist. I had never read him until about ten years ago and I was terribly impressed. I think everyone ought to read his great papers. He was talking for something that bears heavily on what we are saying here. He was stating very simply that the government in the ordinary sense of the word is made in two parts. One is the Constitution and the other is the operating government.

The Constitution rests on unanimous consent. Now one shouldn't take this too literally; it doesn't mean that 100 per cent voted to ratify it. This is far from the truth, as everybody knows. But in a period of years after the ratification of the Constitution it shifted from being a matter of controversy to being a kind of sacred document. Everyone stood by the Constitution as the great glowing truth that we all live by.

The Constitution had provisions of a very general nature, but the operating government is another matter. By the time Calhoun was writing, the government had become a matter of political parties and of majorities winning elections and votes of various kinds. He

saw this as a power complex that the Constitution was supposed to hold in check. And when things happen such as making tariff laws, which were a great cause in his time, and things like the threat of emancipation of the Negroes, they stirred him to his toes and made him say that we had better find a way of deciding when we are making politics and when we are making the Constitution. And anything that is of irrepressible importance to even a small minority of the community should be made a constitutional matter and should be decided on constitutional grounds, and unanimously if possible.

Lyford: Within the Senate, the Congress, or . . .

Buchanan: As a matter of fact, he was following the rule for the amendment of the Constitution. Run the required majority up as high as you can—at least three-quarters or more—on issues that touch the minority the way tariffs did or the Emancipation Proclamation might. He said that if you don't do this you have civil war, or revolution. And of course he was all too right. They found no way of considering these issues on any higher level than they considered other things. They didn't make the distinction he wanted. His proposal was that when the government didn't respond to a minority the way it ought to, the minority had a right and a duty to nullify the law that was passed, and this would be a signal to the general populace, the general community, that here was a constitutional question.

Lyford: But the great tragedy was that the nullification procedure was not taken in this sense. It was not taken as a signal that a constitutional issue had been raised of the gravest importance and would have to be decided as a constitutional issue. It was simply considered the opening gun of the civil war.

Buchanan: That's right. He was pleading for what we were talking about earlier, some way of legitimizing the revolution. He was saying that when you get an irrepressible conflict, as he called it, something that is of vital importance to a minority, there should be some formal means to refer it to the right deciding body. This is never done; there is no provision made for such a procedure; hence, the civil war. And I would add what he can't say because he isn't around: hence, American politics ever since.

We have had power politics degrading itself lower and lower in this country because we cannot make this distinction. Power politics takes over and minorities become desperate. Every time we try to solve it, we get into a position that is very like what Calhoun described. We get nullification. The whole question of integration at present has raised this issue again.

Lyford: But the great difference, it seems to me, between the time of Calhoun and the present time with regard to the integration decisions of the Court is that the battle is being fought in the courts and as a consti-

tutional issue rather than as an armed conflict. At least we have progressed that far.

Buchanan: Yes. The judicial system can help in this situation. But Calhoun was asking for more. Let me see if I can put what Calhoun was saying in a nutshell so that it fits with what you were just now saying. I am sure that he would agree with us that political battles are better fought in elections, legislative debates, and by the adversary system in the courts than by armed conflicts. But he found that even in his time many of the political processes had been reduced in practice to power politics, which he identified with the manipulation and coercion of numerical majorities.

He seems to have been willing to tolerate rule by numerical majority in the many urgent matters with which the government has to deal. But for the few important matters that mean life or death for the body politic he proposed the other procedures for which he is famous—as he called them, the procedures of the concurrent majority. Let a minority that sees the injustice and tyranny in a law passed by the numerical majority have the right of negating, vetoing, nullifying, that law as a step in getting it reconsidered as a constitutional question under rules that require deeper deliberation and approximation to unanimity, something that would compare with the verdict of a jury or the resolutions of a Quaker meeting. It seems to me that Calhoun was asking for the invention of an institution or a procedure

that would formally admit civil disobedience, not only as a legitimate procedural step in self-government, but also as the pledge of a new faith in deliberation as the method of discovering political truth.

Calhoun's failure to provide the invention that the concurrent majority required, and the persistence of the problems of power politics about which he warned us, these together with the very dramatic fact that the Supreme Court by a unanimous decision raised the unfinished business of the Civil War to a constitutional level, perhaps ought to revive Calhoun's thought about rebellion and revolution in the mid-twentieth century.

Lyford: Well, I think perhaps we have proved that we do have a number of incipient revolutions taking place within our own country; we do have some institutions that could prove susceptible to acting as instruments of revolution. Perhaps America is not as completely removed from the meaning of the word or the practice of the act as we thought when we began our discussion.

Buchanan: Perhaps we ought also to keep reminding ourselves that America has now joined the world and that the problems of revolution and order in the United Nations continually throw light on our domestic scene.

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Other Conversations in This Series

The American Character

. . . excerpts from remarks by 28 participants in the Center's conference inaugurating its Study of the American Character

The Political Animal

Robert M. Hutchins with Joseph P. Lyford

A CONTRIBUTION TO
THE DISCUSSION OF
THE FREE SOCIETY

A NEW PARTNERSHIP

JOBS

National Alliance of Businessmen

Business and Government Combine Forces to Attack the Problem of the Hard-Core Unemployed

J
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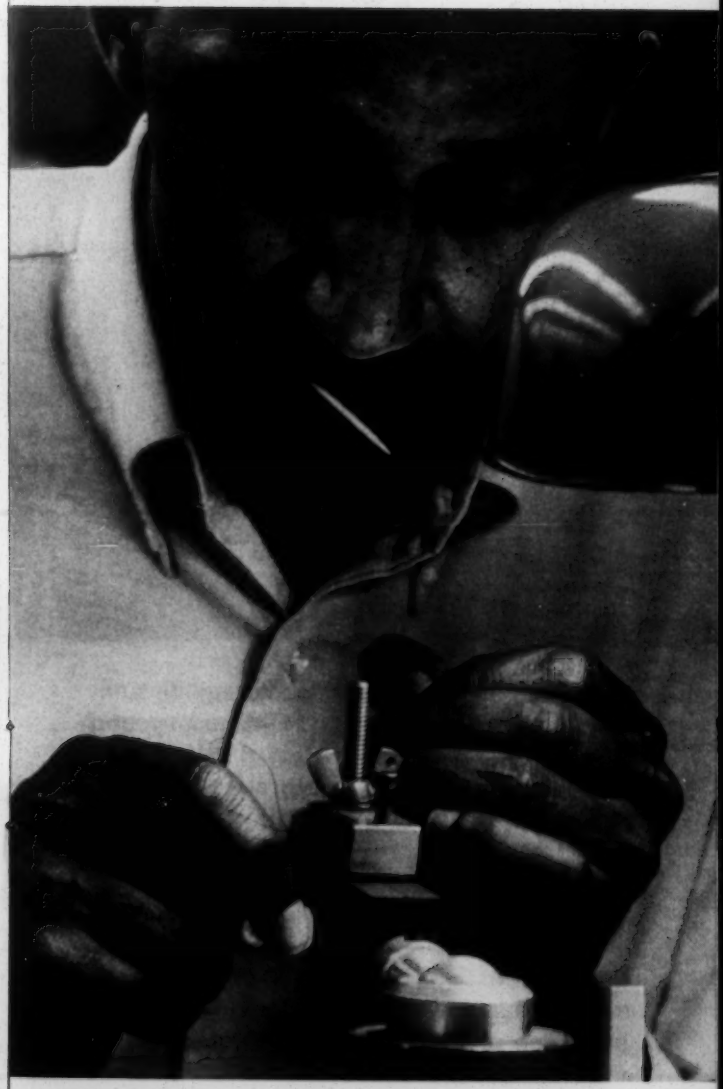
THE PROBLEM

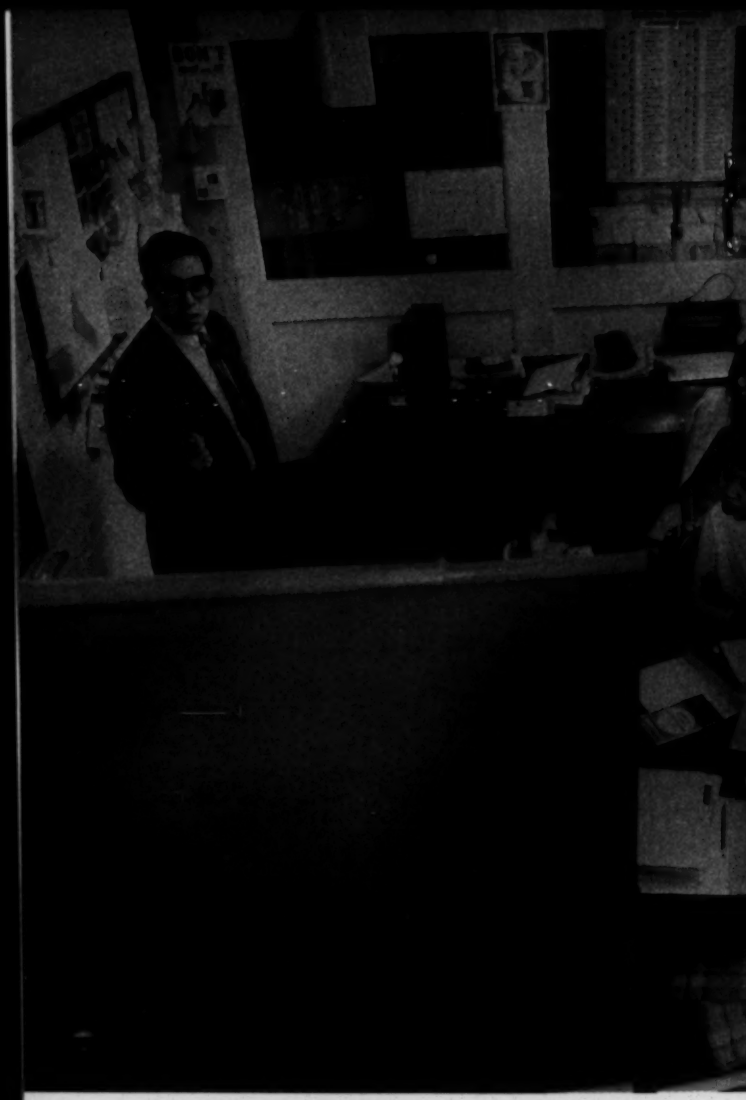
Today's chronically unemployed, unlike those of the 30's, are not merely the victims of an economic cycle. They are the permanently poor. Their plight is accentuated rather than eased by America's growing affluence. They sink deeper into the sediment of society while scores of millions of their neighbors are productively employed and thousands of new jobs are created each day. Their situation does not get better with the passage of time. It gets worse.

Hard-core poverty is a heavy burden for the country. Each year billions of dollars are lost in income and spent on welfare because of unemployment. But there is a greater cost, a human one.

Lacking job skills, work experience, education or social acceptance, the hard-core unemployed remain jobless and hopeless. And so do their children. And their children's children.

For these people, the American dream — that everyone with a strong back and a willing heart can get a job and progress to the limit of his ability — is a hollow one. Its echoes produce human despair and are a primary cause of the physical deterioration of our cities.





The urban crisis intensifies during the summer when schools close and millions of young people throng the streets of the inner-city with no constructive outlet for their energies. Many of these youth are poor, many are Negro or other minority group members, and they are trapped in the heat and the squalor of the nation's ghettos.

The seriousness of the problem has led government and business to explore new roads to manpower use. The National Alliance of Businessmen — the JOBS program — is a major step in this effort.

In the past year, thousands of private firms working with the Alliance have successfully hired and trained hard-core people for work previously performed only by those already educated and trained.

But the Alliance is a continuing effort, for thousands upon thousands of hard-core unemployed people, whose potential is just as great, still lack the opportunity to use and develop their ability.

THE PROGRAM

Six out of seven jobs in the United States and the knowledge and ability to train people for these jobs exists in private industry.

With this in mind, the President proposed a partnership between government and business, a partnership joining industry resources for hiring and training and government resources for identifying and locating the unemployed to fill these jobs.

Many who are presently unemployed can become productive members of our economy by simple changes in existing entry level standards. But many others require special programs in recruiting, training, counseling, etc., which add substantially to normal industrial personnel costs.

To underwrite these costs, Congress has appropriated funds to reimburse industry for the extraordinary costs of hiring and training the hard-core. The mechanism is a simple contract with the Department of Labor.

The National Alliance of Businessmen has a single purpose: to solicit, recruit for, and fill, jobs in the business sector for the hard-core unemployed. The Alliance directed its initial effort to the nation's fifty largest metropolitan areas.

In each of these target cities, the National Alliance of Businessmen has a full-time team of volunteer executives, directed by a metropolitan chairman who is appointed by the President, businessmen loaned by their companies, and a representative of the Department of Labor.

In each city the Alliance:

- Conducts an annual pledge campaign, contacting companies directly, or through existing local organizations, to persuade them to provide jobs for the disadvantaged.
- Works with local public and private organizations to identify and recruit disadvantaged persons to fill these jobs.
- Expedites contracts so companies may receive government funds to offset the extraordinary costs of training programs.
- Works with companies to help provide training programs for first-line and other supervisors that will improve retention rates.

Providing jobs and training for the hard-core unemployed will not by itself end poverty in this nation. Employment is only part of the answer for disadvantaged and minority groups. But it is an indispensable part of the final solution, and it is the part that private business, through NAB, is best equipped to provide. It has been abundantly clear, in the Alliance's first year, that the American business community can and will rise to this challenge with vigor and determination.

JOBS

National Alliance of Businessmen

726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20235

HRDI

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

JOB TRAINING • EMPLOYMENT • UPGRADING

(10 copies

One of the most difficult periods for a new employee is his or her first days at work. Fitting into the company routine, finding the way around the plant or office, timing the coffee and lunch breaks, discovering the best bus route or fitting into a carpool and, above all, learning the new job, are critical issues in job adjustment. This is the make-or-break time, and even for people with extensive work experience it is a trying time. How much more difficult this period is for a person with little or no work experience and especially a disadvantaged hard-core worker.

In order to assist the new employees in this job adjustment, the Department of Labor is developing a program for older rank-and-file workers to be Buddies to the newly hired disadvantaged.

The Buddy system is one facet of the total JOBS program designed to train and provide steady employment for the country's hard-core unemployed. In support of that broad objective, the Buddy system was conceived in order to assist recruits in acclimating themselves to their new work environment through the counseling and guidance of co-workers or peers. In the past, Buddy programs have been found successful in similar applications and it is expected that assigning a man, experienced in shop routines and workday problems, to assist each hard-core recruit should contribute significantly to keeping the disadvantaged permanently employed.

Two consulting firms have been contracted to implement a pilot Buddy project in five selected cities. Greenleigh and Associates, with the aid of the

What would 94P
on edl level?

of the AFL-CIO's Community Services unit and in conjunction with each city's central labor body and all of the participating unions, are to organize and coordinate the project. The Radet Corporation will design and conduct workshops for training Buddies in their role as advisors. Both consultants will work together closely to implement the overall system and to evaluate the effectiveness of the pilot project.

Development of the entire system will proceed through five distinct stages:

(1) After selection of the pilot cities, separate meetings for local labor and management leaders will be arranged for the purpose of gaining program acceptance and support. The meeting should be attended by unions and companies invited to join the Buddy program. An attempt will be made to impress these representatives with the meaning and potential of the program and make them cognizant of the benefits, such as lower worker turnover rates, which can accrue to participants.

(2) Following these meetings, a joint conference of labor and management will be held in each of the five cities. During this one-half day orientation period, a description and explanation of the Buddy training program will be presented and a further effort will be directed toward gaining general support for the system. The full cooperation of labor and management at all levels can greatly facilitate the organization and implementation of the entire system.

(3) Throughout the first two stages, and for three weeks following the conclusion of the joint conference, Greenleigh and Associates will be working to establish training schedules, to arrange "released time" for

Buddy trainees, to choose alternative training sites, to select and recruit the Buddy trainees themselves, and to coordinate efforts in each city. It is during this stage that the information and expertise of the AFL-CIO's participating union leadership should prove particularly useful.

(4) Actual training of the Buddies, who are to assist the hard-core recruits both inside and outside the shop, will be launched as soon as all arrangements and selections have been completed. The responsibility for designing the training program rests with The Rodet Corporation. As presently conceived, the purpose of the training is to assure the effectiveness of the entire Buddy system. It has three broad objectives:

a. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy role, and develop at least an elementary skill in carrying out that role in handling the various problem situations likely to arise in the Buddy's relationships with the newly hired person;

b. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's co-workers when such problem situations inoolve this "peer group"; and

c. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's supervisor and shop steward when problem situations involve them.

Each workshop will prepare from 9 to 21 trainees over a period of 18 hours (two to three days). The methods of training will draw from techniques familiar in adult education and industrial training: those, such as role

Contact be 2 initial training sessions (small groups) & then 1 or 2 follow ups.

playing, which involves the participant in relevant activity rather than in purely passive listening; and those techniques which place the trainee in situations similar to those which he is likely to encounter on the job. In most cases, the training can help the trainee see that there are several possible ways of reacting constructively to a given situation likely to arise within the shop. The training can also help him see which ways of reacting are destructive.

The trainer will return to each city within three weeks for a brief refresher meeting with the trainees. The value of this follow-up meeting is greatest for those Buddies who have been assigned a disadvantaged worker since the completion of the workshop.

Consultants relation to training?

(5) The fifth and final state of the pilot Buddy project is an evaluation of the total system's effectiveness. The Radet Corporation will attempt to assess the success of the training program. A field investigator will visit each city within four to five weeks following the workshop for individual interviews with each trainee, his supervisor, and the disadvantaged worker assigned to the Buddy trainee. During these interviews, the investigator will collect the data necessary to determine the impact of training, the degree to which the trainee has carried out the Buddy role, and the effects on the newly hired disadvantaged worker.

The Radet Corporation also proposes to collect certain impressions from the trainer, trainee, and other observers during the training period. These impressions will be used to establish how completely the trainees

are involving themselves in the Buddy program.

In addition, Greenleigh and Associates will also conduct an evaluation of the acceptance and usefulness of the overall system. Attempts will be made to measure the variety of approaches that have developed in the five cities, to categorize elements of success and to identify problem areas and critical issues in the Buddy system for the purpose of eliminating or mitigating the difficulties and standardizing the successes. The final evaluation and report of each consultant will recommend measures which can be invoked to increase the overall effectiveness of the system and to streamline its implementation in additional cities.

How far should Consultant go beyond Buddy System —
e.g. have Buddy & Union call Stewards' meeting with
Consultant participating
Any "special" work with new employees other
than Buddy?

What Compensation or other incentive for Buddies?

HRDI

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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HRDI OPERATIONS MANUAL

POSITIONS UNDER THE HRDI

The HRDI is authorized to establish two positions in 50 of the major cities in the United States. One position is that of the area manpower representative, the other is the secretary to the representative.

PAY

Depending upon the date that area representatives and secretaries enter on duty with the HRDI, the initial period that will elapse prior to the issuance of a paycheck will be usually two weeks or in some cases three weeks. The normal policy of the HRDI in holding back checks is five days or one working week.

Paychecks for the field staff are mailed out of the national office on Wednesday of every other week. Depending upon the geographical location of the office, checks are mailed either by regular delivery or airmail. It is hoped that these checks will arrive by Friday.

In the event a paycheck is not received after the expiration of a reasonable time (Wednesday of the following week), notify HRDI in Washington. Under normal circumstances, a new check will be issued by the secretary-treasurer and a stop order issued on the lost check. Should you receive the lost check after receipt of the substitute check, you are instructed to tear off the signature of the secretary-treasurer, Harold Jack, and return the check to the national office.

HOLIDAYS

The employees of the HRDI are to adhere to the authorized holidays of the Central Labor Body in their respective communities.

PAY DEDUCTIONS

Tax deductions, including state and local where required by law, will be reflected on your salary check stub. Specific written authorization is required for any other form of saving or deduction.

WORKING TIME

Official working hours of the HRDI field offices will adhere directly to the accepted working hour schedule of the Central Labor Body in their area. In the event the Central Labor Body does not have a full time executive staff, the hours of work shall commence at 8:00 A.M. and end at 5:00 P.M.

VACATION

The policy of the HRDI in the establishment of paid vacation is based on the AFL-CIO allowance of two weeks or ten working days. Each employee of the HRDI will accrue 6.6 hours each month (based on 80 hours representing two full weeks). Each employee may have vacation time made available to them upon written approval by the executive director.

All accumulated vacation should be used within the calendar year or for the first year of operation of the HRDI. All vacation accrued during 1968-69 must be used by December 31, 1969. Each employee is cautioned to record very carefully all time spent outside the official capacity of the HRDI. Periodically, audits will be made of all offices.

ABSENCES

Employees of the HRDI may be granted absence from the official duties of the HRDI to conduct personal business up to one and a half hours per month. Any absences in excess of two hours should be charged to vacation.

SICK LEAVE

The HRDI policy on sick leave is intended to adhere to that policy of the AFL-CIO: no specific number of hours for sick leave is accrued on an annual basis. Employees are expected to use official sick leave time very prudently. However, if absence indicates abuse on a wide scale, this policy will be rescinded.

REMOVAL FOR CAUSE

Occasionally, in the operation of a program such as the HRDI, it becomes necessary for the removal of an employee (technical or clerical) because of non-performance of duty or adverse activity within the community. When and if an employee is being considered for termination, two weeks notice will be given of the intention of the HRDI to carry out the termination provision. In the event the employee makes every effort to correct the deficiency, the termination procedure may be suspended. All clerical terminations will be made in accordance with the contract which is being negotiated between the Office and Professional Employees International Union and HRDI. Appeal procedure is provided for in the contract. All technical employees shall have the right of appeal to the president of HRDI and/or the board of trustees.

AN EMPLOYEE'S DECISION TO LEAVE THE HRDI

Each employee of the HRDI who decides to leave the organization for personal reasons or improvement must provide the HRDI with a minimum of two weeks written notice. Additional time and consideration should be given so that a substitute may be selected and orientation given while the office is still operational.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Special attention should be paid to the Special Provision which is Clause No. 6 of the HRDI Contract concerning political activity:

SPECIAL PROVISION

CLAUSE NO. 6 POLITICAL ACTIVITY

"No funds hereunder shall be used for any partisan political activity or to further election or defeat of any candidate for public office; nor shall they be used to provide services, or for the employment or assignment of personnel in a manner supporting or resulting in the identification or such purposed with (1) any partisan or non-partisan political activity or any other political activity associated with a candidate, or contending faction or group, in an election for public or party office, (2) any activity to provide voters or prospective voters with transportation to the polls or similar circumstances in connection with any such election, or (3) any voter registration activity."

INSURANCE COVERAGE

The Employees Welfare Plan of the AFL-CIO is the plan for the HRDI. A booklet describing the benefits has been sent to each employee under separate cover. The insurance is effective 30 days after the date of employment. All claim forms will be provided by the national office and should be returned thereto when a claim for benefits is being submitted.

SURVIVORS

In order for survivors to receive monies owed to an HRDI employee who is deceased or incapacitated, the survivor or beneficiary must make a written request for such payment. This is intended to apply to all unpaid salary, travel reimbursement, miscellaneous expenditures, unpaid vacation (accrued during the calendar year), fractional deductions on U.S. Savings Bonds and any other category that the deceased may have monetary reimbursement due as a result of official business of the HRDI.

HRDI employees should make survivors or beneficiaries aware of the following procedures:

1. A written claim for the benefits described above must be submitted.

2. A copy of the certified death certificate must accompany the claim.

3. The claim and certificate must be addressed as follows:

Survivor's Benefit
Human Resources Development Institute
Office of the Executive Director
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

EAL
393-4000

8

EAL Nat'l
9:50 — 11:28

12:25 —
11:40
9:15 — ~~PA~~
Clinkett

DL
296-7000

This section describes the disadvantaged and the problems they face. It discusses their physical needs, their attitudes and feelings, their mobility, their educational limitations, lack of job skills and limited employment experience, problems arising from lack of well-formed job habits and attendant problems of personal finance.

The section also discusses the kind of transformation that frequently takes place when disadvantaged individuals get and hold real jobs. It also deals with problems arising during the period of transformation.

These pages were originally developed for the use of employers who take part in the NAB/JOBS program. They are included here for background use by instructors in the Buddy program.

I. WHO ARE THE DISADVANTAGED?

The disadvantaged are known by many names for many reasons. They are not only minority citizens but represent all ethnic groups. They are often identified as our jobless, our poor, our under-educated, our young, our old. Basically, an individual is considered to be disadvantaged if he or she is a member of a poor family, unemployed, underemployed or not seeking work but should be. They will also possess one or more of the following characteristics:

a. School dropout

b. Special employment problems including being of a minority

c. Under 22 years of age

d. Over 44 years of age

e. Handicapped

It has been found after reviewing thousands of people who have passed through or who are enrolled in other programs, that many possess one or several of the above characteristics. A profile of the typical hard-core trainee is as follows:

Has been unemployed for eighteen months;

Never received intensive skill training;

Parents were unskilled;

Lives with one and one-half families;

Needs eye glasses, dental work;

Has seen a physician only once in his life;

Is married with three children;

Has no transportation;

Has a sixth-grade education;

Has had some contact with the law, and has spent at least 30 days in jails.

WHAT ARE THEIR NEEDS?

1. Physical

It has been found that they need a thorough physical examination. As mentioned above, they have seen a doctor only once in their lives. There is much evidence to indicate that for some, glasses will need to be prescribed and dental treatment required. No doubt for some, the examination will reveal the need for innoculations and corrective surgery before a person could go to work. Remedial medical and dental care may extend into the training period and consequently the employer must be prepared to allow time off for this essential need.

2. Attitudes and Feelings

The attitudes and feelings of some of the disadvantaged may pose a problem to an employer at the time of recruitment and the early training. For the most part these are conflicting attitudes or feelings rather than negative or positive ones. They have their origins in the trainees' personal history of failure to find opportunities for job, personal, and social satisfactions. The trainee may be somewhat cautious of taking you at your word, distrustful when you tell him about the opportunities obtainable for him by working for you, and lacking in confidence in his ability to satisfy you as an employer. However, we have found that these characteristics of the trainee change as he is given the kind of training he needs to succeed on the job. Step by step success in learning your job requirements will build the attitudes necessary for the trainee to retain the job.

3. Transportation

Except for those trainees who can conveniently walk to work, travel to the place of employment may present a problem. Until this problem is solved it will be a major (but not the only) cause for tardiness and absences from work. It is not a problem of the trainee alone because it involves his family too. Employers must be prepared, through counseling and other assistance if necessary, to assist the trainee in learning how to solve his personal and family transportation problem so that he can meet his work schedule.

4. Education

Additional or remedial education often must be provided for the unemployed. Almost all programs contain a job-related basic education or communicative skills program component in them, because most hard-core:

a. Have a tested third to sixth grade reading level;

b. Have a tested fourth-grade math level;

c. Because of (a), few can speak or write with clarity, organization, and meaning at more than a primary school level; and

d. Few can fill out employment forms, or follow written job instructions.

5. Job Skills

The work history of the unemployed usually shows temporary work at temporary jobs requiring little if any skill. Such jobs have not helped the person learn either technical skills or steady work habits. A few

possess technical skills learned in military service but these are not always directly applicable to their local community's industrial needs. They all need technical training that is specific to the job for which they are hired. Industry has demonstrated its capacity to teach technical skills to employees, and the unemployed have demonstrated that when modern training technology is used in training programs they can and do learn necessary job skills.

6. Work Habits

Job training for the unemployed requires training in work habits. Employers cannot assume that habits of living as unemployed persons will disappear the moment unemployment ends and employment begins. Habits of punctuality, regular attendance, attention to safety requirements, care of tools and equipment, and other job related behaviors must be taught. Learning such required behaviors takes time, the same as learning technical skills takes time. Recent data from on-the-job training programs indicate that training in both work habits and in job skills is required for the disadvantaged population.

7. Personal Finances

In the absence of steady income at a living wage the personal finances of many unemployed persons are in disarray. A new job immediately presents a problem of money management on which the employee needs practical counseling. Creditors may press for wage garnishment while acute personal and family needs oftentimes will lead to unwise credit buying. It is to the interest of you as employer as well as to your trainee to provide

counseling and other assistance lest these money crises drive the trainee from his job.

II. WORK POTENTIALS OF THE DISADVANTAGED PERSON

Evidence is accumulating rapidly from the private sector that when a real job, at a living wage, with equal opportunity for advancement, plus effective on-the-job training is offered members of this population, they can and do achieve as well as persons from other population groups. Their goals are the same as those of any other group; their potential capabilities for productive work too are the same.

The job expectations of the disadvantaged person, however, may be very limited because of previous failure to find the quality of employment which you will provide. Many have been involved in menial, short-term jobs; some have been involved in other publicity-sponsored programs which failed to equip them for, or to provide them with, a real job. This leaves them with much distrust, uncertainty and unwillingness to experience still another failure in the world of work. These limiting expectations do yield, fortunately, to feelings of confidence and trust when the job situation warrants such positive feelings.

The dress, speech, and personal appearance of the disadvantaged reflects the sub-cultures to which they belong. This is particularly true of those whose identifications are with the Black and the Mexican-American sub-cultures. It is apparent, too, that a very powerful motivation among these ethnic minorities is to find secure and meaningful places in the occupational systems of society. We have found that they will modify any personal behavior, speech, or dress to meet objective job requirements. Subjective requirements which they will interpret as rejection of their cultural values will be resisted. In this regard, too, the disadvantaged member of the ethnic minority is like any of us who take pride in our cultural values.

A major problem in training members of ethnic minorities is to establish mutually understandable person-with-person communications. Words and gestures mean different things in different cultures. It is necessary for everyone who interfaces directly with the trainee to understand his own and the trainee's communication behavior, both in speech and action. His own awareness of his speech and vocabulary limitations will cause him to be uncertain of himself. His cultural limitations, as they relate to this kind of situation, will cause him to be unsure of you.

These pages offer a discussion guide for the film, The Way Out. You may want to use the questionnaire that is included, or you may find an unstructured discussion following the film preferable.

There is no need to obtain written answers to the questions, but you may want to write them on the blackboard as you develop answers through group discussion.

MOVIE DISCUSSION

You probably have some reactions to the movie you just saw. You will want to discuss your reactions to the movie and the people in it with the people in your group. Here is a list of the people you saw:

white Kentuckian; said the supervisor is the key

grey haired Negro woman - "didn't like her face either"

heavy Spanish-American of Indian appearance, "It starts to get into your head"

young Negro girl who doesn't go to appointments anymore

young Negro with goatee and black shirt; married at 18

Menominee Indian man who couldn't get an apprenticeship

Chippewa Indian girl from reservation

young Negro who can make more money hustling

Appalachian white man, "only second grade, but I've learned a lot"

young Negro who hit foreman

young white Appalachian man in black shirt

young Negro with moustache and white turtleneck, "My family's my incentive"

young Spanish American, "They call you 'greaser'"

white girl with high pitched voice, "You know, he kept saying 'speed it up' "

Single out some of the individuals who made an impression on you one way or the other, and then answer some of these questions:

1. How did you react to them as individuals? as a group?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Would you want them as co-workers?
   Yes No

3. What would it take to make them productive workers?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. How do you think other workers would react to them? Helpfully? or Critically? or Both? Discuss.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

FOR: Discussion Leaders

SUBJECT: Workshop on "Policy and Relationships"

The following are possible points for discussion. You are free to use these or any others which bring out the central points of individual cases.

It is not essential that all cases be discussed.

In each case where policy is known, it is essential that this be clearly understood and that expected long term relationships are understood.

CASE #1

1. What strategies would you employ to make contact with NAB, explain the program and enlist their cooperation? Discuss local, state and national officials who are familiar with program and can back you up.

2. Is the information requested available to the public?

3. What other sources may have the information?

4. Discuss available resources in a community -- recruiting organizations? Possibilities include YMCA-YWCA extension programs for hard-core youth, Neighborhood Youth Corps' out-of-school population, CEP and New Careers. HRDI personnel should meet with representatives from all the manpower programs and request referral services. Private voluntary agencies, such as Catholic Charities and United Jewish Appeal, can also be enlisted.

CASE #2

1. What relationship can be encouraged which will enable action to take place?

2. What reassurances can you provide to both the leadership in apprenticeship programs and CLC that you are not and will not overstep into their authority?

3. How can you successfully stress that these programs will not infringe upon internal union activities nor

hinder apprenticeship programs?

4. How can you elicit their cooperation?

CASE #3

1. As an HRDI representative, should you be trapped into playing one side against the other?

2. Can you accept a position such as the one described here without discussion with the Central Labor Council?

3. What contacts can you make with Black leadership to determine status of labor council in the community and what recommendations the leadership would make on your participation? What resources can you tap to make such contact possible?

4. Can you find the spokesmen for this community? Perhaps you can schedule a private meeting with church leaders or community organization leaders within the ghetto at a place within the ghetto so that you can listen to that point of view and apply what you hear to the solution of the problem?

5. What can you do to modify the attitude of the Model City director toward the local labor group?

CASE #4

1. What is the policy on labor standards for hard-core new hires?

2. Discussion point: Importance of separating collective bargaining issues from manpower functions.

3. Discussion point: Successful hiring programs are those which have involved union and management from inception through training into implementation.

CASE #5

1. Is this a significant break-through for the HRDI area manpower representative? Or is it an activity he should refuse? Or one he should discourage? Why?

NO.

REPORT WRITING WORKSHOP

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

ACTIVITY RECORD & REPORT

SUBMITTED BY JOHN DOE AFL-CIO MANPOWER REPRESENTATIVE

CITY Podunkville STATE Alaska DATE February 20, 1969

Union	Fed.	State	Area	Comp.	Other	Description or Remarks
4						International & District labor leaders in regard to Labor survey
1				4		Met with American Airlines representatives, Mr. Richard Wright, counselor; Mr. LeRoi Jones, personnel director; and Mr. C.C. Cummings, personnel relations - and Machinists Local #1778 President Howard Hughes - buddy system was discussed. Meeting lasted from 10:30 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.
	2		5		12	Attended day long program initiating election campaign for Model Cities Board. Meeting well attended by mayor, federal manpower representatives, representative of Department of Labor and various other dignitaries.
	1					St. Louis Director AIC
1						Met with Mr. Ralph Yarbough Business Agent for IBEW Local #123. He informed me that his company was negotiating a contract with the Labor Department that would include over 100 trainees.
			1			Community Service Agency representative in regard to Buddy Program.
			1			Met with Mr. Longworth Metro Director regarding problems of lists and hiring dates.

NO.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

ACTIVITY RECORD & REPORT

SUBMITTED BY AFL-CIO MANPOWER REPRESENTATIVE

CITY STATE DATE

Union	Fed.	State	Area	Comp.	Other	Description or Remarks
				1		Met with Everett Smith to discuss change in Buddy Program as was brought out in Denver. Will redesign our program to that effect.
						Spent day in office contacting various Business Agents in regard to survey of unions required by national office.
						Orientation Conference, Cleveland, Ohio.
1						Met with Mr. John McHenry, Business Manager of Hatters' Union. I informed Mr. McHenry that all garment industry unions cannot participate in manpower programs. Received this information from USES and NAB.
						Spent three hours writing report.

TO: Discussion Leaders

SUBJECT: Ideas for Workshop on "Dealing With Our Contacts"

CASE STUDY: JOBS IN INDUSTRY FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

I. In January 1968, the Mayor of New Britain, Connecticut convened a conference for the purpose of discussing what could be done in the field of job opportunities for the hard-core unemployed. Representatives of industry, labor, civic organizations, clergymen and city officials participated.

The conference had no structure, no program, no planning.

Discussion

1. Should hard-core be represented at such a conference, either through the local community action group or other poverty organizations?

2. Isn't this a superficial way to approach the problem of employing hard-core persons?

3. What kind of structure or hidden agenda, or open agenda, would you prepare to handle a conference of this type? Would you leave it open-ended or would you provide for a course of action?
Would geography make a difference in how you handle the planning for such a conference? What do we mean by geography and how would you plan to accomodate cultural differences based on geography?

4. Would you use communicators, i.e., public relations personnel or community relations personnel in planning for such a conference? What do you visualize as their role?

5. Do you agree that "it is important" to upgrade persons presently employed by different employers, and the hiring of minority groups, in the 'so-called' unemployed status to fill jobs which required less skill to perform? If you agree with this statement, why do you? If you disagree, at what point do you disagree?

6. What do you feel should be the objectives of a program to hire hard-core people?

II. As a result of a telephone conversation with a corporate official in his plant, Mr. Morris met with officials of his local union to see what could be done about employing hard-core persons.

The union president was very enthusiastic about the idea. Other union officials were skeptical. But a tentative plan did develop and Mr. Morris was to back-stop the program as a follow-up person.

1. Drawbacks are generally related to an unwillingness to accept. What problems do you see inherent in a plan to employ hard-core persons, if you are a union official? Do you challenge non-acceptance on the part of union personnel, work around it, or develop an alternate plan? How would you proceed to involve union officials in a productive program?

2. Up until this point, the plan to hire unemployed people seems to be simply an idea. It has no formal structure and has not yet involved peer employees, or company supervisors. Do you agree that action can take place without formal planning as Mr. Morris indicates: What is the degree of success you can anticipate for a program of this type? What components would you add to ensure effectiveness or success?

3. What weaknesses do you recognize in Mr. Morris' description of his meeting with union officials? With representatives of the company? What strengths could Mr. Morris or you gain from the Office of Economic Opportunity? How would you allocate the resources there?

4. Do you feel that Mr. Morris handled the preliminary discussions effectively? Would you have made any changes? If so, what changes? If not, why not?

III. In July, seven months after the initial conference, the company hired seven young men from the poverty community. They had poor personal records and a poor employment record.

Mr. Morris began working with them and helping them and discovered that they needed support far beyond the minimal counselling he was able to offer. Plant workers were resentful of any personal interest which the young men seemed to need. A special method had to be developed to provide assistance for thses young men.

1. How were the young men recruited? Can we make some assumptions here? What would be the best way to recruit such employees? Would you require a screening process? What requirements would you list for employment of hard-core?

2. What kind of orientation was provided to the new employees? Were they introduced to plant procedures? Were peer employees involved in seeing that the young men's experience on the job was a successful one?

3. If the purpose of the program was to hire the hard-core, and once hired the young men immediately got into trouble, doesn't that prove that people from this sector don't want to work?

4. The jobs provided for these young men were mainly clean-up detail. A job should be enough. What's wrong with that assumption?

5. Do you find any differences between this population and other working groups?

6. How do you define hard-core?

7. What positive aspects of the life of a young man from this population can you build on as you assist companies and unions work out training programs?

8. How would you help these young men become acculturated to the world of work? What techniques would you employ to neutralize peer workers, supervisors and union members in their antagonisms toward newly-employed workers from hard-core areas? Do these same antagonisms exist toward new workers from normal backgrounds?

9. Is the experimental system which Mr. Morris describes enough of a plan to handle these new employees? What would you add or subtract to make their first work experience a successful one?

10. Why does Mr. Morris persist in calling the new employees "boys"? Perhaps the selection of a liasion person between the union, company and employee should be made more judiciously. Do you agree? Disagree ? And if so, why?

11. What is wrong with the statement: "I made recommendations to the people in charge and the entire problem was handled by...assistant employee relations director of the company?"

IV. Mr. Morris considered the program successful because the company showed an interest in the people and problems of the community. He credits the company with its perception in recognizing that it needed to hire "these fellows" to do certain jobs. He offers no criticism of the supervisors or peers who exhibited antagonisms toward the new employees. And he claims that the young men had good job experiences.

1. Of the seven young men who were hired at the beginning, five remained through the summer? Should a follow-up on any dropouts in programs with which you will be connected? If you do, what kind of insights do you hope to gain from such a study?

2. Apparently the plant did provide job opportunities for hard-core employment. In your opinion, did the plant do its part to help the situation? How would you establish a situation where the plant could more equitably do its share?

3. What kind of feedback would you establish to encourage the plant to do more?

4. If company representatives were informed of the diluted effect of their program, would they be motivated to provide better jobs and for longer periods of time?

5. Why does the writer apologize for the antagonisms? Does such apology establish a positive environment for the world of work?

6. Would the supervisors give the young men who worked for them good references for future employment?

7. What system would you establish to ensure some impact on the worker as well as on the supervisor?

8. What does the writer mean when he says that the young men earned money with which they could buy some of the good things in life which they were never able to enjoy before. Why does the writer assume that young men from hard-core backgrounds want to earn a few dollars so that they can run out and buy good things? Doesn't that put a superficial tag on the whole concept of hiring hard-core persons? And even if that's what the young men wanted to do, should this be the rationale for hiring the hard-core?

9. Does he have any facts as to what happened to these employees once the summer was over? What skills did they learn from their employment experience? Was any plan created by the city, which initiated the idea, to continue the program or plan for its expansion?

10. How would you arrange for a program's continuation or expansion so as to increase the benefits accrued to the individual, to the plant, to the community? Do you see the union role here as an activator?

V. This was not Mr. Morris' only contact with hiring disadvantaged persons. In April, 1968, Mr. Morris worked with the neighborhood services program of OEO and he referred Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the company for employment. The company has also hired persons with criminal records.

Mr. Morris works closely with the company and with the the anti-poverty agency in following up these employees and in providing them with minimal supportive services.

He also outlines some procedures which should be followed if companies are to have successful programs for hiring hard-core persons.

1. Mr. Morris seems to be a social worker in disguise. How would you strengthen his hand in dealing with agencies, companies and unions in developing hard-core employment programs? What relationships would you establish if you were in his shoes to ensure equal employment opportunities?

2. What reinforcement measures would you advocate to assist hard-core persons to come to work on time and be responsible employees? If you were in charge of the personnel office at a plant and you had hired some workers from this social level, what kind of support would you provide?

3. What overtures would you make to management and union personnel so that jobs would be upgraded to provide meaningful employment at a decent salary?

4. What assistance can unions give to management to see that work-experience does have a payoff, to the plant, to the union, to the individual and through him to his community?

5. What tradeoffs would you make with local unions, supervisory personnel and corporate representatives to ensure program quality and effectiveness?

6. How do you react to the obvious featherbedding which Mr. Morris believes will provide the plant with adequate protection on the production line?

7. By linking the Ford Motor Company with the need to hire five persons to get enough production from two workers, doesn't Mr. Morris leave an impression that management is actually participating in such a program? As labor representatives do you find such a program adequate to the need? Would you advocate it to a company owner? If not, why not? What alternatives would you recommend?

8. What support staff would you recommend to plant owners? What roles would they play? What services would they provide? Based on this discussion, could you draw up a tentative table of organization for in-plant support, staff needs and lines of responsibility?

9. What sensitivities and accomodations would you recommend as part of an employment package for the hard-core?

10. What modifications and relaxations would you prescribe in employment practices to assist the hard-core in, first, employability and, second, retention?

11. How would you use volunteers and professionals in support programs?

12. What recommendations would you make to your union, to local unions, to local industries to encourage their participation in such programs?

13. Do you believe your recommendations or are you accomodating to them?

WORKSHOP CASES
DEALING WITH OUR CONTACTS

The following cases are adaptations of actual situations reported from the field. They raise important questions of policies or relationships. In each case, what do you see as the main question(s) and how would you handle them?

1. Having problems getting lists of employers from NAB and the Building Trades Council apprenticeship programs are encountering difficulties locating recruits. Consulting USES and LEAP.

2. Met with Central Labor Council and I am finding that the few unions that have apprenticeship programs are very protective of them and somewhat resent HRDI's efforts in the area. Additionally, I'm under pressure to clear practically everything I do with CLC's executive secretary. This is beginning to hamper my activity.

3. Met with local director of Model Cities program and was invited to participate in drive to elect local board. The director suggested that since labor had such a poor image in the black community, if I involved myself with this effort, then my job would be a lot easier in the community.

I asked if he had been in contact with the Central Labor Council to determine if official representatives from the local Labor Council would assist in the effort. The director said that he didn't think much of the local labor group and that if I expected to be successful I would have to let it be known, now, how I was going to relate to the community.

It was my impression when I began my work that relationships between labor and this community were strained; I decided that my efforts would improve relationships so I accepted.

4. Met with executive secretary of Mytown Labor Council and the president of Bookbinders Local 007 to find out why the union would not accept a supplemental agreement proposed by the HUB Publishing Company to hire the unemployed.

According to Bookbinder's local president:

a.) The company has a long record of disputes and contract violations with the union.
b.) The company has set up training program (MOTH-OJT) without consulting union.
c.) Trainees were started at hourly rate lower than the standard.
d.) During work slowdown, company laid-off four regular employees and kept trainees.
e.) Present arrangement is in violation of contract and union is contesting it.
f.) Union is not opposed to participating in programs to help unemployed but insist that present contract be honored; program does not violate worker's rights or undermine union.

My observation is that plant has good possibilities for training programs if these problems can be overcome.

5. Attended meeting on 2/5/69 at state capitol called by the governor to serve as vice-president of Implementing Committee for the development of human resources for future goals of the state. Others participating were the NAACP state director, the Public Welfare director, the city Urban League director, and a professor. The sub-committees--on employment, poverty and income maintenance and community development will be organized.

WORKSHOP CASES
IMPROVING OUR REPORTING

It has been said that writing reports is a neglected art in labor circles because people are too busy doing things. Given the nature of HRDI's operation, certain minimum reporting is indispensible. The reports you prepare have the following uses: 1) It provides information to national HRDI and AFL-CIO on what is happening in the field; 2) It indicates what programs you are developing; 3) It provides information for official transmittal; 4) It provides opportunity for the broadened population (outside of labor and government) to be informed, and 5) It serves as a basis for self-evaluation.

The purpose of this workshop is to remind us of the scope of the information needed. A simple guide is to see whether our reports have answered the following questions: who, what, where, when, why, results and follow-up.

The attached cases are adaptations of actual reports from the field. How would you improve each?

BUDDY TRAINING WORKSHOP

This is a "how to do it" session. It is a workshop on how to use some of the materials in the buddy training program. The ideas that are discussed and practiced here will be of use in many other situations.

People learn by:

a. Being told (reading, lectures, panel discussions)
b. Being shown (movies, slides, field trips)
c. Doing (role-playing, job-training, etc.)
d. Participating in discussions

Each method has its uses. We will get some practice in using two of these -- discussions and role-playing -- and discussing the use of movies.

DISCUSSIONS

A. Turn to pages 12 and 13 of your Instructor's Manual for Training Buddies for discussing:

1. When is it used
2. What are its values
3. What are its dangers
4. The role of a discussion leader

B. Turn to pages 33a to 37 for practice cases.

ROLE-PLAYING

A. Turn to page 26 and 27 of your Instructor's Manual for Training Buddies for discussing:

1. Technique and purpose of role-playing
2. Steps in conducting role-playing

B. Turn to pages 38, 43, 46, 49, 52 and 59 for practice cases. For "observers" use page 42.

MOVIES

1. What checks do you make before the session opens to be sure the room and equipment are ready?

2. How do you introduce the movie and prepare the audience?

3. How do you conduct the discussion when the movie has been shown? (See page 20 of Instructor's Manual)

HRDI

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI

MANPOWER ARM OF THE AFL-CIO

- **What is HRDI?**
  The Human Resources Development Institute is a new, non-profit corporation established by the AFL-CIO executive council in September 1968.

- **What does HRDI do?**
  HRDI works at the community level to develop more effective job and training programs for the disadvantaged through greater union participation.

- **How does HRDI operate?**
  HRDI has field representatives in 50 cities with severe hard-core unemployment problems. They analyze the job and training needs of their communities and work with unions, industry and the government to design programs which meet their needs. Where the need is *not* being met, HRDI encourages unions to sponsor innovative manpower programs of their own.

- **Who are the HRDI field representatives?**
  HRDI has recruited an integrated staff of men and women from 27 different national unions. They have been involved in a wide range of civic and community organizations. They share a commitment to the job of bringing America's disadvantaged into full economic citizenship.

- **Who are the disadvantaged?**
  They are men and women who have trouble finding—or keeping—decent jobs because of a combination or race, age, lack of skill, poor health, inferior education or problems.

- **Are the hard-to-employ all members of minority groups?**
  No. However, unemployment among non-whites today is twice what it is among whites.

- **What is the relationship of HRDI to the AFL-CIO?**
  HRDI was set up to be the manpower arm of the AFL-CIO. It is governed by an 11-member board of trustees, all of whom are members of the AFL-CIO executive council. AFL-CIO president George Meany is chairman of HRDI's board and Julius Rothman, associate director of the AFL-CIO department of urban affairs, is president of HRDI. HRDI is headquartered in the AFL-CIO building in Washington, D.C.

- **What is HRDI's relationship to the labor movement locally?**
  The HRDI field representative is an integral part of organized labor in his city. He works closely with all the local unions in his community. In most cities, the central labor body provides office space for HRDI in its headquarters. This cooperation makes it possible for HRDI to achieve its goal.

- **What is HRDI's relationship to the business community?**
  HRDI works closely with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) in its Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program for hiring and training the disadvantaged. An AFL-CIO representative serves full time as labor liaison to NAB at NAB headquarters in Wash-

ington. Local HRDI representatives work closely with local NAB staff wherever possible.

- **Is the AFL-CIO's interest in manpower new?**

  No. The labor movement played a key role in passing the Employment Act of 1946: this law stated for the first time the government's responsibility in achieving the goal of full employment.

  AFL-CIO was instrumental in winning support for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 which for the first time committed substantial federal funds to training and upgrading the nation's work force.

  AFL-CIO was a strong advocate of programs for training the disadvantaged under the Economic Development Act and the Economic Opportunity Act.

  AFL-CIO continues to press for adoption of a coordinated federal manpower policy to make better use of *all* the nation's human resources—including the disadvantaged.

- **Have AFL-CIO unions sponsored any training programs?**

  Yes. Many unions have been sponsoring On-the-Job Training (OJT) programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Some unions conduct training programs of their own without federal assistance. In 52 cities, local building trade councils are cooperating with minority group organizations and the Department of Labor in programs to recruit and prepare minority youth for entry into apprenticeable crafts.

What federal manpower programs is HRDI involved in—and how?

- Job Opportunities in the Business Sector

  HRDI cooperates with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) in their program to hire, train and upgrade the hard-to-employ.
  In plants where the disadvantaged are hired, HRDI recruits workers who act as volunteer "buddies" to help the new employees adjust.

- Apprenticeship Outreach

  HRDI representatives actively promote programs to recruit more minority youth for jobs in the apprenticeable trades.
  HRDI cooperates with the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, the National Urban League, the Workers Defense League-A. Philip Randolph Institute and the U.S. Department of Labor in promoting these programs.

- Model Cities

  HRDI representatives work out local agreements between unions and community groups that make it possible to hire and train area residents for jobs in rebuilding their neighborhoods.
  HRDI representatives play an active role in Model City planning groups wherever possible.

- On-the-Job Training

  HRDI representatives encourage local unions to sponsor their own training programs for the hard-to-employ under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

- Concentrated Employment Program

  HRDI representatives work closely with local CEP programs which are designed to give the disadvantaged in slum areas the individual help they need to get and keep a decent job.

- Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System

  HRDI representatives present labor's point of view on local and state CAMPS committees. These committees develop manpower blueprints for effective use of all federal manpower programs to meet local job and training needs.

A Human Resources Development Institute

has been set up by the AFL-CIO to involve more unions in job training programs to help the disadvantaged.

The AFL-CIO has long maintained that the best way out of poverty is a good job at a decent wage.

For many Americans, however, this way out has not been available. Because of skin color, lack of skills, poor health, inferior education, age, language problems—or a combination of these—there are men and women in this country who cannot find consistent, meaningful employment. . .
These are the "disadvantaged" and the "hard-to-employ."

Our economy is expanding. Our capacity to produce has been increasing steadily since 1961. In the last five years, some 7½ million new jobs have been created—an average of *5,000 new jobs each day.* Yet hundreds of thousands of Americans have been unable to share in this economic growth. . .
These are the "disadvantaged" and the "hard-to-employ."

In 1968, a survey of our 50 major cities indicated that there were *500,000 men and women who had serious employment problems or who had never had a job at all* living in the slums of our metropolitan centers.

Because the AFL-CIO believes that human resources are a nation's most valuable asset, it has established a Human Resources Development Institute to operate in the 50 cities where the problem of hard-core unemployment is most severe.

HRDI's task is a critical one: to tap the talent and experience available within the labor movement to develop more effective programs for helping the disadvantaged find—and keep—good jobs at decent wages.

Through HRDI, the AFL-CIO is developing a staff of community-based employment specialists who come from and understand the labor movement, who understand manpower programs and who understand the needs and problems of the hard-to-employ. Their expertise provides a new and important element in the nation's effort to use its human resources more effectively.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

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HRDI

PUTTING LABOR IN WORK TRAINING

Union 'Institute' Boosts Manpower Programs At the Local Level

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

PUTTING LABOR IN WORK TRAINING

Union 'Institute' Boosts Manpower Programs At the Local Level

By KENNETH FIESTER

Despite an academic sounding title which even its beneficiaries would not recognize, the Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI) is wholly engaged in the pragmatic job of helping Federal manpower programs work the way they were intended to.

HRDI is a nonprofit corporation created by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in September 1968. It promptly received a $1.5 million grant from the Department of Labor to initiate a "nationwide program to recruit, train, employ, and upgrade the unemployed and underemployed," to quote the official announcement. The initial grant was for an 18-month period. Another $728,000, extending the contract to November 30 of this year, was granted last spring, and a third agreement calling for approximately $2 million for 12 more months of operation at an increased level of activity recently was approved by the Labor Department.

In official descriptions, HRDI's objectives are arrayed in formal ranks of paragraphs of purpose headed by flag words like "mobilize," "develop," "establish," "work with," and "provide." But these paragraphs describe the program HRDI is able to carry forward only after its unwritten basic objectives are attained. There are three of them:

- Overcoming, or at least rendering inoperative, the fear, prejudice, resentment, misunderstanding, and skepticism aroused in many local unions—leadership and rank-and-file alike—by proposals to use extraordinary procedures to inject into the work force "strangers" under outside sponsorship.
- Convincing field-level government officials and employers that the labor movement is both able and anxious to participate in manpower programs of every kind—and that its local participation is essential to the programs' success.
- Reaching the hard-core jobless, especially young members of minority groups, with believable evidence that the job opportunities are for real.

Just below this trio of basics is an operational goal shared by nearly everyone involved in government manpower affairs—better coordination among the wide range of manpower programs created by separate laws over more than a decade. Legislative proposals to achieve this are being debated by Congress; meanwhile, HRDI strives for a sort of ad hoc equivalent through its own field representatives.

These field staffers also carry the major burden of the three basic objectives listed above—objectives which deserve fuller examination.

The first—building local union support of manpower programs—deals with an issue that is at once the most widely known and the least understood. Television scenes of confrontations at con-

Mr. Fiester is a freelance writer with extensive experience in the labor movement.

Minona Clinton, HRDI representative in Pittsburgh, lectures on the buddy system to union members being trained to help disadvantaged workers.

Trainee Donna Lidwin (left) works with her buddy, Eleanor Marsolek, on set assembly at the E-Z Paintr Corporation in Milwaukee. Mrs. Marsolek, a member of the Upholsterers Union, got her buddy training through HRDI.

struction sites, complaints by minority-group spokesmen, promulgation of community racial quotas for employment on Federal projects—these and similar happenings have combined to tag the building trades unions as archtypes of unregenerate discrimination and therefore unyielding foes of manpower development.

All this has obscured a simple truth: Any established work force, craft or industrial, north or south, viscerally resists any significant change, having learned through experience or the gospel of elders that change is the harbinger of hard times. This is neither a craft nor a racial matter. Even if all the charges of bigotry were true, by far the greatest "labor" obstacle to manpower development and training still would be economic fear. Since economic fear is the fiend incarnate of unionism, a union representative is an ideal and often indispensable agent in exorcising it.

This is not to say that HRDI has the primary responsibility for implementing AFL-CIO civil rights policies or even for winning union acceptance of manpower development programs. Central to an understanding of HRDI is the knowledge that in a programmatic sense it is not primarily responsible for anything. Thus it is free of the rigidities that often constrain those involved in programs they themselves conceived, and in a better position to go about the job of making the programs work.

There are no job descriptions for HRDI staffers, for their jobs beggar description. They do what needs to be done in the city where they are assigned. They are catalysts, honest brokers, exhorters, mediators, helping hands, and sympathetic ears, often to several parties at once.

Take the matter of union resistance. In terms of official union policy, there is no such thing. The AFL-CIO, each of its affiliated unions, and every independent union of any consequence are on record in uncompromising support of all the manpower programs, with heavy stress on their civil rights impact. Nor are these mere paper policies; with few exceptions

the national leadership has applied heavy pressure for their implementation.

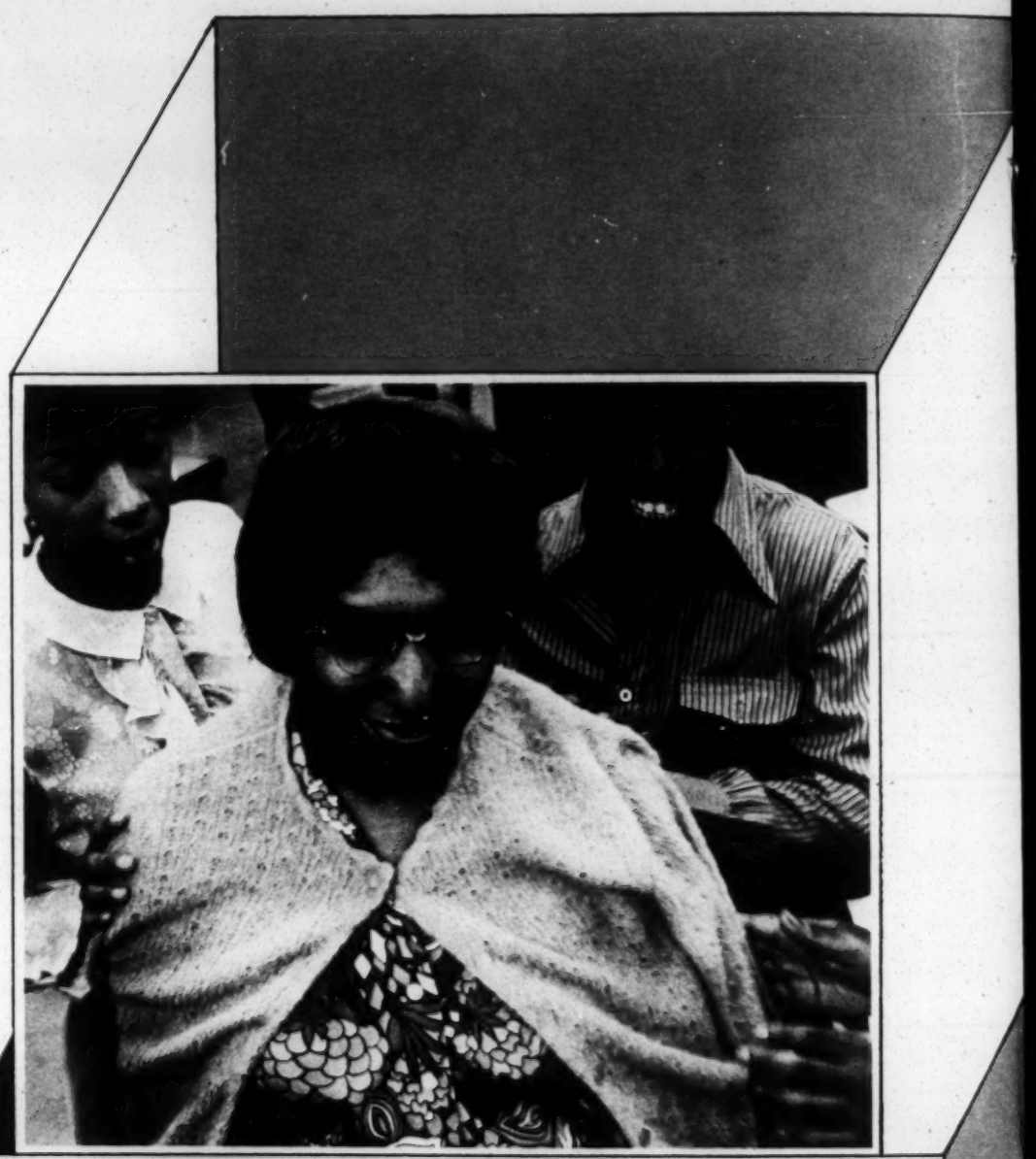
But all kinds of snags remain at the local level, often including old quarrels and personal dislikes. Sometimes the personal differences may be between levels in the same union. Whatever the local hangup, the injection of sweet reasonableness in the form of an HRDI man, with good trade union credentials and attuned to, but not involved in, the sources of trouble, may be just what is needed.

Understandably, there is no disposition at HRDI to identify, much less detail, cases of union resistance overcome by its efforts. Outside of oldtime revival meetings, there are few among the redeemed who enjoy recitals of their past transgressions. However, the large number and variety of manpower programs being conducted on a continuing basis with union help or on union initiative indicate that progress has been substantial toward the first of the basic objectives.

'Outreach' Encouraged

The second objective—convincing employers and government officials of labor's concern—would seem to be within easy reach once the first is attained, but this is not necessarily so. For one thing, widely accepted images get in the way. The superficially informed tend to assume that craft unions will resist manpower programs and industrial unions will not—an almost perfect formula for offending one and antagonizing the other. An HRDI field man, well versed in the local labor scene, can do much to avert mishaps based on such mistaken assumptions.

Other obstacles to the second objective are less charitably viewed by HRDI. These involve occasional attempts by employers to use manpower programs as a means of obtaining labor at pay levels below the going rate. Identifying and heading off these excursions is a top priority item to HRDI leaders, and their concern is shared by manpower agencies



and management groups. Any corollary between manpower development programs and efforts to get workers at substandard pay rates would not only insure union hostility, it also would further alienate the presumptive beneficiaries of the programs, whose alienation is already sufficient to be the subject of HRDI's third basic goal—convincing the hard core that jobs are available to them.

HRDI is active in the "outreach" program, which seeks minority candidates for apprenticeship and provides special schooling for those who need it to qualify. In some areas local building trades councils sponsor outreach programs, in other places the effort is conducted by the Workers Defense League, a human rights organization which pioneered in the development of outreach techniques, and the Urban League. By mid-1970, 63 outreach programs had indentured more than 8,000 apprentices.

HRDI's role in outreach is to encourage expansion and provide local liaison and followup. In at least one instance HRDI became the contracting agent for a pre-apprenticeship training program.

Outreach is only one phase of HRDI's attack on reluctance, skepticism, and defeatism among the hard-core jobless. Its best known operation is the "buddy program," primarily applied in factory work but lately extended to the apprenticed crafts as well.

The buddy system developed from the cooperation between the AFL-CIO and the NAB on the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, which is designed to put the hard-core jobless to work in private industry. In each plant where disadvantaged workers are to be hired, an appropriate number of union members are trained to serve as mentors of the newcomers.

'Buddies' Smooth Transition

As HRDI puts it, the buddy system "provides the new hire with a friend who will help him through his probationary period. The buddy lends assistance both on and off the job. At the worksite the buddy is assigned to the same work group as the new employee and stays close to him throughout the day, including lunch and coffee breaks. . . . The buddy is able to develop good work habits in the new employee and give him helpful tips. . . . The buddy helps the new worker by assuring that he gets to work on time, arranging transportation and solving problems that adversely affect his work."

The need for this, of course, arises from the fact that few of the genuinely hard-core jobless have had work experience of any kind. The whole concept of regular hours and regular duties, and the very environment of the workplace are strange. What is taken for granted by a youngster from an average family, even on his first job, may be enough to frighten away a youngster from the ghetto, and older recruits, too. Job retention was the reef on which many early efforts at hard-core hiring foundered.

The buddy system is no cure-all, but it has been a resounding success. Excerpts from the reports of buddies at a rubber plant in New Jersey indicate how it works —and sometimes doesn't:

- "I had a number of problems to take care of. One who could not come on time and I had to pick him up every day the first week. He didn't even have money for transportation. After he received his first paycheck he still came late so I persuaded him to buy an alarm clock and paid half of it out of my own pocket, but he still came late. Finally, remembering what we had learned at the training institute, I suggested that he be transferred to the night shift, and now he is always on time. He is a very good worker and picked up the job well; 22 years old and only worked such jobs as dishwasher before."
- "I had two new workers assigned to me, one of them only a couple of days ago. The other one is very young and a wild sort of a fellow, rather difficult and one has to stay with him all day. We also got him transferred to the morning shift at his request. He is sort of suspicious of my role as a buddy."
- "My major problem has been job matching. The training doesn't always seem to be the appropriate one."
- "I had four assigned to me. Three of them didn't seem to have any problems but one made up for them. He was absent 2 or 3 days a week with all sorts of excuses. It was his first job. He didn't like the smell of the hose and we put him in another department. However, he didn't like the night shift and when we offered to change that, it turned out that he was going to school and simply found studying and working just too much."

These reports were from an early program, but are considered typical except that the operations have become smoother with time. By now, more than 200 companies in some 50 cities have buddy setups. Nearly 1,000 members of 47 national unions have served as buddies.

Aside from helping tremendously in making new recruits permanent members of the work force, the buddy program has the additional advantage of insuring the cooperation of the local union in over-

Pretending she is blind to find out what it feels like to be unsure, Carrie Atkins of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union puts her trust in Lillie Cox of the Office and Professional Employees Union and Sampson Saunders of Project Build, a Washington, D.C., apprenticeship and pre-apprenticeship training program. The exercise was part of an HRDI buddy training seminar at American University in Washington, D.C.

Mary Martin of the National Association of Letter Carriers finds out how an outsider feels as she tries to break into the circle during the American University buddy training program.

Tony Costa (center) discusses his on-the-job training in a New York furniture manufacturing plant with John Burnell (right), New York regional director for HRDI, and Monroe Cranston, director of the job training project, which is a cooperative effort of Local 76-B of the United Furniture Workers Union, the furniture industry, and the New York State Department of Labor.

coming the instinctive resistance of established employees. As mentioned earlier, this resistance is basically economic. A related source of resentment is that older workers feel they were never given the kind of opportunities now extended to the newcomers.

A cross section of these reactions is contained in an analysis on the same operation from which the above buddy reports were taken. Here is the key passage. "The program has aroused a good measure of opposition among the rank and file, partly directed against the new employees coming in and partly against the buddies. There is much tension and animosity. Even some older black employees are opposed to the program and, in fact, are taking bets that it will fail. Some of the blame for the opposition must be put on the misleading publicity which led the older workers to believe that the new employees would get more money than they were receiving.

Older Workers Complain

"More serious perhaps, the older workers complain that they don't have the same opportunities that the new employees have, e.g., they have never been shown around the plant to find the most suitable place for them to work, and some of them have never been out of their own department. Also, a rumor was going around that prisoners would constitute the bulk of the new employees coming in. Finally, some of the older employees, including an ex-president of the union, accused the buddies of being tools of management and suspected them of making more money."

Under these circumstances, having the active support of the local union leadership is indeed indispensable.

So much acclaim has been given to the buddy program that Julius F. Rothman, HRDI president, fears it has drawn attention from the organization's other functions. "The buddy program was necessary and it was something we could get started quickly," he says. "But it's only a small part of what we do."

Among these other activities, a current favorite with Rothman and HRDI's executive director, Robert M. McGlotten, is a job development and placement program started on an experimental basis in New York City and now being extended to five other cities. The prototype was launched in March 1968 by the New York City Central Labor Council and the City's Human Resources Administration. It is now being funded directly by the U.S. Department of Labor. Characteristically, HRDI's function has been to accelerate, improve, and extend an activity which antedates it.

The key word in this New York operation is "placement." It is a single-minded continuing campaign to put poor people who need jobs on somebody's payroll. In essence the program is a clearinghouse between the business agents of a couple of hundred local unions, who keep a sharp eye open for available jobs, and almost a hundred public and private agencies of every description. There is a minimum of matching up; these are entry-level jobs. But they are union jobs, and $2 an hour as a supermarket bagger is a long cut better than nothing.

In its first full year (1969) this operation, staffed by one man and a secretary, placed more than 2,500 workers. Follow-up is provided by the local business agents, and by post card inquiries of the employing firms.

Three-quarters of the workers placed are black, and another fifth are Puerto Ricans or other Spanish Americans. The great majority are young. The program has won considerable prestige in the New York ghettos, HRDI leaders say, because it has achieved credibility—the jobs are there. Now and then the job openings have included training opportunities, but this has been coincidental. When applicants need medical care and other services, efforts are made to put them in touch with the right agencies. But the big thrust has been to get people on the payroll.

The program could not have succeeded without the right kind of person in charge of it, and this clearly is true of every HRDI effort. The scope of an HRDI field representative's tasks suggests why it took

the organization a fair amount of time to select and train its staff of about 50.

Nearly half of the field staffers are Negroes or Spanish Americans; a number are women. About half are members of craft unions or unions with craft connections, such as the Laborers and Machinists. A heavy majority have served as officers of their local unions and of city and State central bodies. Most have been involved in civil rights, education, and community services activities, and at least half have served on civic committees or commissions, held office in fraternal or veterans' organizations, and otherwise mingled widely outside union ranks.

What they actually do on the job ranges from small items to large ones. Following is a summary of one fortnight's reports, just as prepared by HRDI for its own use except for minor editing to eliminate names:

Atlanta — The Plumbers and Steamfitters are sending letters to all licensed black plumbers inviting them to join the union. They are also running an ad in the city's black newspapers.

Birmingham — Two manufacturing firms that are merging have agreed to a program for training welders, grinders, and handlers. Ironworkers and Shopmen Local 539 are working with the program which will place both men and women at a ratio of 85 percent black and 15 percent white. One of the firms previously lost a JOBS contract because it was not an equal opportunity employer.

Denver — HRDI representative has been appointed to the Mayor's Youth Commission and will be actively involved in planning the summer youth program. He played a key role in last year's successful program and the committee is considering a full-time youth placement program.

Los Angeles—We are helping Firefighters 1014 in their program to recruit more blacks.

Memphis — HRDI's Apprenticeship Outreach Program is in full swing. A director and two recruiters have been hired and applicants are being interviewed for the 50 slots available under the $66,000 contract with the Labor Department. Recruiters are using local offices of the Memphis community action agency.

Nashville—We are working with AFL-CIO Urban Affairs Department on a proposal for using Building Trades Council funds to help finance moderate income housing through the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Fund.

Oakland — Trainees in the culinary class at the East Bay Skills Center have been guaranteed jobs by the East Bay Restaurant Association. This came about through the joint efforts of HRDI, the Oakland Central Labor Council, and Locals 228 and 823 of the Restaurant Workers.

Oklahoma City—-A successful buddy training of 53 plumbers and pipefitters has been held in conjunction with the Oklahoma City Building Trades.

Phoenix — The Retail Clerks have agreed to help the Concentrated Employment Program find jobs for 30 graduates of a Manpower Development and Training Act cashier training project. The union will set up an employees' council to work on job placement. RCIA also is helping to set up a similar program designed for Indians.

Pittsburgh—An Opportunities Industrialization Center-sponsored retail trade consortium will train checkers, stockers, clerks, and register operators. The $63,000 contract calls for a total of 60 slots and was worked out in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council.

San Antonio — The local Building Trades Council has approved a JOBS contract proposal submitted by an Associated General Contractors consortium for 150 pre-apprenticeship training slots.

St. Louis—At the request of the Central Labor Council, HRDI is working with IAM District Lodge 837 and McDonnell-Douglas on an affirmative action program to increase minority employment. We met with the union officers and stewards and won approval for an HRDI-sponsored steward training program to deal with any problems that may arise. Also, the company has agreed to use HRDI-trained buddies in the five departments in which the new hiring is expected to take place.

An obvious question is how all these operations are faring in a softening job market.

"Reasonably well," says McGlotten. "There has been a slacking off in the JOBS programs, but not as much as a couple of newspaper stories indicated. And we are looking toward an expansion of our operations in the public sector, which isn't as much affected."

Work Varies, Goals Don't

Actually, according to its own self-description, HRDI should have plenty to do for a long time to come. Here's how it concluded a report to the AFL-CIO Executive Council:

"The work of the local HRDI representatives will vary from city to city, depending on the types and variety of manpower programs in each community and the extent of the current AFL-CIO involvement in these programs. However, the goals are the same in each community. First, HRDI will strive for maximum involvement of AFL-CIO unions in existing manpower programs—along with management and government. Second, HRDI will evaluate existing manpower programs to see if they are training the hard-core for jobs that actually exist, for jobs that are not 'dead-end,' and for jobs that will permit the trainee to move up the ladder.

"In addition, HRDI will stimulate the development of upgrading programs so that workers can be helped to advance in both skills and earning power. Third, HRDI will encourage AFL-CIO unions, wherever possible, to sponsor meaningful and innovative programs of their own, making use of government funds for experimental and research projects as well as for straight training. Hopefully, each HRDI field representative will become a catalyst in his community, working cooperatively with other elements in that community, to help the disadvantaged to achieve full economic citizenship." □

A Reprint from the December 1970 Issue of the U. S. Department of Labor's Monthly Magazine MANPOWER—

Additional copies available from

AFL-CIO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
(202) 638-3914

Info - ILGWU

14 December 1965

Mr. Saul Nesselroth
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Saul:

This letter responds to your request for information on rental of duplicating machines. A. B. Dick seems to make the best offer. Either a hand operated mimeo or a spirit duplicator could be had for fifteen dollars per week from them. They offer no two-day rate; indeed, at first there seemed to be no one-week rate. They would need at least a few days notice.

The other companies ranged from $17.50 for 24 hours to $25.00 for two days but usually did not have a hand-cranked machine.

Hope this helps.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

ILG

Dead

March 24, 1966

Miss Margaret Leonard, Editor
Southeastern News
1065 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Dear Cissie:

Could we place an order for your News on an exchange basis for our New South?

How was Savannah?

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

/jb

File with ILGWU Pol. Ed Cay

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION • AFL-CIO

SOUTHEAST REGION

457 PLASTER AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324
TELEPHONE (404) 872-8161

Louis Stulberg
PRESIDENT

•

Martin J. Morand
DIRECTOR

May 19, 1966

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emery:

This note will confirm the fact that we will be expecting you to attend our conference in Daytona Beach at the Voyager Beach Motel. Your room reservation will be made as of Friday night, June 3rd.

If for any reason you cannot attend or your plans change, please let me know as soon as possible.

Fraternally,

Martin J. Morand

Martin J. Morand
Director

MJM:f

file copy.

ILGWU

19 May 1966

Miss Josephine Clark
Room 43
Colonial Manor Hotel
Brewton, Alabama

Dear Miss Clark:

Mr. Emory Via asked that I send the enclosed portions of questionnaires to you.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning

JB

BOBBY KENNEDY LIBRARY

May 24, 1966

Miss Josephine Clark
Colonial Manor, # 43
Brewton, Alabama

Dear Jo:

Thanks so much for sending copies of the materials from the school system regarding their compliance with the Office of Education guidelines. It is always useful to get copies of the actual documents coming out of desegregation moves. Our thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

DA

Since I don't always know when I'd caused someone troubles, I thought it not in appropriate to share this with you. Please return.

Sam

E V -

Excellent - would you send a copy to Mildred for "Commendations file"

I made 2 copies
MJ

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION • AFL-CIO

SOUTHEAST REGION

457 PLASTER AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324
TELEPHONE (404) 872-8161

Louis Stulberg
PRESIDENT

•

Martin J. Morand
DIRECTOR

June 8, 1966

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emery:

I don't know what your reaction to the Conference was, but I am anxious to hear. As for myself, I was more than pleased. The Saturday morning session which you moderated brought out some deep seated problems, but at least it got them to the surface where we can begin to deal with them. Apparently some of our Negro members were encouraged for the first time to raise some grievances, not only at the session, but privately following the session. And these things we certainly need to know about.

Perhaps, more significant was the comment made to Maida Springer by a couple of our Atlanta members (well in their beers at the time) that for the first time the Union had convinced them that there is a reason why they should be concerned about the rights of Negroes. Of course, balancing out such testimonials was the negative comment of some of our Klansman members who were present. And then, there is Billie Solesby! Billie, I am told, is insisting that her local COPE committee send a letter of protest to the bus company which brought them down because of a statement by the bus driver on the return trip that the "coon" was not with them.

The reactions are multiple, and various, and multi-famous. "Justice thou art afoot, take what course thou wilt!"

Thank you for your magnificant, catalytic effect. I think we may be able to promote some broader interests in SRC and its interest in the Labor Movement out of this Conference.

Fraternally yours,

Martin J. Morand

Martin J. Morand
Director

MJM:f

ILGWU

June 10, 1966

Miss Billie Solesby
I.L.G.W.U.
116 Hub City Courts
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Billie:

Who is Billie Soleshu? I am so sorry for the goof. On rereading my letter to you I saw that we had let it go out with your name completely misspelled. A Solesby by any other name is probably not the same. In any case I prefer to deal with the one I know. Let me know if I can be of any help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 7, 1966

Miss Billie Soleshu
I.L.G.W.U.
116 Hub City Coarts
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Billie:

It was very good to see you again at Daytona Beach. I do not find a letter from anyone in Spartanburg waiting for me at the office. Just know that I will be happy to cooperate in any possible way in discussing, planning, or carrying out the program involving your union and/or others in the Spartanburg area. Please let me know if I can be of help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

LOCAL # 581

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION AFL—CIO

7114 LONE OAK ROAD
SPARTANBURG, S. C.
29303

TELEPHONE 585-3070

2

6/12/66

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory,

Thank you for your very nice letter. George Griffin of the C.L.U. said that his secretary had quit, but he still intends to get in touch with you. I will call him as soon as this Primary Election is over (June 14th) and offer the services of our Local's secretary.

Joe Ferguson , our B.A. knows of your interest in our Education Project and he will try to help also.

We will be in touch with you soon. Thanks for everything.

Sincerely,

Billie Solesbee

Billie Solesbee
#581
Spartanburg, S.C.

ILGWU (AFL-CIO)

Dead

June 14, 1966

Mr. Marty Morand, Director
Southeast Regional Office
I.L.G.W.U.
457 Plaster Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Marty:

I guess we did not have a clear understanding regarding expenses in connection with your Daytona Beach education conference. In the event that you mean to cover them -- those which you have not already covered at the conference itself -- I list the following:

local transportation ($2.00, $2.50)	$4.50
meals	2.00
air transportation	1.79
miscellaneous expenses . . .	.75
	$ 9.04.

The low air fare is a kind of fluke since I added the Daytona trip onto a Washington trip. But without going into all the details the $1.79 represents the actual cost of my trip to Daytona Beach to the Southern Regional Council.

Would you please have the check, if one is coming, made out to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Thanks so much for your kind letter. I did think it was a good conference and was happy for the opportunity to share in it with you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION • AFL-CIO

SOUTHEAST REGION

457 PLASTER AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324
TELEPHONE (404) 872-8161

Louis Stulberg
PRESIDENT

•

Martin J. Morand
DIRECTOR

March 7, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

At long last! I will be in contact with you before March 20 to make arrangements for the trip to Florence.

Cordially,

Mac

RM/es

Encl.

March 30, 1967

Mr. Gus Tyler
Education Director
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Gus:

My schedule calls for me to be in New York on Wednesday, April 5. I would like to call you after I have arrived to see if it would be convenient for us to get together for a few minutes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mr. Gus Tyler
Education Director
International Ladies Garmet
Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York City, New York

Dear Gus:

It was good to see you while I was in New York last week. Thanks so much for your time and good advice. The union will be hearing from us before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 21, 1967

Mr. Ramelle McCoy
Southeastern Region
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union
1065 Gordon, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ramelle:

The enclosed bill from the restaurant at the Holiday Inn in Florence, South Carolina was sent to me.

You may want to look closely at it because it certainly does not look like twenty-five to thirty desert orders. I wonder if these were not the orders of the group that had the room which we were supposed to have met in. Eventually after their meal was over we did meet in the room. You will recall that the ILGWU group had desert in the main dining room prior to our meeting. I don't know that there would be any great difference in the total charges between the deserts and this bill for meals, but that is a matter for you to worry with.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

enclosure

June 13, 1967

Mr. Gus Tyler
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union
1710 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Gus:

I would like very much to have a copy of your paper to the Spring Meeting of the IRRA in Detroit. It was thoughtful and useful which is what I would have expected. Would it be possible for you to send me a copy?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

October 9, 1968

Mr. Remel McCoy
South East Regional Office
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
457 Plaster Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Remel:

After talking with Paul Matthais, Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, we have decided that the persons who would be most helpful in discussing Day Care Center problems in South Carolina would be Mrs. Mellie Barlow, Day Care Center Director (OEO), Florence, South Carolina, phone 662-0568; Professor Merril Palmer, Clemson University, office phone 654-2421, extension 434, residence 654-5605.

It could be that A. A. Huggins who is the Executive Director of the OEO programs in Florence could also be of some assistance. His number is 662-2579.

You will note that Mrs. Barlow has been directing a center. Professor Palmer was active in a local council on human relations effort to establish a center.

Matthais reports that it is his understanding that there is no current money available for Day

(OEO)

Care Centers.

I trust this helps. Hope the Legislative Institute went well. Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Education Project

EFV/km

SPEED LETTER®

TO Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

FROM W. Patrick Flack, Th.G.W.U.
C/O Holiday Inn Down Town
Florence, S.C.

SUBJECT Publications

(C.C. R. MacCay)

FOLD

MESSAGE DATE Dec 30 1968

In facing the welfare issue with our members I will need some publications of "Know your Rights", with the members here. Civil Rights is number one. So I start here. To help me bridge the gap I need the above publication. Please send me as many as you can. I have 289 members here and a number in Lake City, S.C.

SIGNED W. Patrick Flack

REPLY DATE 12/31/68 19

Good to hear from you. I am sending 25 copies free. We try to lose as little as possible on publications, but we could let you have up to 300 copies for 10¢ each which is half our listed bulk rate. Let me know what you would like for me to do. Best personal wishes.

FOLD

SIGNED Emory Via

GrayLine "SNAP-A-WAY" FORM 44-902 3-PARTS
WILSON JONES COMPANY • © 1961 • PRINTED IN U.S.A.

RETAIN WHITE COPY, RETURN PINK COPY

January 16, 1969

Mr. Ramelle MacCoy
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union
Southeastern Region
457 Plaster Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Ramelle:

I thought I had forwarded these expenses to you earlier, but I was wrong. My transportation costs to participate in your program in Florence, Alabama on December 7, 1968 were as follows:

Air Fare	$ 39.90
Taxis	12.45
Total	$ 52.35

It seemed to me you had arranged a rewarding tour for the Birmingham group.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EV/km

Enc.

Doing Some Soul Probing Together

ILGWU members are learning more about themselves and their relationships with others as a result of attending human relations institutes planned for them by the Union. Members from Cartersville, Ga., attended a workshop given by the Human Development Institute at Stone Mountain. Members from Fayetteville and Greeneville, Tenn., attended a similar workshop in Cleveland, Tenn.

At these workshops, they were encouraged to talk about what they really felt and what their problems really were, in order to grow as people.

Here is what Velva Cook of Local 514, Greenville, wrote about the HDI workshop she attended:

"This was the most amazing thing I have ever experienced.

"I had missed so many things in life or misunderstood them. I can see lots of things from a different point of view now.

"It is amazing what you can experience in such a short time. I feel I am and can be so much more aware of my feelings and what they mean.

"This will take time and experience but I feel it will help me to help others more easily and also accept help from others.

(Continued on Page 3)

Called "Inspiring"

Members Tell Of Reactions To Institutes

(Continued from Page 2)

"I think everyone needs to learn to recognize what their feelings mean to them and how to obey them. I believe this is needed very much in the business world."

The others who attended these workshops were also very enthusiastic about them. They were: from Cartersville, **Phyllis Holsomback, Leone Craig, Edna Smith, Ona Bell Tilley, Frank Howell, Louise Owens, Rachel Cagel, Mary Ward, Donna Sue Adams, Clyde Mansfield, Sue Arthur, Juanita Massey, Grace Abercrombie, Jewell Goodson, and Evie Gravely.**

From Fayetteville were **Lucille Watson, Mable Hopkins, Beatrice Simmons, and Darlene Franklin.**

From Greenville was **Beatrice Jenkins.**

SCLC Workshop

Union members participated in a different kind of workshop held jointly with people from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at the Dorchester Community Center near Savannah, Ga. This was an experience to enable people to learn and express what they felt about people of other races.

Helen Thomas of Local 458, Talladega, Ala., had this to say about the experience:

"I cannot express in words what it has meant to me.

"I had never attended a meeting of this type before. It was very inspiring, relaxing and helpful to me. I wish every member of the ILGWU could attend a meeting of this type with the wonderful leaders we had.

"Ed asked us to ask ourselves what would I be today if I had been born black. This is just one of the many questions asked that have made me start thinking about the problems facing blacks and to understand their problems better. All in all, it was a soul-searching experience for me."

And Billie Solesbee, of Local 581 in Spartanburg, S. C., told of a different kind of experience:

"I remember 'Lonzie,' a Negro from Selma, Ala. He is in his 40's, a painter, and the father of 10 children.

"We could both recall breakfasts of fat-back and gravy. (Grits and redeye gravy were a treat because that meant we had ham fat to make the gravy.) My father worked for $7 a week in a textile mill and there were seven in the family.

" 'Lonzie' was raised on a tenant farm. His life was not much different from mine as far as material things were concerned. We were both poor. Comparatively speaking, even today, we are still poor.

" 'Lonzie' wants the same opportunities for his children that I want for mine. We both know we are going to have to work hard to get them. He is concerned with humanity. He is willing to give of himself, whatever

(Continued on Page 5)

Soc. Garment Worker 3/69

Understanding Is Theme Of Relations Workshops

(Continued from Page 3)

he can, to assure, not just survival, but all good things that make life more meaningful.

"If we never learn anything else as Union members and as human beings, we should learn this:

Understanding Others

"If we do not help each other to a better standard of living, either equal to, or better than we now have, we can never hope to have more than a token improvement in existing standards. As long as we do not try to understand others *and* ourselves, we will not have unity among our members. Without unity, we lose our strength. Our Unions and our country could be destroyed.

" 'Divide and conquer' is a basic concept of the strategist. Those who wish to destroy us, can and do use this principle against us.

"We are presented each day with an opportunity to do something meaningful and constructive. How do you react to this opportunity? It is a challenge to all of us. With the traditional dedication of Unionists, I feel that this challenge will not only be met, but won."

Billie ended her letter with a quotation from Dante:

"The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in times of great moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

Others who attended the SCLC workshop were:

Bonnette McClendon, Lillie Erwin, Ersley Taylor, Mamie Martin, Mae Howell, Cartersville, Ga.; **Viola Scott,** Talladega, Ala.; **Cynthia Taylor, Lola Dixon,** Tuskegee, Ala; **Frances Colvin, Mary Rettino,** Montgomery, Ala.; **Carol Ann Benefield, Sterling Simmons,** Town Creek, Ala.; **Mildred Carr, Lucille Kent, Charity Johnson, Estelle Ackerman,** Panama City, Fla.; **Johnny Spears, Ara Mae White,** Charlotte, N. C.; **Dora Hunter, Ronnie Enroughty,** Nashville, N. C.; **Rosalee Tucker, Frances Caldwell,** Spartanburg, S. C.; **Ed Poston, Bernice Lynch, Betty Hanna, Lula Gooding, Doris Floyd, Brenda P'Simer, Mandy Nixon, Emmie Miles, Rebecca Matthews, Ida Mae Lee, Mary Ard, Dorothy Powell,** Lake City, S. C.

PROGRAM

EFFECTIVE UNION ACTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS
AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center
April 5 - 10, 1970

SUNDAY, APRIL 5

7:00 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. OPENING REMARKS

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director
AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center

Donald Slaiman
Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

Frederick O'Neal
President
Actors' Equity Association

Chairman: Jacqueline Brophy
Staff Associate
AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center

MONDAY, APRIL 6

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.
and
10:40 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

THE '60s AND THE '70s

Bayard Rustin
Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Chairman: Donald Slaiman

1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m. PARTICIPANTS' REPORTS ON UNION EXPERIENCES

3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES

S. Q. Chano Merino
Field Director
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

TUESDAY, APRIL 7

CURRENT PROGRAMS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.

Joint Apprenticeship Program:
Its Purpose and Programs

Ernest Green
National Director
Joint Apprenticeship Program
Workers Defense League

Chairman: Robert McGlotten
Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

10:40 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

Human Resources Development Institute:
Its Purpose and Programs

Merlin L. Taylor
Director
Human Resources Development Institute
AFL-CIO

Chairman: Doris Hardesty
Administrative Assistant
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.
and
3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

PARTICIPANTS' REPORTS ON UNION EXPERIENCES

Labor Studies Center

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8

CURRENT PROGRAMS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.

A. Philip Randolph Institute:
Its Purpose and Programs

Ernest McKinney
Assistant to the Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Chairman: William E. Pollard
Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

10:40 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

Southern Regional Council:
Its Purpose and Programs

Emory Via
Director, Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council

Chairman: E. T. Kehrer
Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

1:30 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.
and
3:20 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS

William Brown
Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

David L. Rose
Chief of Employment Section
Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice

John Wilks
Director
Office of Federal Contract Compliance
U.S. Department of Labor

Chairman: Thomas E. Harris
Associate General Counsel
AFL-CIO

THURSDAY, APRIL 9

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.
and
10:40 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

WHO'S WHERE AMONG BLACK ACTIVISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

David V. J. Bell
Assistant Professor, Political Science
Michigan State University

Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.
and
3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Howard Glickstein
Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Jerris Leonard
Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights
U.S. Department of Justice

J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office of Civil Rights
U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Samuel J. Simmons
Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Chairman: Walter Davis
Director
AFL-CIO Education Department

7:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR BLACK YOUTH?

Robert Curvin
Extension Specialist
Bureau of Community Services
Rutgers University

Norman Hill
Associate Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

FRIDAY, APRIL 10

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.
and
10:40 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Chairman: Donald Slaiman

opeiu#2

EMORY F. VIA

File

AFL-CIO
LABOR
STUDIES
CENTER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

EFFECTIVE UNION ACTION IN
CIVIL RIGHTS
April 26-30, 1971

EFFECTIVE UNION ACTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS

APRIL 26 - 30, 1971

AFL-CIO LABOR STUDIES CENTER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOREWORD

Welcome to the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center. We hope that the course of study in which you will be engaged will be interesting and worthwhile.

The basic role of the Center is to help maintain and develop leadership within the AFL-CIO through education and training. An equally important role is that of bringing together labor leaders from a variety of unions in order that they might learn from one another and thus gain a better understanding of the labor movement as a whole.

While formal or even adult education is not the only road to effective leadership, there is little doubt that it is an important, if not an essential, ingredient in a rapidly changing and increasingly complex world. Therefore, we will attempt through the selection of top teaching talent, the development of pertinent materials and the effective use of educational techniques to create a climate for learning and discussion which will help the "student" to better meet the challenges that face the labor movement, and, indeed, the society of which we are a part.

However, if we are to fulfill our role and accomplish our goals we will need your help. We will need your active participation in the class discussions and your constructive criticism of what we are doing and how we are doing it.

We ask that you give us this help.

PROGRAM

MONDAY, APRIL 26

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	WELCOME
	Fred K. Hoehler, Jr. Director AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center
	Jacqueline Brophy Program Chairman Associate Professor School of Labor & Industrial Relations Michigan State University
	OVERVIEW
	John A. Morsell Assistant Executive Director NAACP
1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.	PARTICIPANTS' REPORTS ON UNION EXPERIENCES
3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	REPORT FROM THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
	Norman Hill Associate Director A. Philip Randolph Institute
5:00 p.m.	RECEPTION

TUESDAY, APRIL 27

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon

ADMINISTRATION'S ROLE IN CIVIL RIGHTS

David L. Rose
Chief, Employment Section
Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice

Howard Glickstein
Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Deputy General Counsel
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

John Wilks
Director
Office of Federal Contract Compliance
U.S. Department of Labor

Chairman: Thomas E. Harris
AFL-CIO Associate General Counsel

1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.

MANPOWER ACTIVITIES FOR MINORITY YOUTH

Ernest Green
National Director
Joint Apprenticeship Program
Workers Defense League

Napoleon Johnson
Director, LEAP
National Urban League

Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute
AFL-CIO

3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

VOICE OF THE CRITIC

William B. Gould
Professor
Wayne State University Law School

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28

9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS The Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr. Congressman, 13th District Michigan The Honorable Augustus F. Hawkins Congressman, 21st District California
1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.	PARTICIPANTS' REPORTS ON UNION EXPERIENCES

THURSDAY, APRIL 29

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.	SCHOOLS, RACE AND THE TEACHERS' UNION Albert Shanker President United Federation of Teachers
10:40 a.m. - 12:00 noon	WOMEN AT WORK Jacqueline Brophy
1:30 p.m. - 2:50 p.m.	SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION Emory F. Via Director, Labor Program Southern Regional Council James T. Harris Executive Director National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice Emanuel Muravchik Executive Director Jewish Labor Committee Chairman: Walter Davis, Director AFL-CIO Department of Education
3:10 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGISLATION AND PROPOSED LEGISLATION Marvin Caplan Director, Washington Office Leadership Conference on Civil Rights William E. Pollard Staff Representative AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department Thomas Harris

FRIDAY, APRIL 30

9:00 a.m. EXECUTIVE SESSION

Chairman: Don Slaiman
Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

Adjournment by 12:00 noon

PROGRAM STAFF

Jacqueline Brophy	Associate Professor, School of Industrial Relations, Michigan State University
Marvin Caplan	Director, Washington Office, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.	Congressman, 13th District, Michigan
Howard Glickstein	Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
William Gould	Professor, Wayne State University Law School
Ernest Green	National Director, Joint Apprenticeship Program, Workers Defense League
James Harris	Director, Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice
Thomas E. Harris	AFL-CIO Associate General Counsel
Augustus F. Hawkins	Congressman, 21st District, California
Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.	Director, AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center
Napoleon Johnson	Director, LEAP, National Urban League
Robert McGlotten	Executive Director, Human Resources Development Institute
Kenneth Meiklejohn	Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO Legislative Department
Emanuel Muravchik	Executive Director, Jewish Labor Committee
John De J. Pemberton, Jr.	Deputy General Counsel, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
David L. Rose	Chief of Employment Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice
Albert Shanker	President, United Federation of Teachers
Donald Slaiman	Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Emory F. Via	Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council

CENTER STAFF

Robert S. Bell	Education Specialist
John Bufe	Intern
Sue Anna Cellini	Receptionist
Thomas J. Golatz	Education Specialist
Archie Green	Education Specialist
Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.	Director
Lisa Portman	Assistant to the Director
Otto Pragan	Senior Staff Associate
Thomas Probey	Controller
Marjorie Rachlin	Senior Staff Associate
Brian Ruonavaara	Intern
Douglas Smyth	Education Specialist
Janis Strange	Secretary
Brenda Weis	Secretary

PARTICIPANTS

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Secretary-Treasurer, Local 372
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Chicago, Illinois 60602

REV. DAVID A. BOILEAU
Director
Institute of Human Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

866-5471 x 247
(Hom. - 897-3311
R 628 Bed A

EVELYN DUBROW
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1710 Broadway
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Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

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1125 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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American Federation of Government Employees
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Bakery & Confectionery Workers Intl. Union
1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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Treasurer
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815 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

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Assistant to Intl. President
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Legislative Director
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Washington, D.C. 20001

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General Organizer
Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers
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Birmingham, Alabama 35206

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President, Local 144
Service Employees International Union
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Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades
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Washington, D.C. 20006

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Vice President
Laborers' International Union
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Washington, D.C. 20006

MERLIN TAYLOR
Assistant to the President
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Intl.
815-23 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

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United Rubber Workers
87 S. High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

HOLLIS C. WARD
Staff Representative, Fair Practices Department
American Federation of Government Employees
400 First Street, N.W., Room 503
Washington, D.C. 20001

ROOSEVELT WATTS
International Vice President
Transport Workers Union of America
1980 Broadway
New York, New York 10023

AL WICKMAN
Education Director
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers
International Union
1840 California Street
Denver, Colorado 80202

LABOR STUDIES CENTER INC.

AFL CIO

MAY 6 1971

May 3, 1971

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for making the trip to Washington to talk to the Institute on Effective Union Action in Civil Rights. It was a good session but somehow I felt we didn't make the best use of your talents. We are going to improve the format and I hope you will allow us to call on you again in the future.

Send your airline ticket stub and note of other expenses to me, or better, directly to Thomas Probey, Controller, Labor Studies Center, and we'll forward a check to you.

Sincerely,

Jackie

Jacqueline Brophy
Conference Chairman

JB:smc
opeiu#2

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Paul Hall, President
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Paul Jennings, President
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Battle, Fowler, Stokes and Kheel

Frederick O'Neal, President
Actors' Equity Association

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Peter T. Schoemann, President
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of the Plumbing and
Pipefitting Industry

Miles Stanley, President
West Virginia Labor Federation

Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President
New York City
Central Labor Council

Hunter P. Wharton, President
International Union of
Operating Engineers

Willard Wirtz
Attorney-at-Law

1500 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

May 20, 1971

Mr. Thomas Probey, Controller
Labor Studies Center
AFL-CIO
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Probey:

My expenses in connection with my presentation to the Institute on Effective Union Action in Civil Rights (April 29, 1971) are:

Air Travel (Atlanta-Washington and return)	$92.00
Hotel and meals	29.30
Total	121.30

The receipts are attached. You will note that the airline ticket is for a more extensive trip, but the Labor Studies Center is being charged for its portion.

The check may be made out either to me personally or

to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encls.

LABOR STUDIES CENTER INC.

AFL CIO

I/ Requests

F: Labor Studies Center

June 14, 1971

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We are preparing a labor seminar for a group of interns from the Joint Center for Political Studies. I've enclosed a pamphlet explaining what the Joint Center is all about as well as a copy of our prospective program. The purpose of programs run for groups outside the labor movement is to acquaint them with the AFL-CIO and labor's involvement in areas of their concern.

As you will note, William Lucy will conclude the seminar by discussing the Memphis Sanitation Strike as a concrete example of labor action in civil rights. Searching for informational material on the background and incidentals, etc. of the strike, we unanimously decided that J. Edwin Stanfield's two articles "In Memphis: Tragedy Unaverted" and "In Memphis: More than a Garbage Strike" best meet our needs. - Harper to America

Would you kindly send us thirty copies of each? We need them by June 18, so if you could do it by first-class mail we can handle the tab for the entire bundle.

Sincerely,

John Bufe

John Bufe

Barry

JB:js
opeiu#2
enclosures

(202) 659-5957 (?)

[operator: What does AFL-CIO stand for?]

AFL-CIO
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Miles Stanley, President
West Virginia Labor Federation

Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President
New York City Central Labor Council

Hunter P. Wharton, President
International Union of Operating Engineers

Willard Wirtz
Attorney-at-Law

1500 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

Labor Studies Center

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1971

Chairman: Barrett Seeley

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. — Welcome and Opening Remarks

Speaker: Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director
AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center

9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. — History of Black Labor in U.S. to 1880

Speaker: Alvin Thomas
Intern
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

10:30 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. — Break

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m. — Blacks and Organized Labor Since 1880

Speaker: Ernest R. McKinney
Assistant to the Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

12:15 p.m. - 1:15 p.m. — Lunch (provided by Center)

1:15 p.m. - 2:15 p.m. — HRDI and Labor's Involvement in Manpower

Speaker: Robert McGlotten
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute, AFL-CIO

2:15 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. — Labor and Civil Rights Legislation & Implementation

Panel Discussion: Kenneth Young
Legislative Representative
AFL-CIO Legislative Dept.

William Pollard
Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept.

3:30 p.m. - 3:45 p.m. — Break

3:45 p.m. - 4:45 p.m. — The Memphis Sanitation Strike: A Case Study in Trade Unionism and Civil Rights

Speaker: William Lucy
Executive Assistant to the President
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

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AFL CIO

File

JUN 30 1972

June 28, 1972

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We are in the process of bringing up to date our biographical information on those individuals who have worked with us from time to time and, hopefully, will work with us again in the future.

We will appreciate your sending us a copy of your resume or vitae for introductions and inclusion in notebooks where appropriate.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

FKH:bl
opeiu#2

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Paul Jennings, President
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Frederick O'Neal, President
Actors' Equity Association

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
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Peter T. Schoemann, President
United Association
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Miles Stanley, President
West Virginia Labor Federation

Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President
New York City
Central Labor Council

Hunter P. Wharton, President
International Union of
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JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

July 5, 1972

Mr. Fred H. Hoehler, Jr.
Labor Studies Center, Inc.
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Fred:

A copy of vita is enclosed as you requested.

Best personal Wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

LABOR STUDIES CENTER INC.

AFL CIO

File

December 1972

As the holiday season draws near, all of us at the Labor Studies Center send our greetings and our best wishes for the New Year.

Plans for our new campus have been drawn up and approved. Work is underway, and when the renovation and building are finished, we will have attractive dorms, cafeteria, classrooms and assembly hall set on our own campus of 47 acres on the outskirts of Washington. Hopefully we will be holding programs there next fall.

Meanwhile -- back at the ranch -- we have many interesting Institutes going on this spring. A reminder about these programs will be mailed to you and your unions shortly after the New Year.

We hope to see you again soon -- drop in for a chat and some of our marvelous coffee (?) whenever you can.

J. Douglas Smyth

Russ Allen Janis Strange

Marge Rachlin Brenda Ski

Pam Schneider

Lisa Portman

Carol Gilbert

Dick Stober Brenda Lansdown

Tom Dooley

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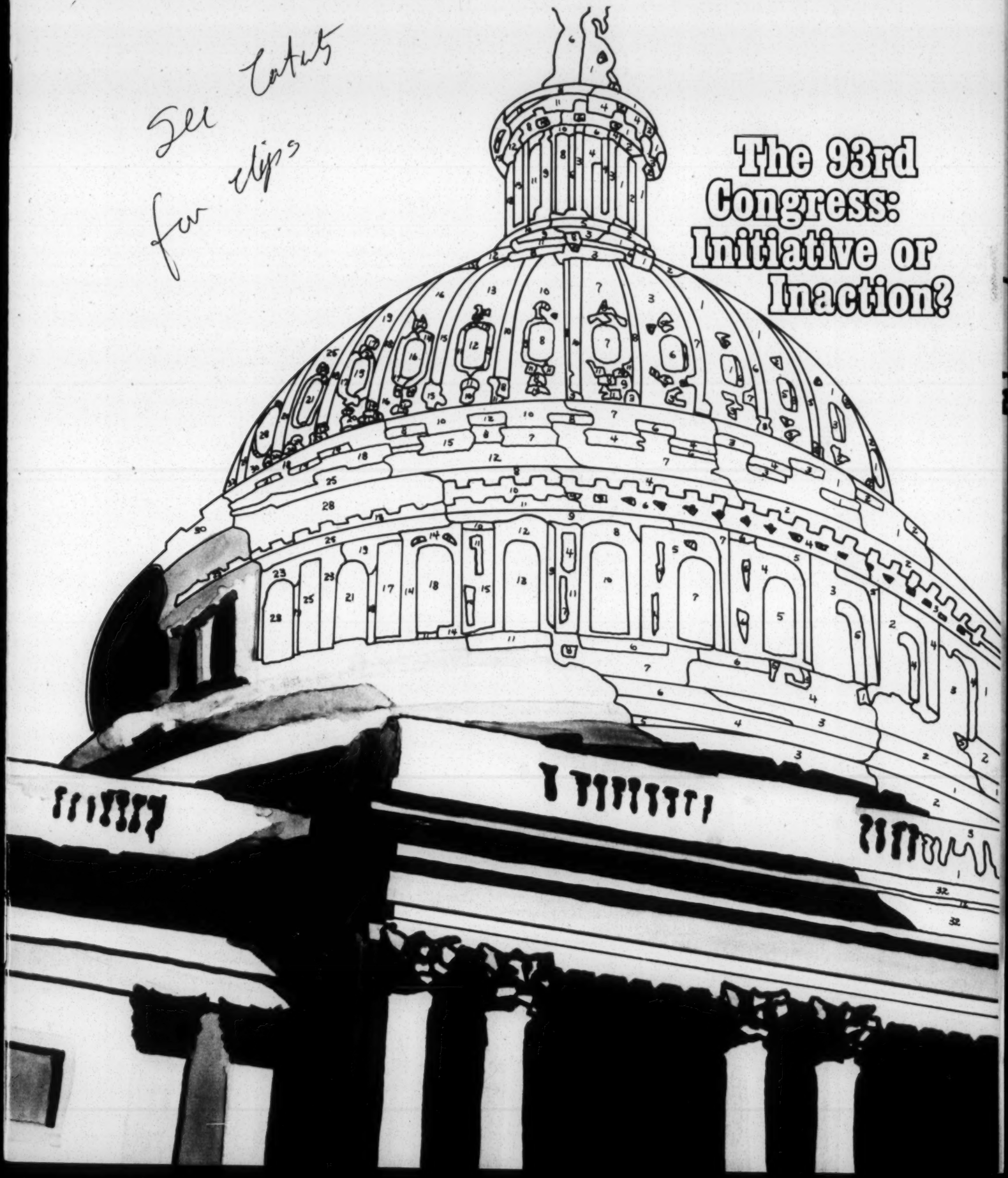
The American Federationist

January 1973

24 AFL CVRT
EMORY F VIA
52 FAIRLIE ST NW SRCI
ATLANTA GA 30303

See Cartoons for clips

The 93rd Congress: Initiative or Inaction?



AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, Inc.
1500 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
(202) 659-5797

APPLICATION FORM

Name of applicant _____

Address _____

_____
city state zip code

Phone _____ Date of application _____

Union position _____

Sponsoring union _____

_____
signature title

Subject and date of institute for which application is made

_____
institute subject institute date

17 17

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_____
institute subject institute date

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72 73 CATALOGUE

File [post 1973]

AFL-CIO
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File - Labor Studies Center

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CATALOGUE

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70/71

CATALOGUE

WELCOME

TO THE AFL-CIO LABOR STUDIES CENTER

F. C.

Welcome to the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center. While you are with us we will do all that is possible to make your stay pleasant and rewarding. Should you have any questions or suggestions, please do not hesitate to bring them to our attention.

The purpose of the program that you are attending is to provide you with the maximum amount of information possible on the subject under discussion and in the time available. We hope that the informal atmosphere and the use of effective teaching techniques and pertinent materials will combine to stimulate discussion and increase learning.

The Center

In September 1967, the AFL-CIO Executive Council authorized a study looking into the feasibility of establishing a national labor studies center. The 1967 AFL-CIO Convention approved this plan of action and the AFL-CIO Education Department was directed to make the study. The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in February 1969, adopted the proposals contained in this study and approved the establishment of the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center. Thus, a permanent national center for labor studies became a reality on Labor Day 1969. The first institute began on December 7, 1969.

The AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center is an incorporated, non-profit educational institution governed by a Board of Trustees, composed of labor leaders, educators and public members.

The purpose of the Center, as adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1969, is as follows:

1. To develop trade union leadership through training programs in the various technical skills required of a union leader.

2. To develop trade union leadership through educational programs in the social sciences and humanities in order that technical skills be buttressed by a firm grounding in theory and philosophy.

3. To develop and engage in education programs and provide information about the labor movement which will carry its basic philosophy to all parts of the community.

4. To involve the students in the problems of the total labor movement and thus strengthen all affiliated organizations.

The First Year

From December 7, 1969 through June 26, 1970, the Center ran 23 education and training sessions ranging from several hours to three weeks in length involving 372 students and 107 instructors and speakers. Sixty-seven unions and state and city central bodies participated by enrolling officers and staff.

The Future

The educational goals of the Center will be developed in several stages over the next decade. In this beginning stage, the curriculum is aimed primarily at full-time international and local union staff through resident programs for staff development and institutes in specific subject areas.

Later, when the Center is well underway, it will also develop courses and programs for local union officers and rank and file members.

The Facilities

The temporary quarters of the Center are in Suite 24, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue in Washington. It is located just five blocks from the AFL-CIO Building at 815 16th Street, and only a few blocks from the city's main shopping quarters.

There are currently three classrooms, a library lounge, a coffee and reception area and staff office space at the Center. The largest classroom can comfortably seat 25 persons "conference" style, while the smaller can seat 17 persons each. The library and coffee lounges provide ample room for informal discussions.

The Center library contains a selection of labor and labor-related books. Students are urged to check out these books during their stay at the Center, and are encouraged to make use of the library at the AFL-CIO Building to supplement our collection.

In addition to the library, the Center is developing a paperback section which will offer selected titles for sale at cost.

There is a wide range of audio-visual equipment available at the Center including a 16mm projector, tape recorders, a complete video recording system, an opaque projector and a transparency maker.

SELECTED POINTS OF INTEREST IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

AFL-CIO Headquarters - 815 16th Street, N.W., 293-5000; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m., Monday through Friday.

The White House - 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., 456-1414; House: 10:00 a.m. - Noon, Tuesday through Friday, 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m. Saturdays. Special V.I.P. tour at 8:00 a.m. Tuesday through Saturday. Free.

The Washington Monument - On the Mall at 15th Street, N.W., 381-7316; Hours: 8:00 a.m. - 11:00 p.m. daily and Sunday. Free. 10¢ charge for elevator ride to the top with children under 16 admitted free.

The Capitol: Senate Side - Phone 224-3121; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. daily; 40-minute tours of the Capitol are 25¢ for adults and free for children.

The Capitol: House Side - Phone 224-3121; Hours and tours same as above.

The Jefferson Memorial - South bank of the Tidal Basin. Hours: 8:00 a.m. - 12:00 midnight, daily and Sunday. Free.

The Lincoln Monument - West Potomac Park at the foot of 23rd Street, N.W. Hours: 8:00 a.m. - midnight. Daily and Sunday. Free.

The Supreme Court - First and Maryland Avenue, N.E.; EX 3-1640; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m., Monday through Friday; 9:00 a.m. - Noon Saturday; Cost: free.

Ford's Theater and Petersen House - 511 10th Street, N.W. 381-7316; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon, Monday through Saturday; 9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m. Sunday. Free.

National Geographic - 17th and M Streets, N.W. 296-7500; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday; Cost: Free. Visit Explorers' Hall, depicting the history of discovery and exploration. National Geographic maps and books are sold over the counter.

MUSEUMS

National Archives - Between Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues, 7th and 9th Streets, N.W.; WO 3-6404; Hours: 9:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday; 1:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m. Sunday. Free. Here you will find such historically significant documents as the "Declaration of Independence," "The Constitution" and "The Bill of Rights."

The Smithsonian Institution - Four museum buildings located in the same area on the Mall near the Washington Monument: Museum of History & Technology (12th & Constitution Avenue, N.W); Arts and Industries Building (9th & Jefferson Drive, S.W.); Museum of Natural History (10th & Constitution Ave., N.W.); Air and Space Building (10th & Independence Ave,, S.W.) Hours: 10:00 a.m.-5:30 p.m. daily. Free.

The National Gallery of Art - 6th and Constitution Avenues, N.W. 737-4215; Hours: 10:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m. daily and Saturday; 12:00 Noon - 10:00 p.m. Sunday. Free.

The Corcoran Gallery - New York and 17th Streets, N.W.; ME 8-3211; Hours: 10:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Tuesday through Friday; 9:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Saturday; 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Sunday. Free. An outstanding collection of contemporary American art.

The Phillips Collection Gallery - 1600 21st Street, N.W.; DU 7-2151; Hours: 11:00 a.m.- 10:00 p.m. Monday; 11:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m. Tuesday through Saturday; 2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. Sunday. Free. An excellent collection of leading Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works.

THEATERS, CONCERTS AND FILMS

Many concerts and stage productions (both indoors and outdoors) take place in Washington throughout the year. First-run films and new foreign movies are also abundant. For current information, check with either the Center staff or the entertainment section of Washington's daily newspapers.

OTHER INFORMATION

Airports

There are three airports serving the Washington area:

Washington National Airport is a short, 15-minute drive from town with cab fare running approximately $2.50 for the first person and less for each additional passenger.

Dulles International Airport, a vast, magnificent structure designed by Saarinen, is 27 miles from Washington. Cab fare is expensive. Limousine service is $2.50 and leaves from the Albert Pick Motel (12th and K Streets, N W.).

Friendship Airport serves both the Baltimore and Washington areas. It is a 30-minute drive from the District. Cabs are expensive, but the Limousine service, leaving from the Albert Pick Motel, is $2.50 each way.

Airlines

The principle airlines flying to and from the Nation's Capital are:

Allegheny	- ST 3-4500	Northeast	- 783-0840
American	- EX 3-2345	Northwest	- 337-0611
Braniff	- ST 3-0144	Piedmont	- DI 7-1800
Delta	- 296-7000	TWA	- 659-1000
Eastern	- 393-4000	United	- 893-3400
National	- 549-7633		

Railroads

All railroad service to and from Washington, D.C. operates from historic Union Station, located near the Capitol Building. For passenger information, call EX 3-7900.

Bus Terminals

There are two bus terminals serving the Washington area from different parts of the country. They are Continental Trailways, located at 12th and New York Avenue, N.W. (RE 7-5800) and Greyhound at 1110 New York Avenue, N.W. (NA 8-8000).

Cabs

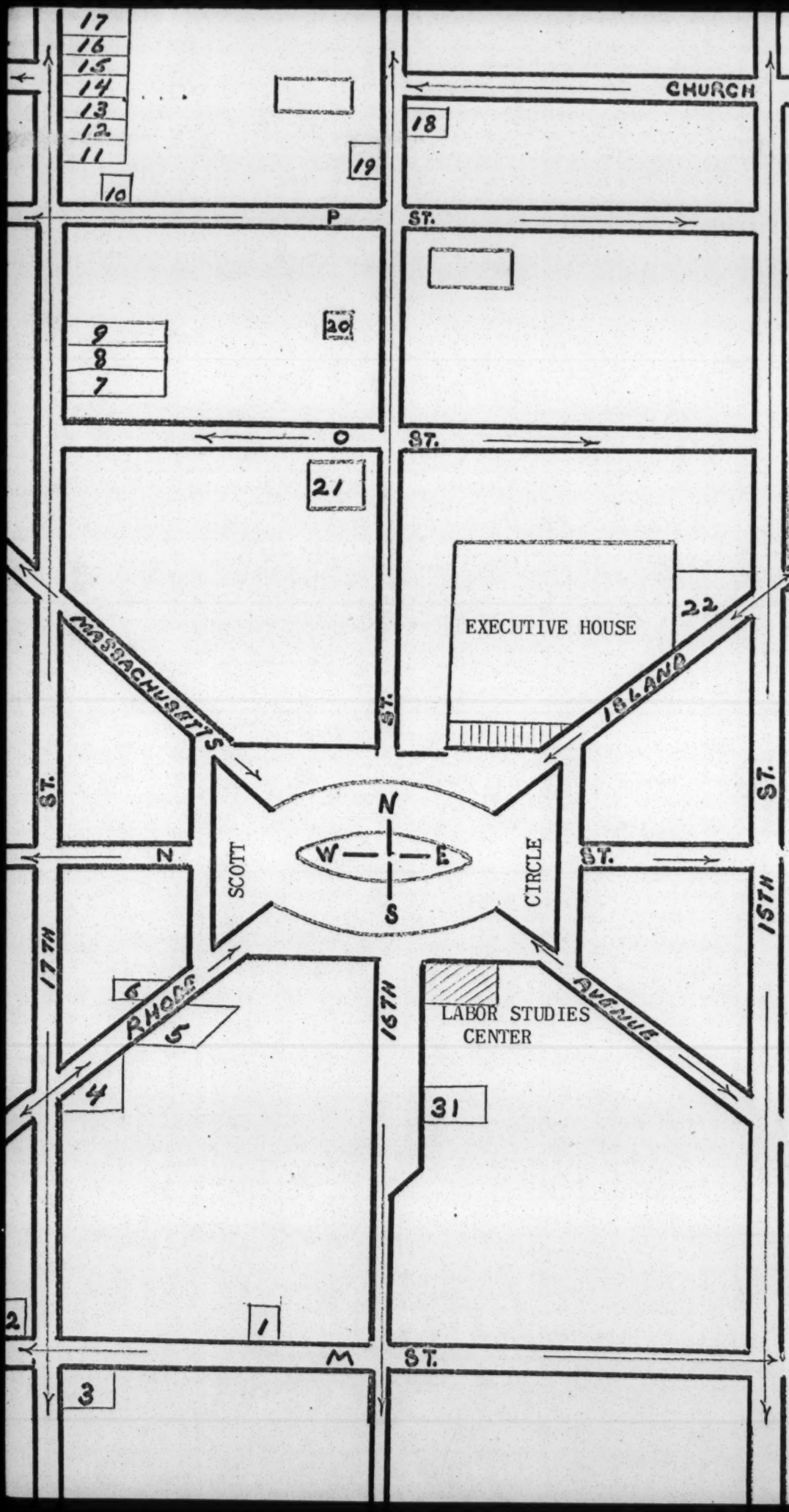
Washington taxis are plentiful (except when it rains) and reasonable. The fare system is based on five different zones within the city.

Blue Laws

Washington bars and night clubs close at 2:00 a.m. weekdays and midnight Saturday and Sunday. Since only wine and beer may be served on Sunday, most places do not open. Liquor stores are closed at 9:00 p.m. Monday through Friday, at midnight on Saturdays and all day Sunday.

Churches

For complete church listings, consult your hotel directory or the Yellow Pages. Those included here are listed primarily for their historical interest. The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception (Catholic), Michigan Avenue and 4th Street, N.E. is the largest Catholic church in the U.S. and the 7th largest religious structure in the world. St. John's Church at Lafayette Square, N.W., next door to the AFL-CIO Building, is known as the "Church of Presidents." It is Episcopal, as is the famous Washington Cathedral at Wisconsin & Massachusetts Avenues, N.W. A fascinating church is the Mosque, 2551 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., the first Moslem church ever built in the U.S. St. Matthew's Cathedral (Catholic) on Rhode Island Avenue at Connecticut Avenue, N.W., is where the Kennedy funeral was held, attended by President De Gaulle, Haile Selassie and hundreds of other dignitaries.



1-M St. Delly
2-O.F.C. Cafeteria
3-Nat. Geographic Society
4-B'nai Brith
5-Grammercy Inn
6-Holiday Inn
7-Temple Liquor & Beer
8-Esso Car Repair & Service
9-Hanky Panky Dellicatessen
10-Gem Cleaners & Launderet
11-Copley's Sandwich Shop
12-Lee's Laundry & Dry Cleaning
13-Paramount Steak House
14-17th St. Laundromat
15-Delicatessen & Milk Bar
16-Diplomat Liquors & Beer
17-Trio Restuarant & Bar
18-Alturas Hotel-Restuarant
19-Foundry Methodist Church
20-Nat. Wildlife Federation
21-First Baptist Church
22-Holiday Inn
23-Orbit Dry Cleaners
24-Mama's Italo-American Rest.
25-United States Post Office
26-Mid-City Dry Clean & ShoeShop
27-5¢ & 10¢ Haberdashery
28-Savon Liquors & Beer
29-Ridgeway Delicatessen
30-H.Ray Drugs & Sundries
31-Valet Shop-Laundry & Dry Cleaning Services

Wash. Trujs

Statement Before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity

BY

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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Distributed by
The NEA-Center for Human Relations
to the 108th NEA Convention
in San Francisco

Statement of
George D. Fischer, President
National Education Association
before the
Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
June 16, 1970

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am George D. Fischer, President of the National Education Association. With me at the witness table are Dr. Sam Ethridge, Assistant Executive Secretary for Teacher Rights and Mr. Stanley J. McFarland of the Office of Legislation and Federal Relations. Other members of the NEA staff who have special knowledge and experience related to the Committee's concern are also present and available if needed to clarify or expand on any matter in which the Select Committee has an interest.

The National Education Association is a professional, independent, private nonprofit organization of educators. The NEA was established 113 years ago. It is the largest professional association in the United States. Our membership of 1,100,000 includes professional educators in institutions ranging from pre-school through graduate and adult education. The majority of our members are classroom teachers in the public schools in all states, territories, and the Department of Defense Overseas Schools. The policies of the Association are established by our annual Representative Assembly comprised of 7,200 delegates from the state and local affiliated organizations. The administration of the Association is under a 96-member board of directors elected by the state associations and a 9-member executive committee, elected by the Representative Assembly. Members of both governing bodies serve for overlapping three-year terms.

Persons with me here today are from the staffs of the Center for Human Relations, the Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission, the Division of Field Services, and the Office of Legislation and Federal Relations.

The NEA has been actively promoting integrated education for several decades, but particularly after the Supreme Court Decision of 1954. Our interest

in the subject of the Select Committee's deliberation is reflected in several resolutions adopted by the NEA Representative Assembly in Philadelphia in July 1969. Most of these are based on resolutions of previous years.

The most pertinent resolutions are:

C-1. Educational Opportunity for All

C-4. Desegregation in the Public Schools

C-5. A Competent Educator in Every Professional Position

C-9. Physical Environment for Learning

C-13. Cultural Diversity in Instructional Materials

C-30. Nondiscriminatory Personnel Policies

C-37. Continuing Employment and Fair Dismissal Practices

C-39. Public Understanding

C-40. Civil Rights

C-44. Defense of Educators

C-47. Desegregation as Association Policy

Resolution C-47, Desegregation as Association Policy, speaks to the NEA objective established in 1965 that there shall be only one affiliated state association in any state. It was once the practice in several states, all in the Southeast, to have two education associations, one for black educators, one for white. The NEA itself as a national organization has always been fully integrated. During the period 1965 to 1969 all of the dual associations merged into a single state

affiliate except those in Mississippi and Louisiana. The white associations in both states have been expelled from the NEA. The former black associations are currently the official NEA affiliates, which white teachers in small numbers are joining.

In January and February of 1970, on direction of the NEA Board of Directors and Executive Committee, 27 members of the NEA staff were sent to Mississippi and Louisiana as task forces to report on-the-scene observations of violations of the letter and spirit of the laws and regulations pertinent to desegregation of public and tax supported schools. The cumulative reports of these task forces have been discussed with members of the Select Committee and staff and are filed with this statement for the record.

These task forces identified specific cases which we believe to be indicative of widespread conditions, not only in Mississippi and Louisiana, but in other states as well.

Before citing specifics I should like to ask that the record include the NEA Special Study in East Texas, Beyond Desegregation: The Problem of Power. The locale of this study is limited to East Texas, but we believe it captures the bitter flavor of the entire deep South on the issues of desegregation and integration. We believe this is important to this Committee's work.

Treatment of Students

While the data we gathered relate largely to the plight of educators in the South, our concern is not only for them, but more deeply for the children of both races concerned.

The black children, by seeing black teachers and administrators downgraded or fired, are impressed with the feeling that blackness is a mark of inferiority. Their reaction in many cases is one of self-hate, although in recent years this has been replaced by feelings of rebellion. The white children, on the other hand, are led to believe that their whiteness makes them superior persons. This condition

perpetuates the thoroughly discredited myth of white superiority and inhibits their future adult life, making it difficult for them to operate effectively in a multi-racial world.

In many so-called integrated schools the children are segregated by race into separate classrooms. In some instances the children are segregated within the classroom. Except for competitive athletic teams in some cases, virtually all extracurricular activities are segregated. When black and white schools' student bodies are merged, almost always the black school's trophies awards, etc. are left behind, not transferred and displayed in the "integrated" school. There are reported instances where white faculty members refer to black students openly as "spooks" or "niggers," where the blacks are seated in a corner of the room, with the white teacher turning his back on them for the entirety of the class periods.

Whatever progress might have been made in improving educational opportunities for black students has been jeopardized by submersion of their interests and needs and accomplishments in the current desegregation process. In most instances the pattern of desegregation is one way, involving the transfer of black students to formerly all white schools. Black schools, many of them more modern than those formerly for whites only, are abandoned or closed. In at least one situation, because the school system operates a segregated busing system, black children must board buses at 5:30 a.m. After the blacks are dropped off at school, the buses make second runs to pick up white children.

In one reported instance white students received written notice of their school assignment, while black children were first informed of their assignment by the school bus driver at the time of pick-up.

It was reported by students and black teachers that in case of inter-racial fights the white students frequently are not punished, but teachers may and do use corporal punishment on the black students involved.

Treatment of Teachers and Administrators

As an organization of professional educators we have a major responsibility to protest the unprofessional treatment of educators whenever or wherever it occurs. One arm of the NEA is our DuShane Emergency Fund for Teacher Rights which, after investigation, assists teachers in legal actions in matters pertaining to their professional employment. When necessary the DuShane Fund also provides subsistence loans or grants to individuals pending the outcome of litigation. Currently on hand we have 181 applications from black teachers and principals alleging violation of their professional rights for reasons of race. It must be pointed out that this number represents only a tiny fraction of the scope of the problem. For perfectly understandable reasons, hundreds of persons who have suffered demotion, dismissal, or harrassment do not pursue the matter. They are for the most part older individuals who cannot bring themselves to take action because their family members in the community would suffer with them. The East Texas Report (page 39) states the situation well:

"The initiative of black teachers to effect change is stifled, not only because of the immediate fear of job loss, but because teachers, too, have to deal with white bankers, white creditors, white landlords, and white judges. Teachers, too, fear physical as well as economic reprisal. The very weight of white dominion has a chilling effect."

I believe it is beyond the scope of the imagination of anyone here to really understand the courage displayed by the black teachers who do peacefully protest injustice, and I honor them. We are equally proud of the courageous white teachers who sustain their efforts.

As some specific examples, we have on-the-spot evidence that in eleven counties in Mississippi black principals have been demoted as desegregation took place. Also, a black principal in Louisiana, holder of a masters degree in administration, with high commendation for his two years service as a junior high

principal, was reassigned to teach fifth grade and was replaced by a white teacher without professional administrative experience or qualification. On protesting his lack of professional preparation to teach fifth grade the black principal was reassigned to a 7th grade post in an integrated school. Another black principal whose school was closed was demoted and assigned to teach mathmatics to 180 pupils grades 4 to 7. He has 27 years tenure in the district. He is not certificated to teach math. As of February 1970 he had been "observed" by the supervisor six times in a two week period. No assistance or constructive criticism was offered. The supervisor's only comment was that the former principal does not know his assigned subject, and therefore should be fired.

These are not isolated instances, but are typical of general practice. In virtually every instance a black principal is either reassigned to teaching duties, often in an area and grade level for which he is not qualified, or is listed as assistant principal, frequently with no office and limited to routine clerical tasks such as taking attendance or collecting school lunch money. It is rare that a reassigned black principal ever comes in contact with white pupils or teachers.

It is not uncommon for black teachers, when reassigned to desegregated schools, to be denied classrooms. They become "floaters" moving from room to room during the school day. There are numerous cases of persons being reassigned out of their field of preparation. For example, a black English teacher is assigned to teach French. This is regarded as a ploy to allow dismissal of teachers for incompetence at the end of the school year.

A black science teacher with a master's degree from New York University formerly taught grades 9-12 in an all black school. After desegregation he was reassigned as an eighth grade teacher, and a white former vocational agriculture

teacher was hired to teach 9th grade science. The black teacher's excellent laboratory was removed from the black school and placed in the vocational agriculture teacher's 9th grade class, where it is seldom used. The black former science teacher is now a "floater", has no assigned classroom, has to carry his science equipment with him.

Black teachers are forbidden to deal with discipline problems which instead must be referred to white principals. In one school, the principal has allegedly authorized white teachers to use corporal punishment on black pupils who misbehave.

In 1965 the NEA conducted a study which was jointly financed by the NEA and the U.S. Office of Education. The report of this study is entitled Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States. The situation described in this five-year-old survey accurately portrays the situation today in those localities which are now being forced to integrate. A more recent report from the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, NEA's integrated affiliate shows that the student-teacher ratio for whites is 18.5 to one, while the student-teacher ratio for blacks is 29.2 to one.

It is becoming widespread practice in the desegregated school systems to require that teachers take such texts as the National Teacher Examination, developed by the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey. NEA does not object to periodic evaluation of a teacher's academic competence. However, we strongly object to the misuse of this instrument as a means of discriminating against black teachers. The test is designed solely to measure a teacher's academic knowledge of subject matter. It in no way measures qualitative characteristics such as rapport with students, skill in instructional techniques, and other vitally important essential components of good teaching. Requiring a certain score on the

National Teachers Examination as the sole criterion for hiring or retaining any teacher is unsound professional practice. The use of periodic evaluation to help identify areas of strength and weakness in a teacher's academic preparation as a guide to further inservice training in his field is valid, but should never be used as a hiring or firing criterion.

Facilities, School Buses and Instructional Materials

Some strange use and misuse of school buildings is evident in several states. When desegregation occurs (and incidentally, most usually with no involvement of the black community in development of the plans) school boards frequently downgrade or close the black schools. In several cases newer and well equipped black schools were closed while white schools were overcrowded.

In one Louisiana parish the public school board has leased a public school building for $500 annually to the newly-created private segregated school for white children. The $500 fee includes school books and instructional equipment. NEA investigators were told that the plant was constructed with federal money, but were unable to verify or disprove this allegation. The white high school principal and several school board members are leaders of the private school group. In another community a newspaper report indicates the public school board sold a public school to a private group under a sealed bid for $501.50. At the same meeting the board spent over an hour discussing how to cut school costs.

In another situation where a segregated private academy was established the board of education gave the private school an estimated $55,000 worth of textbooks. Teachers in the public schools state they do not have enough textbooks for their pupils. In the same school system the private school uses the public school buses. There are other examples of sale or lease of public school buildings to private school groups but we do not have data as to dollar amounts involved.

There are indications that tuition to the private schools is $400 to $500 per year. The cost would be much higher except that public school materials,

buses, and textbooks are frequently given to the private schools by public school officials. There is also evidence that white teachers have been kept on the public school payroll until the end of the school year, although they are teaching in the private school.

The local and state school officials are not alone responsible for the conditions which are contrary to the spirit and letter of the integration laws. In an article in the Washington Monthly, Peter Gall, a former member of the Office of Civil Rights staff in HEW, states the situation succinctly:

> "From almost its first month, the Nixon Administration began to nibble away at our program. First, the desegregation guidelines were weakened in a joint HEW-Justice statement drafted primarily at the White House. Then several school districts got favored treatment that violated all the standards that had been maintained until then. Then Secretary Finch sent a letter to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, asking for a delay for 30 Mississippi school districts, in what then appeared to be (and was later held to be) direct conflict with rulings of the Supreme Court. Finally, the Administration adopted the code words "bussing" and "neighborhood schools" as the definition of the Supreme Court, Congress, and the previous Administration, that the issue was equal educational opportunity under a very explicit law..."

The firing last week of Commissioner of Education James Allen, virtually the only voice in the Nixon Administration expressing deep commitment to the cause of integration, is the latest negative event in this sequence.

It is small wonder that the resistance of the white power structure in the South remains strong.

Conclusion and Recommendations

We urge the Committee not to believe that our concern for human rights of pupils and teachers is limited to blacks or to one region of the country. We are equally concerned, as we trust the Committee is, with similar problems facing Indians, Spanish Americans, Orientals, and members of other ethnic minorities. Our concentration in this statement on the problems of blacks in the South results from our being able to report specifically on actual cases in that area because of the recent activity of our staff task forces. The NEA Center for Human Rights is

in the process of developing similar data relative to Spanish Surname Americans.

The exhaustive study by the Senate Special Sub-Committee on Indian Education thoroughly documents conditions affecting our Indian citizens. Our efforts in this area will be to furnish leadership and to coordinate with Indian groups to seek improvements in the education of Indian children and youth. It is important to note that the problems of ethnic groups differ in many respects and the solutions will be equally varied. The one common denominator affecting all is, of course, white racism. We believe the NEA has a major responsibility to work to eliminate this evil wherever it exists, including among our own membership.

We recommend that the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity conduct on-the-spot investigations in the South, the Southwest, and in various areas of the North and West where de facto and de jure racial discrimination exists.

We recommend that legislation providing massive general federal aid to education, equal to 30% of the total cost of public education, be enacted with full protection that federal funds may not be used in racially segregated schools.

We recommend removal of restrictions prohibiting the use of federal funds for financing pupil transportation if local authorities so choose.

We recommend that the Government Accounting Office investigate alleged charges of misuse of federal education funds as charged by NAACP and others.

We recommend that S 1951, the Professional Negotiation Act, be enacted to provide a federal agency to which teachers may have recourse through their associations in settlement of grievances.

We recommend that S 3887, Mobile Teachers Retirement Act be enacted to facilitate the movement of teachers to different states without loss of retirement benefits.

We recommend strong and swift action by the Department of Justice and the Office of Civil Rights of HEW and the courts in cases affecting the civil rights of teachers.

We recommend that the Select Committee make the widest possible use of the news media to inform the public as to the Committee's findings as your investigation progresses rather than waiting until work is completed.

We recommend the immediate official release of the report of the White House Task Force on Urban Education.

We appreciate this opportunity to present our findings and comments to the Committee and pledge our whole-hearted support and cooperation in any way we may be helpful.

SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

ATLANTA, GA. VOL. 2, NO. 5 DECEMBER, 1970

Crisis Of Education

A Special Issue

A Long Way Yet In Southern Schools

Page 3

25¢

North or South:

Who Will Be First To Show the Way?

PASADENA AND some other cities are showing that full integration, with massive use of buses, can work well. In other places integration is having more trouble. But there are encouraging signs that many non-Southern school administrators are effectively doing the job that their Southern counterparts often say cannot be done. For this four-page SOUTH TODAY special report, education writer Mike Bowler toured the nation to see what is happening. Pages 5-8. A *New York Times* survey shows integration going well in some typical smaller cities, North and South. Page 10.

Coleman Silberman Clark

3 Experts

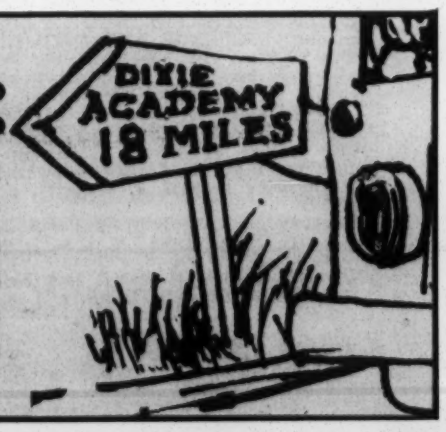
THREE EXPERTS on matters related to school desegregation and quality education—Kenneth Clark, Charles Silberman and James Coleman—talk about the failures and the possibilities. The nation could provide the world a great example by 1976, Dr. Clark says. Page 4.

A Teacher

IN OCTOBER Pat Conroy was dismissed as the teacher in a one-room school on Daufuskie Island, S.C. (See SOUTH TODAY, November issue.) Now he is facing tough consequences, and the future of a little school where children were truly learning is in doubt. By Betsy Fancher. Page 9.

Conroy

Academies:



MANY WHITE parents would rather give their children inferior educations than send them to integrated schools. Georgia's academy enrolments have grown. The schools often receive illegal public assistance. By Junie Brown. Page 12.

Index: *South Today, Volume I*

Following is an index of Volume I, *South Today*, listing articles which appeared during the first year of publication, July, 1969, through June, 1970. The index is available upon request in a 17-page, stapled format, eight and a half by 11 inches. *South Today* also is indexed by the Public Affairs Information Service. Back issues may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council for 25 cents each.

AGRICULTURE
See also: COOPS
"A Cry From the Delta." Robert Coles and Harry Huge from the NEW REPUBLIC. v. 1, n. 1, pp. 5-6 (July 1969) A description of the tragic human conditions in rural Mississippi with a discussion of agricultural politics involved.
"U.S.D.A.: It Remains Government's Worst Rights Offender." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 5, p. 5 (Nov. 1969) Agriculture programs discriminate against blacks.

AGRICULTURE—MIGRANTS
"Migrants: What Makes Them Tick?" Robert Coles from THE MIGRANT FARMER: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY. v. 1, n. 3, p. 7 (Sept. 1969)
"Peonage in Florida." Robert Coles and Harry Huge from the NEW REPUBLIC. v. 1, n. 3, p. 6 (Sept. 1969) A study of Florida migrants.

APPALACHIA
"Change in the Mountains." Colman McCarthy from the WASHINGTON POST. v. 1, n. 3, p. 3 (Sept. 1969) Community action program, FOCIS, brings change.
" 'The Lord Can Take Us to the Moon in the Next Life.' " Colman McCarthy from the WASHINGTON POST. v. 1, n. 3, p. 3 (Sept. 1969) A mountaineer comments on modern priorities.

ARMED FORCES
"Black Vets: A Place Now In America's Mainstream?" Barbara Thomas and Peggy Roberson from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS. v. 1, n. 6, p. 3 (Dec. 1969)

BIBLIOGRAPHY
"Report on Reports." v. 1, n. 2, p. 2 (Aug. 1969) An index of relevant magazine articles.

BLACK CAPITALISM
See: ECONOMICS—NEGRO BUSINESS

BLACK POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
See: POLITICS—NEGRO

BUSINESS—SOCIAL ASPECTS
"Banker: One in Atlanta Goes to the Slums" from BUSINESS WEEK. v. 1, n. 2, p. 5 (Aug. 1969) C&S Bank's community development program.
"Black Executive: He Makes His Own Way." Jack Nelson from the LOS ANGELES TIMES. v. 1, n. 2, p. 4 (Aug. 1969) Black holds executive position with tobacco company.
"Business: Is It Now Moving?" Alan Otten from the WALL STREET JOURNAL. v. 1, n. 2, p. 4 (Aug. 1969)
"Report on Reports." Claire Brown. v. 1, n. 8, p. 2 (March 1970) Cities Urban Coalition's CONSUMER CREDIT AND THE LOW INCOME CONSUMER.
"Why: A Corporate Leader States the Case." Roger Lewis from DATELINE, v. 1, n. 2, p. 5 (Aug. 1969)

BUSING
"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children Further." Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 10, p. 7 (May 1970)

CIVIL RIGHTS
See also: RACE AND RACE RELATIONS; VOTING RIGHTS ACT
"By Way of: Somerville." John Lewis. v. 1, n. 4, p. 2 (Oct. 1969) A review of civil rights activities in this small Tennessee town.
" 'The Past Is Now;' Tragedy, Loneliness Are South's Theme." James McBride Dabbs from CIVIL RIGHTS IN RECENT SOUTHERN FICTION. v. 1, n. 6, pp. 1, 5 (Dec. 1969)
"Seeing the Movement." Nat Hentoff from HARPER'S. v. 1, n. 8, p. 7 (March 1970)
"U.S.D.A.: It Remains Government's Worst Rights Offender." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 5, p. 4 (Nov. 1969) Agriculture programs discriminate against blacks.

CITIES and TOWNS
See: URBAN AFFAIRS

COLLEGES and UNIVERSITIES
See: EDUCATION—HIGHER

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
"Change in the Mountains." Colman McCarthy from the WASHINGTON POST. v. 1, n. 3, p. 3 (Sept. 1969) Community action program, FOCIS, brings change.
"Report on Reports." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 11, p. 2 (June 1970) Rent strikes and other Activities of the National Tenants Organization in the South.

COOPS
"Co-ops: 'No Man Is Free Until He Makes His Living.' " Hank Leifermann from ATLANTA magazine. v. 1, n. 5, p. 5 (Nov. 1969)
"By Way of: Gee's Bend." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 3, pp. 2, 7 (Sept. 1969) A wedding in the Freedom Quilting Bee's new factory.
"Quilting Bee." Carolynne Scott from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS. v. 1, n. 1, p. 6 (July 1969)

DEMONSTRATIONS
See also: VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION
"Our Children Are Spat On." Pat Watters. v. 1, n. 1, pp. 1, 7 (July 1969) Black parents sit-in at the Justice Department; air their complaints about school desegregation.

DEMONSTRATIONS—CAMPUS
" 'No Person Is Safe.' " Statement by the Southern Regional Council following events at Orangeburg in 1968. v. 1, n. 11, p. 8 (June 1970)
"Orangeburg: A Tragedy Of Police Panic and Official Defensiveness." v. 1, n. 1, p. 8 (July 1969)
"Orangeburg to Kent State." Jack Nelson from the LOS ANGELES TIMES. v. 1, n. 11, p. 8 (June 1970) Similarities of the tragedies at South Carolina State and Kent State.

DISASTER RELIEF
"Disaster Relief: A Federal Failure." Jim Wood. v. 1, n. 6, p. 7 (Dec. 1969) A summary of the SRC-AFSC report, IN THE WAKE OF HURRICANE CAMILLE—AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL RESPONSE.
"Just Normal Greed." Calvin Trillin from THE NEW YORKER. v. 1, n. 6, pp. 6-7 (Dec. 1969) Report on relief efforts following Hurricane Camille on the Mississippi Coast.

ECOLOGY
"Jobs, Sea and Air." Bayard Webster from the NEW YORK TIMES. v. 1, n. 8, p. 3 (March 1969) Opposition to the location of a BASF chemical plant on the South Carolina coast.
"A New Plant Meets A New Age." Betsy Fancher. v. 1, n. 11, special section, pp. 1-4 (June 1970) Pros and cons of locating BASF chemical plant on the South Carolina coast.
"A Theology for the Age of Ecology." William K. McElvaney from THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. v. 1, n. 11, p. 4 (June 1970)

ECONOMICS
See also: LABOR, EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY
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SOUTH TODAY *A Digest of Southern Affairs*

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Some of the articles used in SOUTH TODAY have been edited for length. We welcome manuscripts and clippings. Proposals and contributions from students will receive special attention.

By Way Of: Galloway

When Charles E. Silberman, an editor of *Fortune* magazine, told the Senate Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity that most American schools were grim, joyless, oppressive, intellectually sterile and aesthetically barren, he shocked some educators and encouraged the worst suspicions of many American parents.

The allegation would seem to be confirmed by the nation's high dropout rate—50 per cent in some Southern states. And it underscores the centrality, in the school segregation-integration struggle, of quality education itself: what schools do to children.

Silberman's studies have demonstrated that public schools can be organized "to facilitate joy in learning and intellectual and aesthetic expression . . . such models are now in existence and can be followed."

Among the good models is the new Galloway School in Atlanta, one private school which has grown out of a community need for excellence rather than a desire to escape the thorny problems of integration. School officials recruited ghetto children through scholarships; transportation from the inner city is provided by volunteers.

Every morning car loads of black children arrive from squalid, lyrically-named ghettos such as Summerhill to join fellow students from the posh suburbs of northside Atlanta. The classrooms are open; children move freely from one area to another, concentrating at will on arithmetic, English, social studies and science. The teachers, usually two to a class, act as sensitive guides for each new learning experience. The classes are ungraded. "We accept the children where they are and go from there," says Principal Elliott Galloway.

A visitor may find students at one table reading manuals on five different levels. He may encounter a group making anti-pollution devices or engaging in an experimental encounter led by members of the Human Development Institute. The atmosphere is not one of chaos but of absorption and involvement. This is not a "progressive school" nor a "permissive" one. It is simply a school that seems to prove Silberman's thesis—that a school can be humane and still educate well; that it can offer joy, growth and fulfillment without weakening the three R's; that it can be at once child-centered and subject-centered.

There is still a low ratio of blacks—25 in a student body of 500. But this is the school's second year of operation and scholarship funds are scarce.

Neither the Galloway School nor other innovative schools springing up around the country can or should replace public schools. (Galloway is not cheap; its sponsors do not delude themselves into thinking, as do the sponsors of almost all the segregation academies, that good private education can be provided at low expense.) But their effective teaching of students with a wide range of I.Q.s, income and socio-economic backgrounds could well serve as a model for far-sighted educators and herald a new and brighter era for public education.

—*Betsy Fancher*

The South:

Goal Still Distant, But Many Schools Go Well

By PAUL GASTON

FIRST DAY—Students at Wade Hampton High School, Greenville, S.C., get acquainted.

When classes began this fall at John F. Kennedy High School in Richmond, black students outnumbered whites 10 to one. Under the new desegregation plan, black enrolment was meant to be 71 per cent, but white absenteeism wrecked that calculation. Gregory Thomas, heading a welcoming committee of black students, remarked to a reporter: "Everybody is expecting the other guy to start trouble today." He was determined it would be otherwise. "The majority of blacks here want this to work," he insisted. "They want it badly." Turning to a group of the new white students, he said: "We want to make you feel at home here. This is now your school, too."

Among the new white students at Kennedy High was Virginia Holton, 13-year-old daughter of Gov. Linwood Holton Jr. The governor had the option of sending his daughter to any school of his choice, but the executive mansion is in the Kennedy attendance zone, and Holton made his decision partly to dramatize the duty of white people to act lawfully and constructively to make desegregation work.

In other parts of the South the new school year saw many black students like Gregory Thomas—and many white students, as well—committed to the lawful, orderly and often creative implementation of desegregation plans. Many school boards, superintendents, principals, and teachers also responded positively, sometimes imaginatively. In many places community leaders, black and white, worked to rally support for the embattled public schools, allay fears, dispel rumors, and, in their own ways, overcome the racist heritage so long nurtured by the dual school system.

In Durham, N.C., a civic group called Women In Action to Prevent Violence and Its Causes, worked feverishly through the summer to prepare the community to accept a new desegregation plan that involved pairing and the busing of about 2,000 students. After the first three weeks of school, Julius Chambers, the black attorney who managed the desegregation suit against the city, praised the successful implementation of the new plan.

In Athens, Ga., the school board drew up an assignment plan, geared to the use of extensive free transportation, that resulted in a white-black student ratio throughout the school system of approximately 67-33. For 50 years, Supt. Charles P. McDaniel observed, school buses had been used to maintain segregation. "Now we're busing to eliminate segregation," he remarked. According to McDaniel, the new plan had stabilized the community—"There's no place for anyone to run now"—and he was hopeful that it would not be struck down by the U. S. Supreme Court.

A *New York Times* national survey reported in mid-October that the experiences in three Southern cities—New Albany, Miss., Greenville, S. C., and Chapel Hill, N. C.—showed gains in both the educational achievement and the social attitudes of the students. On-the-spot investigations, government reports and press stories indicate that the stresses of accommodation are being met in many newly integrated schools where community leaders have taken a firm stand in support of desegregation.

In some localities the ominous transfer of whites from the public schools to the private "segregation academies" has been either slowed or reversed. In Indianola, Miss., for example, all 991 white public school students dropped out in January to avoid newly-ordered desegregation. This fall, some 200 of them returned to the public schools. Many factors were responsible for their return, but the determination of influential white leaders in the community was of critical importance.

These were encouraging signs in a year in which school desegregation touched more young people and more teachers than ever before. A comprehensive look at the region, however, suggests that they are not signs of a dominant pattern. On the contrary, despite the administration's boasts, in many districts the dual school system has not been dismantled, and the goal of genuine school integration remains a distant one.

Resistance Continues

From all across the region during the first third of the school year came authoritative reports of the continuing intransigence of white segregationists. While Gov. Holton sent his daughter to a predominantly black school, George Wallace urged already-defiant parents in Mobile to place their children in schools of their choice, ignoring court-ordered assignments. In Georgia, Gov. Lester Maddox, campaigning for neighborhood schools and what he called freedom of choice, urged a similar flaunting of the law. John Bell Williams, governor of Mississippi, not only counseled resistance but dramatized his objection to desegregation orders by placing his children in private school.

Local governing authorities, school officials, and aroused citizens groups emulated their political leaders. Seizing upon the neighborhood school as the symbol of their educational philosophy, and arguing vigorously against the use of free transportation as a legitimate instrument for ending segregation, they have used a variety of techniques to prevent enforcement of the law.

In Mobile, for example, over a thousand children turned up at schools to which they were not assigned, climaxing a summer-long campaign of resistance. William B. Crane, chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, gave them moral encouragement by describing the court-ordered plan as "asinine," adding: "It's theirs and they can enforce it." The board subsequently granted upwards of a thousand transfers.

Mobile's lawlessness received national coverage in September, but similar situations in other parts of the region have largely been ignored. In some districts parents falsified their addresses to receive desired assignments. One Florida school board, for example, put nine agents to work to track down parents said by the superintendent to be "lying and cheating to circumvent the court order." In other areas, such as Hartsville, S. C., and Birmingham, school officials appeared to raise no objection to illegal transfers. U. W. Clemon, a Legal Defense Fund attorney in Birmingham, has claimed that "10,000 white students in Jefferson County alone are openly attending classes in schools where they were not assigned in violation of the court's desegregation order."

In-School Evasions

Defiance of assignment orders, whether open or covert, though fairly common, has been used less frequently this year as a tactic of resistance than a wide variety of in-school discrimination measures that have flourished in all of the states.

One favorite method of keeping a wedge between the races has been the widespread use—or misuse—of ability tracking. Situations like that in Franklinton, La., where 150 Negroes are assigned to all-black classes and another 150 to classes with only a few whites, have been reported by civil rights groups as well as by HEW. Most investigators are persuaded that ability grouping has soared in popularity this year not for educational but for racial reasons.

Less frequently observed, but apparently not uncommon, has been the practice of segregating by sex within schools—a form of assignment regarded by most blacks as an extreme racial insult.

Of the various forms of in-school discrimination, more numerous this year than ever before, the most common have been the exclusion of black students from school activities and organizations, the selection of all-white homecoming courts, and the use of symbols and songs ("Rebel" and "Dixie") reminiscent of a racist tradition.

Negroes have also been offended by the extent to which the desegregation process has put the burden of change, both physically and spiritually, on black students, and exacted a high price from black principals. Both HEW and the courts have approved plans that require more black than white children to be bused, that close formerly all-black schools and transfer the Negroes to formerly all-white schools (often physically inferior to the black ones), and in other ways erase the black traditions and symbols—sources of identity and pride—offering as a substitute only the traditions and symbols of the whites.

Federal Inaction

Last June, both Jerris Leonard of the Justice Department and J. Stanley Pottinger of HEW, the two top federal officials most directly involved in compliance enforcement, promised swift action in the fall should in-school discrimination practices appear. By the first of October Pottinger had acknowledged extensive classroom segregation and other problems more complex than he had anticipated back in June, but no action was forthcoming in the first months of the school year. The consequence was widespread black protests, scores of violent confrontations and hundreds of arrests. A few examples can only suggest their range and nature.

In a predominantly white high school in Iredell County, N. C., 120 black students were suspended and 22 were arrested in the wake of a protest against the selection of an all-white homecoming court and the white student opposition to a plan that would assure the election of black class officers. In neighboring Rowan County, whites protested when the principal of one of the high schools banned "Dixie;" the school's advisory council reversed the ruling and the whites held a "victory" celebration. Discords like these have become commonplace throughout the region.

Less common, but more ominous, have been the several violent confrontations. In Earle, Ark., a black student march led to 29 arrests and touched off a general protest in the black community. More marches led to beatings, shootings, more arrests, and a continuing boycott by black students. In Bogalusa, La., 600 students released pent-up racial tension in a two-hour fight after a football game. School was subsequently closed while blacks picketed with signs reading "Integration on the Outside, Segregation on the Inside." In two Louisiana parishes, Lafourche and Terrebonne, outbreaks of violence led to the declaration by the governor of a state of emergency. In Henderson, N. C., a school-board attempt to resegregate 92 black students led to mass protests, confrontations met by tear gas, the presence of the national guard, and the arrest of over 140 blacks. In Tallahatchie County, Miss., 125 protesting black students were arrested and taken to the maximum security camp at Parchman Penitentiary.

Leadership Counted

These acts of noncompliance and repression are clearly a major part of the Southern school scene in the fall of 1970. However, as the examples of Durham, Athens, Indianola, and a large number of other communities attest, the experience of desegregation need not be fatally flawed. In those schools where whites and blacks have created successful integration, one common, crucial factor has been intelligent community leadership. In districts where desegregation has been a failure—where true integration has never had a chance—community leadership has ranged from good-intentioned mindlessness to outrageous intransigence. Two conclusions are inescapable: (1) integration of Southern schools is not simply a desirable goal, but a viable one as well; (2) the speed with which that goal is reached depends heavily on how the crisis of leadership is resolved in Southern communities.

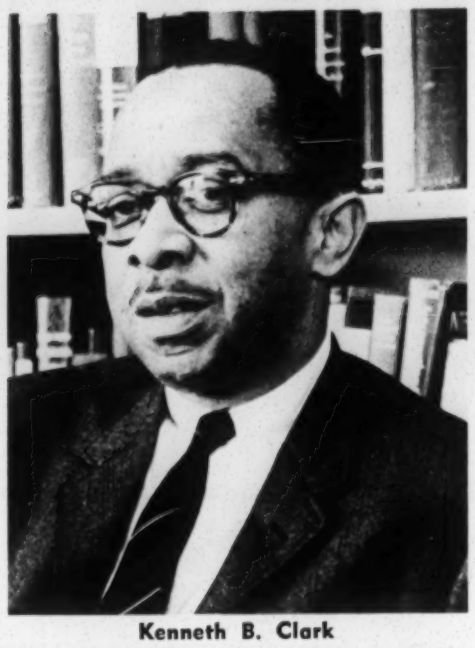
Two factors of major importance will heavily influence the way in which that crisis is resolved. The first is the judgement of the Supreme Court, which presently has under consideration cases that turn on the issue of free transportation and the extent to which it may be required to eliminate racially identifiable schools. The second is the role of the President, whose power over the entire civil rights enforcement procedure is decisive.

Increasingly, the logic of the desegregation process has highlighted the urgency of eliminating all segregated schools. This can be done only by an intelligent expansion of the use of free transportation. Consequently, Mr. Nixon and Southern integrationists are on a collision course. His present position, stated most recently in a political speech in Asheville, is that "any child is better off going to that school closest to his home." That position must be altered if the region is to free itself of the kinds of failures it has experienced in 1970.

Dr. Paul Gaston, now research director of the Southern Regional Council, until recently was director of graduate studies in history at the University of Virginia. He is author of THE NEW SOUTH CREED, recently published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., which has just won the 1970 Lillian Smith Award for excellence among books about the South.

James S. Coleman

Charles E. Silberman



Kenneth B. Clark

The Failure: Three Experts Discuss It, And What Could Be Done

The recent hearings before Sen. Walter Mondale's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity provide not only a vivid picture of the damage of segregation to American youngsters of every race but also a recognition of the urgent necessity for improving schools as a whole.

Here are excerpts from the testimony of three principal witnesses before the committee.

Charles E. Silberman, Board of Editors, Fortune magazine, who was director of the Carnegie Study on the Education of Educators:

Schools Failing

" . . . The public schools are failing dismally in what has always been regarded as one of their primary tasks. What has distinguished public education in the United States from education elsewhere, in fact, has been precisely the expectation that the public schools would create a sense of unity and national purpose in a society that otherwise might be racked by ethnic, religious and racial conflict . . . Never have we needed the schools to play this role more than now; never has their failure to do so been more ominous for American democracy. If the United States is to fulfill its promise of becoming a truly just and humane society, the schools will have to do an incomparably better job than they are now doing of educating youngsters from minority and lower-class homes—Negro Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, Mexican Americans, American Indians and poor whites in particular—and of educating all children in general.

". . . The defects and failures of the schools which educate Negro and other minority youngsters are, in good measure, simply an exaggerated version of what is wrong with schools everywhere. 'The most deadly of all possible sins,' Erik Erikson suggests, 'is the mutilation of a child's spirit.' It is not possible to spend any prolonged period visiting public school classrooms as I have done without being appalled by the mutilation visible everywhere, in the most prosperous suburbs as well as the most poverty stricken urban and rural slums; mutilation of spontaneity, of joy in learning, of pleasure in creating, of a sense of self . . . Because adults take the schools so much for granted, they fail to appreciate what grim, joyless places most American schools are, how oppressive and petty are the rules by which they are governed, how intellectually sterile and esthetically barren the atmosphere, what an appalling lack of civility obtains on the part of teachers and principals, what contempt they unconsciously display for children as children.

Alternatives

" . . . And it need not be! What my studies have demonstrated, beyond any doubt, is that public schools can be organized to facilitate joy in learning and intellectual and esthetic expression and to develop character—in the rural and urban slums no less than in the prosperous suburbs. This is no utopian hope; there are models now in existence that can be followed . . . . In short, the public school system can be reformed. What makes change possible, moreover, is that what is mostly wrong with the schools is not due to venality, or indifference, or stupidity, but to mindlessness . . . . If they (the teachers) make a botch of it, and an uncomfortably large number do, it is because it simply never occurs to more than a handful of them to ask why they are doing what they are doing —to think seriously or deeply about the purpose or consequences of education.

" . . . How teachers teach, and how they act, may be more important than what they teach . . . . Segregated schools teach a lesson about the worth and humanity of black children, and of white children as well—that is far more powerful and far more lasting than all the civic classes, salutes to the flag and recitals of the Pledge of Allegiance put together . . . Racial segregation is at least as damaging to white children as it is to black children . . . . What makes integration crucial to this nation's future . . . is not so much what it does to raise academic achievement as what it contributes to the creation of a humane, decent and united society. That is what the public school's major purpose must be. That . . . is what this committee's major purpose must be.

". . . Children who are entering the public schools next year will still be in the labor force in year 2003. Given the kinds of changes that are occurring . . . this committee must, without in any way diminishing the importance of equal educational opportunity, place that problem in the context of the schools as a whole.

". . . Schools teach values, not simply facts. Education has once been defined as what is left over after you have forgotten everything you have been taught. I think we all, in a sense, know this; that what we are learning is how to learn a set of attitudes toward learning, toward other people . . . The value of integration . . . is greastest in terms of the kinds of values that an integrated school teaches and the kind of values equally important, the negative values that maintain in segregated schools . . . . I think the main damage is that white children pick up quite unconsciously a sense of superiority, of their own superiority, which they carry with them all the days of their years unless they then have another experience.

Black Identity

"It is not only black students who need to know the history of the black man in this country. White students need to know it also . . . I have a great deal of skepticism as to the political system that has been advocated (black separatist school systems) because I think it is politically naive . . . it is a return to a system that failed in the past and I think the chances of ghetto schools' getting equal resources are greatly reduced if you have this kind of separatism . . . . it is possible to very much involve the community in the operation of the school without setting up a separate school system."

Dr. James S. Coleman, professor of social relations, Johns Hopkins University, who was head of the commission that produced the celebrated Coleman Report, a survey conducted for the U. S. Office of Education measuring the equality of educational opportunity throughout the country:

Class Lines

". . . Children are subject to inequality of opportunity by virtue of the very economic and racial homogeneity of the schools they attend. A working-class child in a working-class school or a Negro child in a Negro school is deprived of the most effective educational resources contained in the schools: those brought by other children as a result of their home environment. . . . Thus, if schools are racially homogeneous or economically homogeneous, the disadvantages a working-class or Negro child or Puerto Rican child, or a Mexican American child experiences in his home environment are multiplied by the disadvantages he experiences in his school environment.

" . . . The effects of changes in predominantly black schools, through compensatory programs, and the results have been disappointing.

"The addition of enormous resources (amounting in some cases to a doubling of per-pupil expenditures) in ghetto schools has not brought about equality education or equality in educational opportunity. Thus, although the results of our survey do not say that it is impossible to provide equality of opportunity in all-black schools, the results of other research do not show promising methods for doing so.

" . . . The longer period of time that a child attends an integrated school, if he comes from a disadvantaged home background, the closer his achievement comes to the achievement of children from advantaged home backgrounds.

What Is a School?

" . . . It is quite clear that equality of educational opportunity in the future will require some action which divorces education from residences, for the increasing freedom in residence that has occurred with affluence and technological change has created increasing social homogeneity in education—in effect, turning the public school system in some densely settled parts of the United States with small school districts . . . into schools that are in effect private schools, stratified by race and economic level.

" . . . I believe a total revision of the conception of the school is necessary if it is to fulfill the goals of education—if it is to release a child from the constraints imposed by his background.

"I would suggest examining some schools which provide for children and youth a greater measure of autonomy and responsibility, less an imposed and rigid program, than the ordinary school. (Some) may be developing a new pattern in education in which there is a genuine solidarity among the students, and between the students and their teachers—a solidarity that intensifies the effects of the school, and makes possible both stable school integration and strong, effective education.

" . . . In Berkeley, Calif., . . .(schools) were no longer defined as basically black schools to which white children were being bused, or white schools to which black students were being bused. The grade spans were changed, the whole ball game was started with wholly new patterns . . . . In another plan in Oklahoma City, again schools are not defined in the usual way. There will be, in fact, more busing at the senior high school level than there was before, but I think parents will not be unhappy, because . . . a child is being bused to a mathematics center, or to an English center, or whatever . . .

"We are in our infancy in the United States in determining what kinds of patterns of pluralistic education are going to be possible in the future. I think that we are going to, in the next five years, develop enough such innovations and experimentations that we will find ways—and some ways that are already beginning to be evident—in which stable racial integration can exist, even in the largest, even in the most densely-settled areas of the United States."

Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor of psychology, College of the City of New York, and director of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center:

Busing

" . . . While the argument about busing has been used as a reason for not bringing about desired changes in the racial configuration of our schools, the mere fact is that there is more busing going on in public education in the United States to maintain racially isolated schools than there is to eliminate racially isolated schools . . . No one has raised the argument of busing as a horrible thing, when the function of that transportation was to maintain segregated schools.

" . . . In many rural areas, the buses are as much a part of the educational process

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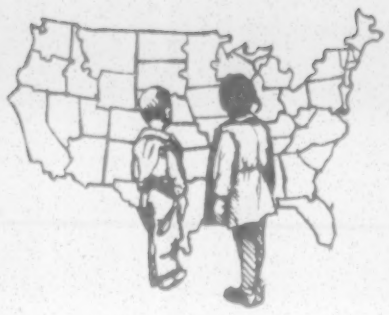


North or South: Who Will Show The Way To School Integration?

By MIKE BOWLER

Segregation in the Pasadena, Calif., school district begins about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. That's when the fleet of 87 buses arrives at the schools to begin hauling 15,000 children from desegregated classrooms to segregated neighborhoods. There are 595 routes and 2,380 bus stops. By 3:30, when the secondary schools start letting out, the City of Roses seems to have more yellow buses on its streets than automobiles.

It is a complicated procedure which, by late October, seven weeks after the 29,000-student district desegregated its schools under court order, most schools had down to a science. Willard Primary School, for example, loaded 600 first, second and third graders in 10 minutes—with only two adults supervising.

A complicated procedure as well as one that is strangely uncomfortable to watch. White children and black who have learned and played together for six hours, oblivious to skin color, wave goodbye as they board their separate buses. Then half the vehicles head west, toward the Rose Bowl, toward Pasadena's black belt. And the other half go east, into the white neighborhoods.

The afternoon busing in Pasadena symbolizes both the racial polarization of our society and the obligation borne by the public schools to do something about it. Pasadena represents perhaps the most extensive integration effort to date in the country. Every school is involved, and every student will be bused for at least part of his school career. The Pasadena Plan, as it is called, is based of a number of forerunners, chief among them a cross-town busing plan up the coast in Berkeley, Calif.

The Pasadena Plan is attractive for the things it does not do:

- - It does not combine schools selectively.
- - It does not close black schools to appease white parents.
- - It does not place the burden of desegregation on blacks.
- - It does not avoid the hard fact that busing is the only way to desegregate large-city systems.
- - And it is not in the South.

Not in the South. But millions have read that the government only "picks on" the South. And many who have read that have rubbed their hands in glee upon hearing about the Pasadena order or the HEW ultimatum in Ferndale, Mich. They also have read with satisfaction the message from the Georgia attorney general, Arthur K. Bolton, to the U. S. Supreme Court: "The situation becomes even more completely intolerable, as well as divisive nationally, when it is realized that it is only those children, teachers and parents who happen to live in Georgia and the other Southern states who are forced to comply with racial quota and balance requirements."

Pasadena, of course, proves that Bolton's statement simply is not true, but one cannot ignore the causes of some of the South's basic paranoia on school desegregation. Most ammunition has been aimed at the South (because, of course, it had statutory discrimination for generations). No doubt, as Sen. Abraham Ribicoff observed, the North is guilty of "monumental hypocrisy" in the matter.

But the arguments of Bolton and of Southern politicians and school officials do not go far enough. They do not concede that some Northern desegregation plans are among the most imaginative, thoroughgoing and proven in the nation, particularly when they are founded (as Pasadena's seems to be) on the proposition that desegregation is less a legal necessity than a moral imperative.

It is a common saying now, in North as well as South, that, ironically, the South may show the North how to make integration work. But turn that around. What if the North, unscarred by 16 years of battle with the federal government and the courts, takes the lead and shows the South how integration, that step into Camelot beyond desegregation, can be achieved? Despite vast stretches of Northern segregation and dozens of districts where nothing is working, there are indications that in some districts this is exactly what is happening.

Many of the problems of South and non-South, of course, are identical, the main one being the flight of whites to the suburbs and a secondary one being the pitched battle over "neighborhood schools."

In Pasadena, a group of whites attempted to recall the three school board members who had voted against appealing the district's desegregation order and who had supported going beyond the general mandates of the order. The recall attempt failed, thanks to a 60 per cent turnout of black voters supporting the challenged trustees. The *Los Angeles Times* noted that all 21 white east-side precincts voted for recall, while all black precincts and two white ones were against it. The vote, in mid-October, proved that blacks do not oppose desegregation, even when it involves massive busing. But more important, it gave the Pasadena Plan a chance to prove itself. It was perhaps a unique referendum on busing and full integration, and the public said yes. Another historic milestone? It almost escaped notice outside Pasadena.

The Pasadena Plan

The Pasadena Plan organizes the district into primary schools for first, second and third graders; elementary schools for fourth, fifth and sixth graders; and junior and senior high schools. About half the students walk to their neighborhood schools for part of their education and are transportated as a neighborhood to another school for the balance. Thus, students from the same neighborhood are able to stay together during most of their school years and whites, in theory, are less likely to make panic moves to the suburbs.

Some comments about the plan:

"We tried compensatory education for eight years," said Supt. Ralph W. Hornbeck, "and to be honest, we didn't get the results we wanted. We've only been here (in the Pasadena Plan) two months. We're not expecting miracles overnight, but we think we're on the right track."

A familiar refrain came from Marvin Mills, white parent. "We moved here a year ago hoping to be close to the school," he said. "My daughter enjoyed it last year. This year she isn't enjoying school. Last year, she walked to school in five minutes. This year it takes her 20 minutes on a $10,000 bus driven by a $200-a-week bus driver. My house value has decreased 10 per cent. So if I sound bitter it's because I am."

Five years ago, said Mrs. LuVerne LaMotte, one of the school board members who survived the recall, she agreed with Mills. "But on the basis of a lot of reading and thinking, I've changed my mind. I'm convinced that the (resegregation) process would not be reversed if we kept going the way we were going."

Hornbeck said it would take at least a year to judge whether the brakes are being put on resegregation and perhaps several years to measure the educational benefits of desegregation.

Most of the signs after two months of the Pasadena Plan were hopeful. For one thing, the busing had exploded several myths, including the one that children become nervous wrecks because of having to get up at dawn and return after sunset. The average ride of about 20 minutes over four miles seemed to be enjoyed, at least by the elementary children. (Pasadena had bused some high school students since 1965.)

One bus winds its way from Altadena Elementary School through the narrow canyons of the San Gabriel foothills to Sierra Madre, a white enclave that, in the aftermath of the recall vote, is threatening to secede from the Pasadena district.

"I'd rather be back in my neighborhood," said Lynn Sutcliffe, a bubblegum-chewing sixth grader, "but you get more friends at Altadena, and that'll be good for junior high."

Back at Altadena, officials said discipline

Mike Bowler, until recently education editor of THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, is now with THE BALTIMORE SUN. In preparing this report for SOUTH TODAY, he spent a month talking to school officials, students, parents and others in non-Southern cities. He has had extensive experience covering school desegregation matters in the South and is a former public school teacher.

was one of the secrets of running a desegregated school. In fact, Principal Wally Ridout showed up for an interview carrying a paddle with the look of recent use about it.

"I was a principal in a ghetto school before black was beautiful," said Ridout, who is white and whose own children are bused. Ridout has instituted an "opportunity center" where students frustrated for any reason can go to unwind, talk to a couple of understanding teachers, tell it all to a tape recorder or just sit quietly.

The school's full-time counselor, Mrs. Linda Gough, who is black, said she checks out every report of student strife. "If I hear anything about how somebody's 'gonna get' somebody else," she said, "I get right to the bottom of it. There's been a decrease in that kind of stuff, though, in the last couple of weeks. I can't tell you what desegregation is doing for education, but I can tell you there's been an upturn in attitude—in behavior—since September. There's a difference in the way the black kids walk and talk, in their attitudes toward themselves. And I think the white kids from Sierra Madre were genuinely afraid. Now there's a lot of courtesy and friendship. I think the Sierra Madre parents are shocked."

At nearby Lincoln Elementary School, which is about 50 per cent black, a white mathematics teacher and her black "aide," a former PTA president, were trying to figure out why the school is much calmer in 1970, despite the fact that it is a ghetto school to which some of Pasadena's most privileged whites are bused. "I think," said the black woman, "it has something to do with the way we were treated before. The whites gave us everything. The way it is now, we have to prove ourselves."

One of Pasadena's biggest problems is racial tension in the high school. It shares this problem with many metropolitan high schools in the North and a few in the South. Riots are so commonplace in the Los Angeles area that they are no longer front-page news. During one week in October, two high schools just east of Pasadena, Monrovia and Duarte, erupted and were closed. Pasadena officials tensed and did not allow visitors at Pasadena High School.

A Michigan Failure

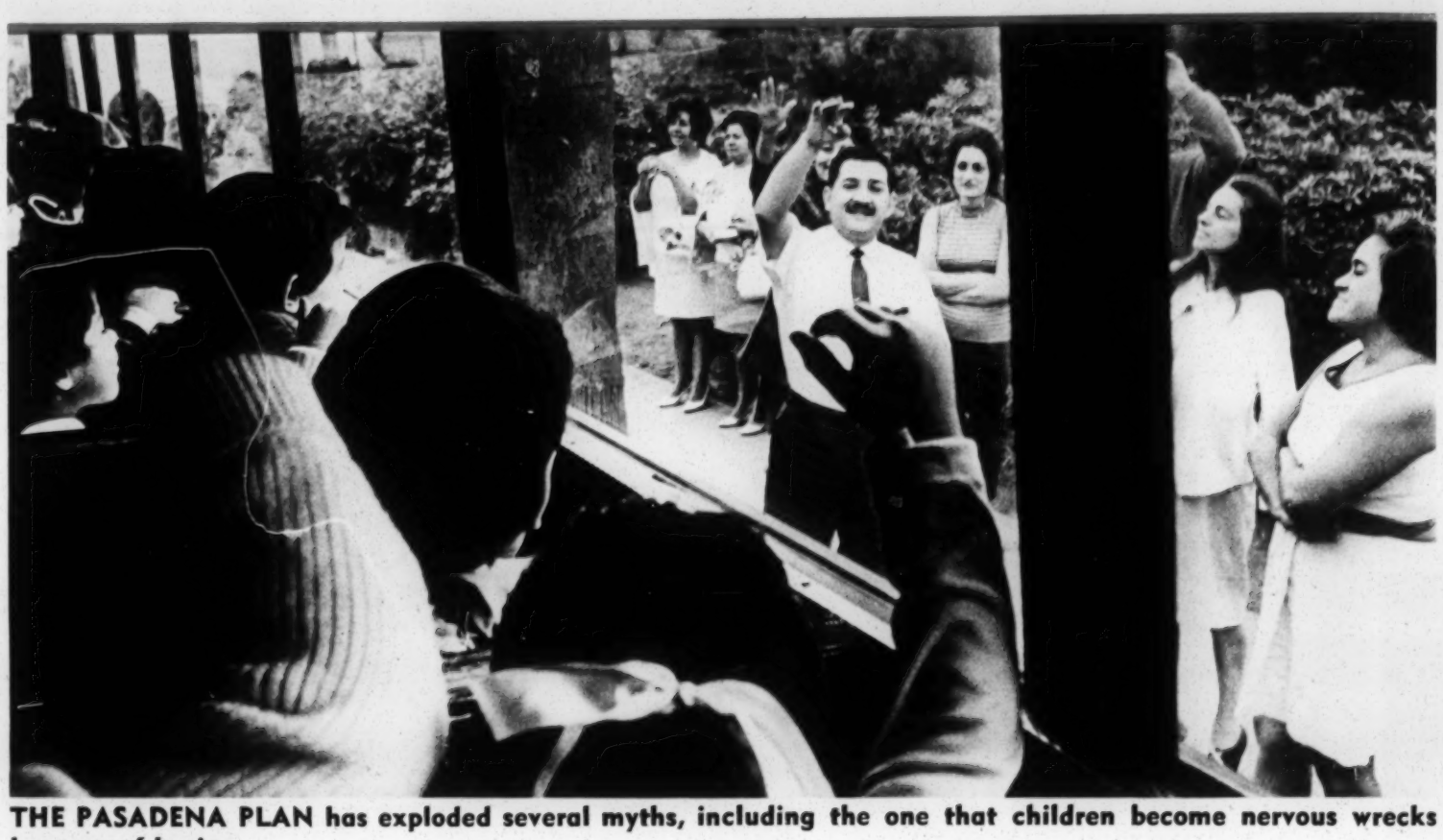
Halfway across the country, in Ferndale, Mich., easing the high school racial tension seems an almost insurmountable task. The district's only high school was closed last April after a serious riot. In October of this year, officials eliminated lunch hours so that groups of whites and blacks would not congregate and begin to fight. The school board hired three security guards to join the three already on duty. Doors have been removed from lavatories as much to prevent students from gathering as to discourage drug taking.

White students interviewed at random expressed open hatred for blacks, who make up only 10 per cent of the school enrolment. "I think force is the only way," said one. "I mean I don't like to resort to force. But still, I'm not gonna walk away when I see the white kids getting messed up."

Whites in the high school feel that administrators, particularly Principal John D. McGregor, favor the blacks, always meting out harsher discipline to whites. "But we feel the same way," said one of the black student leaders, Mike Henderson, 17. "After all, McGregor's got to do what the community and the board tells him to, and you know what race runs this community."

McGregor, for his part, dismisses much

'We're not expecting miracles, but we're . . . on the right track'



THE PASADENA PLAN has exploded several myths, including the one that children become nervous wrecks because of busing.

of the racial tension at Ferndale High. "I needed the security guards like I need a hole in the head," he said. But the conservative element in Ferndale, which has a strong voice on the school board, demands tight security at the school. Among McGregor's visitors are camera-bearing parents bent on "getting proof" that McGregor and his assistants cannot control the school.

Amid this tragedy of errors, HEW has made of Ferndale a national spectacle, but not because black and white students at Ferndale High cannot coexist. Rather, what bothers HEW—which has threatened to cut off federal funds—is that the district maintains one all-black school less than half a mile from an all-white school. The schools were built in 1925 and 1926, and as far as anyone remembers it was a *de jure* act all the way.

The Ferndale school board, which has spent $28,471.46 on litigation in the case, is appealing the HEW examiner's decision. Meanwhile, there is plenty of talk around town about what should be done, but the board has no definite plan. One idea is to submit several to a public referendum, a unique approach even to the South. Parents are talking about the HEW "tyrants," and John J. Houghton, the soft-spoken superintendent, is getting plenty of mail from the South.

Houghton described as a "strange paradox" the fact that the lion's share of the endangered federal aid goes to compensatory programs at all-black Grant School. "And now they come along and say compensatory education doesn't work and we have to do something else. In fact, there has been very little improvement in educational achievement at Grant, despite the money we've poured in, despite the fact that it has the smallest class size in the district. But I don't know what the answer is. Do we have to do harder what we're doing? Or rearrange the whole district?"

Ferndale's first and only Negro school board member, an appointee, sides with those who would leave Grant as a black school. "I am sorry to say I do not agree with your theory that to have a good educational system we must have mixing of blacks and whites," William H. Morgan wrote to HEW. "It seems unfair to discount all of the efforts of our community for better education or racial understanding or to blame our school board for the ills dating back to 1925."

It may be less paradoxical than it seems that HEW fiddles in Ferndale while the desegregated high school burns. For who knows what attitudes the city's teen-agers would have brought to the the junior and senior highs if they had attended integrated elementary schools?

Or is John McGregor closer to the truth? "We have a miniature society here," he says. "Racial tension is so intense across the nation that it is unavoidable at Ferndale High."

A study released during the fall by Syracuse University confirmed McGregor's observations. It found violence in the nation's high schools directly related to racial mixing and noted that disruptions were less likely at all-black and all-white facilities. Turmoil will continue, the study predicted, "short of a total moral conversion" of American society.

Change in Baltimore

Charles Brown, principal of Pimlico Junior High School, remembers that Baltimore always had a split personality on race. "There was a gradual and selective type of mixing before it actually came about," he said. "We never did have segregated buses. There were some restaurants where blacks and whites could eat together and some where they couldn't. Mixed couples were not harassed, although it was illegal. Their kids went to black schools."

Baltimore was the first city with a dual school system to desegregate after the Supreme Court's Brown decision in 1954. At the time, the system was less than one-third black. A year later, Brown became the first black principal to have whites working under him. "They came to me," he recalled, "and said they would like to do it. We accomplished it unostentatiously. The papers came later and wanted to do a story. We asked them not to, and they agreed."

By 1965, the nation's eighth largest school system was more than half black; this fall the figure was about 70 per cent. More students (about 73 per cent of the total enrolment) were attending segregated schools than ever before, and much of the city's north side was "in transition"—re-

An Official:

Dr. Allen Smith, who died this year after many years as associate state superintendent of schools in Georgia, always had a reputation for frankness and disregard for political considerations.

He was outspoken, for instance, in calling attention to the damage that could be done to the public schools by the establishment of hastily-conceived, second-rate private schools in many places in the South.

The following comments from Dr. Smith, in an interview with Sam Hopkins of the *Atlanta Constitution* just before his retirement, have a "can do" ring that contrasts mightily with the words often heard these days from public officials at the outset of integration:

"The good thing about desegregation is that it is going to force us to reorganize our method of instruction, to do things in a different way that we should have been doing long before now.

"We're in a lock-step system now that will change. Teachers will become more specialized. Children will be able to move along at their own individual rate of speed. Even students in elementary schools will have different teachers for courses. Teachers will move from school to school. There will be teacher aides. I can

segregating.

Baltimore is, in short, Everycity—New York, Boston, Detroit, Kansas City, all those cities cited by Southern politicians, and, yes, it is Atlanta, New Orleans and Houston, too.

Baltimore County (which does not include the city) also is a prototype. It is the typical predominantly white suburban area ringing a city turning black. The U. S. Civil Rights Commission charged that the federal government has spent billions of dollars helping build a largely-white suburbia around Baltimore without guaranteeing equal rights for black citizens. The commission chairman, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, noted that Baltimore County is 97 per cent white, that it has virtually no public housing and that the black population has actually declined slightly. (One county resident, Spiro T. Agnew, has moved to Washington, D. C.)

Without any pressure whatever from Washington, Baltimore school officials have approached segregation from several directions. There are six "model" elementary schools which receive an abundance of educational resources; under construction is a $10.5 million dream school that an assistant superintendent said would "integrate by merit of its educational program;" and "open enrolment" at the secondary level allows a student to go to school where he wants and has desegregated a few all-white schools. No whites, however, are going the other direction. (Open enrolment, of course, is freedom of choice; and wherever it does not succeed in undoing a dual school system established by public policy, it is unconstitutional.)

Pimlico Junior High, in northwest Baltimore just west of Pimlico Race Track, is on the fringe of the city's resegregation area and trying desperately to hold its own. The school is about 70 per cent black and desperately overcrowded, so much so that lunch shifts start at 10 a.m.

Principal Brown explained that the open enrolment plan has no size limitation; that is, if 2,000 children show up at a school with a capacity of 1,000, the principal has to find room for them somehow. The usual method is an extended day or double shifts.

"We'll never save the school (from going all black)," he said, "unless we get some relief in class size and total enrolment."

Despite Pimlico's crowded condition—and its reputation as a tough school—sound education goes on within its walls. Brown sees to that, as does a dedicated faculty which finds Pimlico one of Baltimore's more attractive schools; and as do Pimlico parents, who are principally a collection of upwardly mobile blacks and Jews.

"There's a lot more fraternizing at the top end of the economic level," Brown said. "We've even had a couple of little black and white romances. Not the kind of thing you see in high school, but it's new for Baltimore. If you could just get them to relieve our enrolment," he repeated, "it would help a lot."

Words With A 'Can-Do' Ring

NEA (Joe Di Dio)

envision that someone like a physics teacher will serve five or six schools in isolated areas and maybe even travel by helicopter.

"It's just a matter of time when we'll get over the trauma of desegregation and then we'll do a much better job of educating the students... I'd love to be around in the year 2000 to see what's going on."

'Pasadena was most encouraging stop on five-week tour...'

California Progress

Riverside, Calif., has become something of a prototype as a desegregated school system. For one thing, its plan has been in effect since 1965, so that there has been enough time to draw some conclusions. For another, the Riverside branch of the University of California has had the district under a microscope from the beginning. And so we have attitudinal studies, longitudinal studies and a growing library of literature on the Riverside Plan.

George Lantz, the assistant superintendent, has 10 volumes of newspaper clippings, studies and other odds and ends that he shows to a steady stream of visitors. What the data show, according to Lantz, is that desegregation has had little appreciable effect on the educational achievement of Anglo students, most browns and blacks have demonstrated "normal" improvement and "exceptional" minority students have "sailed right to the top. The lid is off for them."

The Riverside Plan really started the day before school opened in 1965, when one of the schools that had served Negroes and Mexican-Americans burned down. The next day, the minority groups asked that the schools be desegregated.

The plan arrived at in Riverside in 1965 had a distinct similarity to plans in the South, circa 1969. Riverside closed its segregated minority schools and bused those children to majority-white schools so that none enroled more than the district's minority percentage, about 18 per cent. "We felt it would be better if everyone experienced an integrated education," said Lantz. "That is still our premise. . . . We feel we are on the right track."

Two of Riverside's schools, Longfellow and Emerson, have crept well beyond 18 per cent. "We want to see what we can do with them," Lantz said, explaining that innovative compensatory programs are under way at both facilities.

Pasadena's average ride is 20 minutes.

Leon Shockley, Emerson's principal, is an outspoken man who enjoys obvious respect from his staff. He is a bit more cynical about the "experimental" status of Emerson.

"Let's face it," he said, "they're not really sure what to do about the influx of blacks. This school is the cutting edge of what's going on in society. As the minority percentage has gotten closer and closer to 50 per cent, the anxiety has increased on all levels. I start getting calls from white parents who want their kids transferred. And the teachers start to get tense about what's happening in their classrooms. The minority kids are usually way behind, and they drag down the classes.

"I'm absolutely convinced that integration is necessary for the survival of our city and our society, but this school could tip over easily, particularly if they go through with the apartment complex across the street . . . . It'll become a black ghetto."

Riverside sits on the edge of the California desert not far from Palm Springs. The citrus industry is no longer the dominant force it once was, but orange trees grow on three sides of Emerson School. Across the street,

sure enough, caterpillar tractors are clearing away dead trees.

Mrs. Esther Andrews, who grew up in Harlem, taught at one of the schools closed in the Riverside Plan. She now teaches at Emerson. Does integration make that much difference? "It makes all the difference in the world as far as verbal skills are concerned. Black kids used to come to school and not be able to verbalize such things as 'fan' and 'lawn sprinkler.' The kids with more verbal skills, mostly white, are a tremendous help."

Mrs. Beatrice Shewman, a white teacher who also taught at one of the closed schools, agreed that integration had had a positive effect on black children, but she was not sure about Mexican-Americans. "You can push a bright Negro kid along, but you can't a Chicano." she said. "I don't know exactly why."

Mrs. Peggy Wrinkle is a white "aide" at the school who works long hours with little pay. She moved to Riverside from Wyandotte, Mich., "where everything is segregated. I'm very happy here, and so are my children."

Principal Shockley spoke contemptuously of the real estate blockbusters at work in the white neighborhood served by Riverside. "These are the most cynical exploiters in our society," he said. "Fie on them."

The most encouraging aspect of the Riverside Plan is that school authorities are detecting some movement of black and Chicano families into neighborhoods closer to the schools to which their children are bused. Apparently, the movement has not been accompanied by a flight of whites.

"It is natural," said Lantz, "for parents to want to live closer to their children's schools. This is a slow process. We're only beginning to detect it. It may mean nothing, but. . ."

But, the development may be a sign that desegregation in Riverside is becoming integration. And it may be a happy sign for the rest of the nation.

Chicanos and Anglos

The Corona-Norco, Calif., school district is not far from Riverside, but its racial characteristics are different. Corona's enrolment of 15,500 is about 25 per cent Mexican-American, and it has few blacks. The district began to realize in 1966 that two of its elementary schools were getting out of balance. One was almost entirely brown (Mexican-American), the other 60 to 65 per cent brown. A biracial committee attacked the problem.

What Corona-Norco eventually did was close one school as a regular facility, busing its Chicano children to other schools, and desegregate the other school by means of two-way busing. Assistant Supt. Austin Mason said between 500 and 600 students are involved in the racial busing. "Most of the Anglos went along with it," he said.

Chicano parents interviewed in the area of Lincoln School, the once predominantly Chicano school now 38 per cent brown, said they knew why: the Anglos are being bused to a Mentally Gifted Minor (MGM) program that keeps them in virtually all-white

classes. "As long as you keep them convinced they're getting special treatment over there, you'll be all right," said one.

Lincoln's principal is Ray Mejia, an articulate Mexican-American. "There's a big difference between desegregation and integration," he said. "We've got mingling of bodies to the extent that we've closed one school and desegregated another. But integration? We've hardly started."

If Southern educators seriously intent on integration think they've got problems, they should fly out to Los Angeles, rent a car and talk to Mejia. He has Spanish-speaking immigrants who cannot speak English, Mexican-Americans who speak only English, bilingual Chicanos and Anglos, and Anglos who can't speak Spanish. Besides that, there is a teacher recruitment headache unequaled anywhere in the United States south of Eskimo country.

Mejia said schools are just beginning to adopt the proper approach to teaching Chicanos."It used to be that we had to remake the kid into a WASP before we could properly teach him," he said. "The youngster would sit in class and nod his head occasionally with a smile. The teacher thought she was getting through, but nothing was happening. Now we teach the kid academic subjects in his native language. . . . It isn't necessary to remake a kid into an English-speaking child before we can educate him. Can you imagine doing the opposite with an Anglo?"

Mejia spoke with enthusiasm of new federally-funded bilingual programs under way at Lincoln "which will draw from the beautiful things that both (Anglo and Chicano) cultures have to contribute. I think we're getting somewhere. Let's just hope the whole world doesn't blow up first."

The Superintendents

Three superintendents:

--Dana P. Whitmer, 57, superintendent in Pontiac, Mich.; spent his whole career in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan; Pontiac superintendent since 1954, the year of the Brown decision.

--Robert (Bud) Spillane, 36, superintendent in New Rochelle, N. Y.; one of the youngest school heads in the nation, now in his second superintendency.

--John Letson, 59, superintendent in Atlanta; native of Alabama; once wrote a column in his college newspaper under the pseudonym "Conscientious Cletis."

Pontiac's Uncertainty

Whitmer's office is in a new, hexagonal building just off Wide Track Drive, a reminder of the mainstay of Pontiac's economy. In late autumn, that economy was completely stymied by a crippling auto workers' strike. The school district, meanwhile, had made national headlines with three days of racial violence at Pontiac Central High School and the shootings of four white students.

The strike and the violence were not unrelated, Whitmer said. "You'd be surprised at the restlessness and disorientation caused by a break in normal procedures." Whitmer said the fact that Pontiac is under court order to desegregate (it is appealing) had almost nothing to do with the violence, and he added that he had seen more "mass racial tension inside the schools" in other years, despite the shootings and beatings.

Pontiac's order, delivered by a black judge who noted that the city has tolerated and encouraged years of segregation, is not unlike Pasadena's. In fact, the two cities are of comparable size. The Michigan city, to balance each school to 30 per cent black, 5 per cent Spanish-American and 65 per cent white, would have to bus half of its 24,000 students across town at an estimated cost of $1,430,000 yearly.

Whitmer is not happy about the prospects for the same reason John Letson has nightmares about busing in Atlanta. Pontiac's professional and management people already have fled to the suburbs. "We would like to find a way to integrate," said Whitmer, "without scaring the whites out of the city, because then you create insoluble problems. Once they are gone, you can't get them back."

Pontiac is another of those districts over which Southern segregationists are rubbing their hands in glee. But Whitmer said he did not think his district was being made an example. "What I do resent, though," he said, "is the fact that the courts treat different parts of the country differently. The issue of whether the Constitution requires racial mixing should be decided by the courts or by legislative action. . . . There should be nationwide guidelines."

As an "alternative to just racial mixing," Pontiac is proceeding with the construction of a $5 million "Human Resources Center"

NEA (Joe Di Dio)

in the heart of its decaying commercial center. The center is conceived as a complete "child city" serving 2,300 children from nearby segregated elementary schools. The open-space structure will be used from dawn to midnight as a school, community education center, health care center and nursery. A glass-covered "room street" links neighborhoods, the center and Pontiac's commercial downtown area. "The center wasn't even mentioned in the court order," said Whitmer, somewhat ruefully.

The gray-haired Pontiac superintendent sees integration in terms of economic resources. "The best arrangement is an integrated society. I have to say that. It would be ideal if we could snap our fingers and find it. But the immediate problem is the fact that the price you pay for racial mixing is going to limit the quality features in the education program. We're simply not going to have the dollars for these programs if we have to spend the money for buses. . . I can't quarrel with the value of integration. But if it means larger classes, less materials, I don't know."

New Rochelle's Example

New Rochelle's Spillane is a rare bird, a dyed-in-the-wool integrationist, who probably wouldn't last long in the South. One wonders what a decade or two of fighting the federal courts and, more recently, HEW, would do to Spillane's refreshing views. In the South, superintendents often seem to be motivated mainly by prideful resistance to federal pressures, adopting a kind of set of mind that seems to have little to do with the immediate challenges.

"Our schools range from 5 to 50 per cent black, so you can see they're not desegregated," he said. That is a remarkable statement, North or South. At its court hearings last winter, the Atlanta school board classified as "desegregated" those schools with one black or one white enrolled; the judge and the press took the bait.

Eventually, said Spillane, "I don't see how we can help but bus whites as well as blacks. Otherwise, we'll continue to have two different systems."

New Rochelle, a middle-class to upper-middle-class suburb of New York City which includes a slice of exclusive Scarsdale to the north, was one of the first North districts to desegregate under court order. For several years it has been busing blacks out from the central city, about 350 a day. Whites have not seemed to mind, according to Spillane. In fact, having blacks enrolled in white schools (as a minority, mind you) has become something of a status symbol.

Spillane just took the job, moving to New Rochelle from Roosevelt, N. Y., a city which resegregated almost entirely in one decade.

"The whole integration problem is sensitizing everyone in the community to the necessity of it," he said. "It has to be done for the survival of our city. . . The people who need convincing are at the far left and at the far right. In fact, I'm not so sure the far right is the stumbling block. Did you ever notice that it's the white liberals who are the first to move out when a black family moves in? I call these people the don't-move-next-door-to-me liberals."

Spillane hasn't heard the time of day from HEW ("As far as I'm concerned, the federal government doesn't exist in the area of civil rights enforcement.") And he is bitter about distribution of Title I funds to rich school districts in New York and elsewhere.

"Don't tell me to desegregate, fellow, when you can't give the money to poor areas where it belongs," he said. Southern school men don't enjoy the luxury of such statements.

Spillane notes that New Rochelle now is about 20 per cent black. It was 12 per cent in 1960, so a limited, one-way busing plan has not led to ruin. The superintendent says his first major task will be to "try to get a commitment to desegregation. I expect an initial outcry. But after they get through calling me a stupid-son-of-a-bitch superintendent, then we can get on to other things like integration."

Atlanta: No Way?

John Letson is in another ball park. Ten years ago, when Atlanta's racial statistics were reversed and when Letson arrived from Chattanooga, perhaps an adroit desegregation plan would have set an example for the nation. Letson and a string of uninspired school boards have been wringing their hands for so long now, however, that an air of negativism and lugubriousness hangs over the city's schools. Meanwhile, black enrolment increased 4.1 per cent this fall to 68.3 per cent, and 56 of some 150 schools are more than 90 per cent segregated.

"There is no way we can keep whites in Atlanta and desegregate the schools," Letson said. He may be right. Atlanta may have reached the point at which, as Fourth Circuit Court Judge J. Braxton Craven described Harlem, "the only way to desegregate is by helicopter."

The major irony of the Atlanta case is that the courts and federal civil rights enforcers may as well have stayed away from the beginning. For despite 12 years of litigation, 300 legal moves, who knows how many thousands of dollars in court costs, hundreds of headlines and a million headaches, Atlanta has no more desegregation than Baltimore, which has never experienced anything like the same pressure.

'We Can't'

That is tragedy enough, but more tragic is the cynical attitude that pervades the school offices in Atlanta and, very often, elsewhere in the South. "We can't" replaces "We must."

Pasadena was the most encouraging stop on a five-week tour that could not have been comprehensive if it had taken five years. The failure of the recall attempt may be one of the most significant developments in recent desegregation history. It put the lie to the segregationist claim that blacks have not accepted desegregation any more than whites have. Not only did blacks rally to support three white trustees who had voted for integration and against appealing a desegregation order; they also helped reject recall in 17 of Pasadena's 29 racially mixed precincts.

"Where the precincts had experience with desegregation they voted to keep the board. It's as simple as that," said Rick Cole, a white high school senior who said he "wouldn't trade for the world" the experience of going from a "hard-core segregation" elementary school in Pasadena to a desegregated junior high.

Cole and some of his friends had gone to the trial which led to U. S. District Judge Manuel L. Real's judgement that the city was guilty of deliberate racial discrimination. Among other things, they heard Mrs. Doris Foster, a Negro teacher, testify that she had gone to the district's personnel office to keep an appointment and was told by the secretary, "They're taking maids' applications downstairs." "I felt like I'd been hit in the stomach," said Mrs. Foster.

"We were shocked to find out this kind of stuff was going on right here in Pasadena," said Cole. "The blacks were really getting screwed."

The failure of the recall attempt also will give the Pasadena Plan some breathing room. It needs time to grow, like a plant. And there just may be enough people of good will around Pasadena to make a go of it. "I can't make any promises," said Al Lowe, the board president, who ran best in the recall vote. "But we can't run away from the problem."

Who Will Lead?

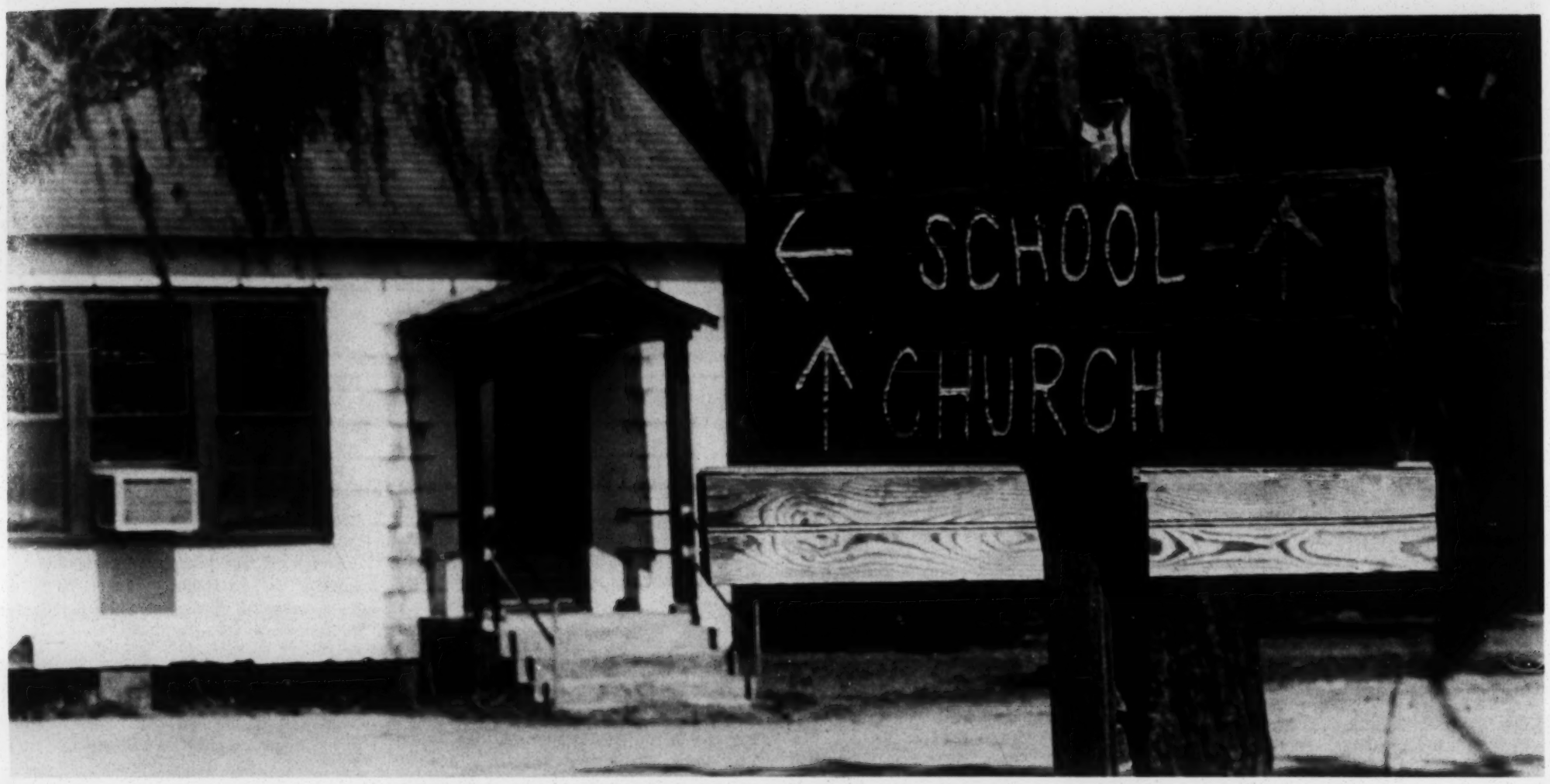
Desegregation pressure seems to have had traumatic effects upon Southern school administrators. The places which were most out of kilter with the U. S. Constitution, and which therefore have had the most pressure to change, often seem to have developed a whole rationale of school administration built upon evasions, negativism and bureaucratic self-fulfillment of dire prophecies.

Southern segregationists are right about one thing. There is just as much racism in the North as in the South. It may be a different kind of racism, based more on the fear of economic competition than of miscegenation. But it manifests itself in the same ways, including school segregation.

One does notice, however, a difference in attitude toward desegregation between the North and the South. The long resistance fight that school officials in the South have waged, first mainly against the courts and since 1965 mainly against HEW, seems to have sapped moral conviction. It is not that the Southern superintendent has no basis for his gripes or his agony. The courts have been inconsistent. Districts have been ordered to do this and that while, at the same time, the some of the "gut" questions of desegregation (What is a unitary school district?) have never been answered. National policy changes at least every four years; school personnel do not turn over that fast.

So the Southern superintendent may be forgiven for forgetting occasionally that separate schools *are* inherently unequal and that this is what all the battle is about. This may be what Thomas D. Sheldon, the Baltimore superintendent, was talking about when he observed that despite his problems, "the toughest job is being a superintendent in the South."

Perhaps the master irony ultimately will be not that the South will show the nation how to integrate the schools, but that the North, just as much saddled with racism but without as much experience in fighting over it, will show the South. If so, it may be because its school officials by and large are less traumatized and more open to solutions.



Children in Daufuskie's school have learned to be excited about . . . learning.

A Teacher:

Daufuskie's Conroy Paying the Penalty

By BETSY FANCHER

Conroy

(The story of Pat Conroy's dismissal as the public school teacher on Daufuskie Island, S. C., was told in the November issue of SOUTH TODAY. This report deals with the immediate aftermath.)

Beaufort, S. C.

Looking across the bay at the ancient spires and mansions of Beaufort, the visitor is reminded of an antebellum village. The town's tortured and venerable history is concentrated at the Point, a colony of iron-filigreed and columned homes with tall verandas that provide a view of the barrier islands, among them Daufuskie, where some 125 black Americans wait out their lives in one-room shanties sustained by welfare checks and the hope, persistent and improbable as heaven, that somehow their children will be delivered into a better world.

Twenty-five-year-old Pat Conroy, who until September taught at the one room school house on Daufuskie, is one of the few residents of the Point who has ever visited the island. The gentlemen of the Point, men of exquisite courtesy and taste, are wrapped up in their professions, their homes with their rare antiques and leather-bound books, their patterned gardens of azaleas and oleanders, the conviviality and bounty of their tables (fine Madeiras, gumbos and sauces, and lemon-scented finger bowls), their clubs, and the education of sons trained in a South Carolina militaristic tradition that dates back to the Revolution and still has impact on American foreign policy. In short, their sons are Citadel men.

The gentlemen of the Point are not unaware that their world is changing. In their drawing rooms they have heatedly discussed the national uproar over Beaufort County's hunger statistics; the spectre of worms on Hilton Head; the "revolutionary goings on" at Penn Community Center; the charges of Donald Gatch, doctor to the Bluffton blacks; and the growing militancy of the Negroes (a decent cook is hard to come by). But such inflammatory issues could be blamed on the Yankee press or on the spectre of Communist infiltration. It was not until Pat Conroy was fired from his teaching post on Daufuskie that the sweet, mannerly somnambulism of the Point was irrevocably shattered. Conroy was a personable young man, open and brash, and they had tolerated his eccentricities—his defense of a small hippie group in a melee at predominantly-white Beaufort High School, where he had been offered the assistant principal's post, and his ill-considered decision to teach the children of Daufuskie. For all his peculiar notions, he had always gone through channels. He was a citizen of the Point, and above all, he was a *Citadel* man.

Pat Conroy started his second year on Daufuskie in September after a troubled summer. The school board, overlooking the miracle he had worked in raising the grade levels of the "illiterate," had challenged his transportation costs to the island. The little boat he navigated, often through hazardous waters, was expensive to maintain, they said. But, reluctantly, the board reinstated Conroy.

On Sept. 21, he took a week's leave from the classroom to serve as a consultant to the Desegregation Center of the University of South Carolina and turned over his lesson plans to the Vista Volunteer he had enlisted as a substitute teacher. It proved to be a memorable week. The black and white teachers cut through the boundaries of race, the sociologists' theories about integration and segregation, and the labyrinthian educational bureaucracy and addressed themselves to the needs of America's children, an innovation in itself so threatening that the group was harassed by the local night riders.

When Conroy returned he was fired for "failure to obey instructions, insubordination, gross neglect of duty and conduct unbecoming a professional educator." That was Tuesday, Sept. 29. On Wednesday, the sorrowing mothers of Daufuskie, the mothers who had penned a labored and eloquent statement to the school board in his behalf, voted to boycott the little one-room school.

That Friday the truant officer arrived on the island. He visited every parent in the little cinder-block, moss-shrouded shanties of Daufuskie. The parents said he threatened them with a fine and 30 days in jail if the children stayed out of school. On Monday, six terrified students of the school's 34 pupils went back to school.

When Conroy explained to them that the compulsory school law had never been enforced in South Carolina, the children resumed the boycott. The following day, Walter Trammell, superintendent of Beaufort County schools, made his first visit to Daufuskie. He was accompanied by the truant officer and the deputy superintendent. The threat of jail was buttressed now with the full weight of Beaufort County authority. Undaunted, the impassioned mothers of Daufuskie made pleas for their children.

Conroy had thrown away the belt. ("You only teach blacks by beating them," he had been told.) He had expanded the dimensions of their narrow, sea-washed world by teaching them geography, had introduced them to the majesty of language and music, had lifted their eyes to the heavens and the miracle of space exploration. He had in short, taken a group of ragged youngsters, dismissed as hopelessly retarded, and made them a match for the scholars, Peace Corpsmen, artists and musicians he had brought to the island to be with them.

Superintendent Trammell was unrelenting. The boycott was resumed until Conroy himself called it off, his fighting Irish spirit broken by the report that one mother had been told her welfare check would be cut off if her children did not return to school. Two days later his lawyer, George Trask of Beaufort, received a phone call from the chairman of the Board of Education saying that if Conroy returned to Daufuskie he would be arrested for contributing to the delinquency of minors. Two well-qualified teachers applied for Conroy's job but it was awarded instead to the island's postmistress—a white woman with an eighth-grade education.

Conroy immediately filed suit against the school board to be reinstated. Penniless, with a third child on the way, he applied for work. When he went to be interviewed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, he was greeted by one of its more powerful board members, who also serves as deputy superintendent of schools. No one in Beaufort would hire him—he was even turned down by a chicken farmer for whom he hoped to deliver eggs.

At the Point, his mannerly and gracious neighbors circulated a petition to force him to move. Among his other sins, he had taken in two black teen-agers from Daufuskie who, having graduated from the island's tiny elementary school, wanted to attend Beaufort's Robert Smalls School, a black school adjoining a dump which the school board refers to as a "land fill." In the drawing rooms, the rumors flowed with the Madeira. Conroy was said to be a revolutionary and an insurrectionist. Hadn't he spent a week at that "Commie" seminar at the University of South Carolina? And what about his relationships with his students—the dusky young girls of Daufuskie? And wasn't he highly emotional? Even a Citadel man had been known to go off his rocker.

Preliminary hearings for Conroy's case were to be held Nov. 30. But even before that, the young teacher received notice from his draft board that, since he was unemployed, his status had been changed to 1-A. That placed him seventh in line for the draft.

Today, committed and believing still, retaining yet his faith in justice, he will tell you about teaching, about the wrenching heroism of the black children who integrated Beaufort High School, about the heightened sensitivity and awareness they brought to the whites, about the innate intelligence of Daufuskie's "retarded children."

"Teaching. . . there is no profession like it. . . the relationship of people to people. The kids are telling us everyday what they need, what they want, if we would only listen," says the Citadel man, the man who now lives somewhere between Daufuskie and the Point.

The Gains:

Smaller Cities Integrate And Find That It Works

By JACK ROSENTHAL
In The New York Times

At a time of sharp national debate over how much school desegregation is enough, a number of smaller cities have tried complete integration and found that it works.

Complete school integration—where pupil ratios closely parallel the racial composition of the community—is too new and the places where it has been tried so far are too few to yield concrete conclusions. But school officials of eight smaller cities, in the North and South, report the following initial gains in educational achievement and in social attitudes:

-- Black children have often gained, sometimes dramatically, in achievement. A Riverside, Calif., school official says that "integration has taken the lid off the achievement levels of the minorities." In New Albany, Miss., black children gained 1.4 grades in the first year of full integration.

-- Fears that white children's performance would suffer under integration appear baseless. In city after city, school officials say with certainty that white children are performing at least as well after integration as before. In New Albany, they gained 1.1 grades in the first year.

-- After initial tension, race relations appear to have steadily improved in schools. In some cases, such rapport has spread to the larger community. In Berkeley, Calif., officials believe that complete integration explains a cessation of white flight from the city.

These conclusions were drawn from a survey of eight cities that have integrated their schools through racial balance. If a school system is 30 per cent black, for example, each school has approximately 30 per cent black children under the racial balance concept.

A key and controversial element of the racial balance format is the elimination of schools that, even after substantial desegregation, remain all-black or predominantly black.

The issues of racial balance and all-black schools lie at the heart of the public debate over desegregation, a debate reinforced. . . in the Supreme Court in cases involving Charlotte, N. C.; Mobile, Ala., and Athens, Ga.

The eight cities surveyed were New Albany; Harrisburg, Pa.; Rochester, N. Y.; Chapel Hill, N. C.; Berkeley and Riverside, Calif.; Evanston, Ill., and Greenville, S. C.

The experience of these cities would seem to hold little value for major urban centers, with large populations, great distances to be overcome by extensive school busing, and large numbers—sometimes a majority—of nonwhite children.

But the smaller cities—they average about 150,000 population, are more compact in size and have a minority enrolment of roughly 30 per cent—are somewhat typical of many communities around the country.

Their experience supports the findings of the Coleman Report, a massive federal report made in 1966 named for James S. Coleman, Johns Hopkins University professor who was its chief author. The report found that integration into majority white schools was the single most important school factor in improving the educational performance of black children.

In almost every case, school officials in the eight smaller cities described integration in similar terms.

Selling Education

"I don't think you can sell intergation," said Ray Berry, superintendent of schools in Riverside. "I do not think you can convince people that the schools have a major obligation to integrate. But you can sell total education, to see that every child gets a full education. If integration is needed to bring that off, then integration is acceptable."

In Evanston, a detailed performance study is to be completed next summer. "I'm certain," said Joseph Hill, the acting superintendent in the Chicago suburb, "that there will be no decrease in achievement levels of white youngsters. I'm sure there will be an increase in achievement of blacks."

In Chapel Hill, Superintendent of Schools Wilmer F. Cody said: "The systemwide average achievement of white students in the basic skills has remained high and unchanged and the average achievement of black students has increased."

Minority-group children in Riverside used to fall two grade levels below whites by the end of the sixth grade, said Superintendent Berry. "Now that isn't true," he said. "You still have a larger group of minority children at the bottom of the class, but they have a chance to get to the top.

"Integration has been the trigger to education more than anything else we could have done. It has aided all education for all children. It has caused us to break the mold, to get away from the rigidity of our old educational system."

It is a long way from Riverside (population 140,000) to New Albany (population about 8,000) but officials in the Mississippi city apply a parallel attitude.

Before Court Acted

New Albany, in northeast Mississippi, completely desegregated its four schools in 1969, despite bitter opposition, well in advance of court requirements. Each school, like the population, is now about 30 per cent black.

The emphasis was on education, not integration, with "an individual instruction program, a nongrade approach and team teaching," recalls Bryant Smith, who was then superintendent of schools.

White parents went along, grudgingly at first. Now, of 2,000 students, only two have transferred to a private, segregated academy.

In Berkeley, where achievement studies are not yet available, teachers and administrators said that performance gains were encouraging. Whites make up a bare majority in the system, which has 41 per cent black students and 9 per cent Mexican-American and Oriental students.

While nearly half of the city's 8,000 grade school pupils are bused, there has been no disorder. Other cities have had some, but, typically, less than before integration.

In Harrisburg, there have been scattered racial fights, but none of the gang disorders experienced last year at black junior high schools. In Riverside, officials said that there were still incidents, but that "the discipline rate is actually down."

More Difficult Now

Integration has not been achieved without political cost, as was illustrated. . . in Pasadena, Calif., where three pro-integration school board members narrowly survived a recall effort.

Superintendent Hill of Evanston said that the city's move to integration, begun four years ago, would be "definitely more difficult now, with more black separatism and more demands for sharing power."

But in most instances, while such problems are troubling, they are not discouraging, the school official said.

"We'd never go back," said Dr. Mabel C. Purl, Riverside's educational research director. "The whole community is glad that integration happened."

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EXPERTS . . .

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as are the schools themselves. I would like to see how it is possible to restrict busing to increase racial heterogeneity of our schools without at the same time to restrict busing in terms of the normal schools that are segregated.

Black Separatism

" . . . My interpretation of the apparent rise in black separatism is that this is directly a consequence of the frustration post-Brown (the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school segregation). The promise of Brown unfulfilled intensifies the frustrations of the minorities, and black separatism, black nationalism, is a symptom of that increased frustration.

"It is also, I think, a symptom of the kind of problems which racial rejection, racial cruelty, imposes upon the victims. . . . Black separatism tells us how deeply damaging racism has been, and continues to be. Its main effect, as I see it, is now it is coming in black form, when racism, equally intolerable, equally cruel, equally irrational, when it came in white form, was not clearly seen by whites.

" . . . It seems to me that benign racism, like benign neglect, is as detrimental as militant racism in terms of the effect of perpetuating inequities. I don't see how government policy, I don't see how the U. S. Supreme Court could have handed down the decision on the detrimental effect of racial segregation and say, 'Well, this is legally and constitutionally correct in terms of white segregation, but we will be a little more sentimental if it comes under the guise of black segregation or black separatism.' This would be a demonstration that we are not taking seriously the fundamental social, educational and psychological issues, which to me should prevail here."

Damage to Whites

"The argument for the desegregation of our public schools must now be presented in terms of the damage which racially segregated schools inflict upon privileged white children . . . . There is strong evidence to suggest that racial segregation . . . is flagrantly and insidiously detrimental to privileged middle-class and working-class white children . . . These young people have explicitly stated the basis for their rejection of authority; namely, their view of authority as morally hypocritical, insensitive, . . . socially disturbing and unstablizing.

"One of the most disconcerting things for me is the extent to which these young privileged white people seek to escape the moral conflict and quandary which racial segregation practices impose upon them by not only rejecting authority and values, but at times even rejecting reason, itself, and the whole rational process.

"These, I suggest, are their defenses to escape the personal guilt. These are their attempts to avoid the sense of moral and ethical emptiness which a racist society imposes upon sensitive individuals. These are their attempts to avoid being accessories to racial segregation and cruelty which racially segregated institutions involuntarily impose upon them, refusing to permit them the choice of more ethical and more personal substance.

"These are their attempts to avoid being personally the beneficiaries of cruelties imposed upon others. These are their ways of trying to avoid the stark and intolerable qualities of moral schizophrenia and moral emptiness of a society which preaches democracy but practices cruelty imposed upon these individuals.

" . . . Among the majority of American youths, who are damaged by racial segregation and prejudice and institutional forms of racism, one gets not only the acceptance of the hypocrisy, but also the acceptance of a philosophy which repudiates morality and ethics as being irrelevant generally.

" . . . A disturbingly increasing number of youngsters who have rejected these more practical forms of accommodation to the ethical and moral schizophrenia of American society in racism are attempting to cope with the personal, the individual ethical problems by rebelling totally against parents, leaders, governmental and educational leaders, the controllers of the institutions which they interpret as imposing upon them in the first place the moral and ethical conflict and ego confusion of guilt and environment.

"They are rejecting all the values, the ethics, the verbal morality, which are perceived as being fundamentally and inevitably contaminated by the hypocritical establishment, to use their words.

Hypocrisy and Rebellion

"Some very specific recent symptoms of this ethical malaise . . . which have infected our youth almost if not totally to an epidemic stage are . . . the 'hippie' movement . . . (and) the drug cult . . . These youngsters, in attacking their parents, in attacking educational authority, in attacking governmental authority beyond and without regard to reason, are in a sense telling us that they perceive these individuals as ones who imposed upon them the basic ethical conflict in the first place, and are reacting negatively, destructively, toward the agents of their moral schizophrenia.

" . . . Segregated schools and cruelty in American ghettos are the institutionalized and inescapable morality of American racism, and as such are deadening and destroying the ethical and personal effectiveness of American white children, and doing it so much more insidiously than they are destroying the personal and human effectiveness of American black children.

" . . . I think the United States has a wonderful opportunity to take its racial homogeneity, its ethnic homogeneity, and turn it into a social, economic, educational, and, if you will, international asset.

"We can also save our children . . . from destructive forms of seeking escape from the ethical schizophrenia which I talked about, but we would give them a valuable educational lesson in poise, effectiveness and security in dealing with people who are superficially different in our world, whose outstanding characteristic is that it consists of people who are different. Few other nations have this kind of asset . . .

Goal for 1976

"We could make American schools laboratories by which American youngsters look upon differences as assets and things with which human beings must come to terms. We could prepare our children to live constructively and productively with the peoples of this world . . . . I think we should set this as a national target . . . as a goal of the bicentennial celebration of the founding of this nation . . . By 1976 we could . . . be the beneficiaries of a serious war against racism, poverty, and slums . . . We could, after 200 years, take the ethical words of Jefferson and translate them into the type of serious action which would free sensitive young Americans from the need to rebel randomly, irrationally, and self-destructively."

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"Report on Reports." Claire Brown. v. 1, n. 5, p. 2 (Oct. 1969) Cites a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, FOR ALL THE PEOPLE . . . BY ALL THE PEOPLE: A REPORT ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.
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"Farmers: 'The Genesis of a Chicago Riot May Be Traced to a Cotton Field.'" Paul Good from CYCLE TO NOWHERE. v. 1, n. 4, p. 5 (Nov. 1969)

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"Country Fiddles; Nashville and Its Singers Have Gone Uptown . . . Big." Paul Hemphill from the ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION MAGAZINE. v. 1, n. 7, p. 3 (Feb. 1970)
"Johnny Cash: He Celebrates a Better South." Pat Watters. v. 1, n. 3, pp. 1, 7 (Sept. 1969)
"A Shoeshine from DeFord Baily." Paul Hemphill from BRIGHT LIGHTS AND COUNTRY MUSIC. v. 1, n. 9, p. 12 (April 1970)

NONVIOLENCE
"Report on Reports." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 11, p. 2 (June 1970) Nonviolence on increase.

POLICE BRUTALITY
See LAW ENFORCEMENT-POLICE BRUTALITY

POLITICS
See also: GOVERNMENT
"Agnew's Forays Suggest (Southern) Strategy." Reese Cleghorn from the BALTIMORE SUN. v. 1, n. 7, p. 6 (Feb. 1970)
"Black Votes: 1965 (Voting Rights) Act Facing Test." Marvin Wall. v. 1, n. 2, p. 6 (August 1969)
"A Cry From the Delta." Robert Coles and Harry Huge from the NEW REPUBLIC. v. 1, n. 1, pp. 5-6 (July 1969) A description of the tragic human conditions in rural Mississippi with a discussion of agricultural politics involved.
"Federal Retreat: Nixon Policies Allowing Resistance and Evasion." Neil Maxwell from the WALL STREET JOURNAL. v. 1, n. 4, p. 8 (Oct. 1969)
"Mississippi Replay: Head Start Was Hit Again But Blacks Struck Back." Betsy Fancher. v. 1, n. 9, pp. 3-6 (April 1970) Gov. Williams veto of funds reversed by HEW Secretary Finch.
"The People Have Faith." Robert E. Anderson, Jr. v. 1, n. 9, p. 3 (April 1970) Importance of Head Start to poor Mississippians.
"Report on Reports." Claire Brown. v. 1, n. 5, p. 2 (Nov. 1969) Cites Morton Inger's monograph, POLITICS AND REALITY IN AN AMERICAN CITY, an analysis of the causes of the 1960 New Orleans school desegregation crisis.
"Scopes: This Is, Now, 1970." Ed Williams from MISSISSIPPI FREELANCE. v. 1, n. 10, pp. 1, 8 (May 1970) It's still against the law to teach evolution in Mississippi's public schools.

POLITICS—NEGRO
"Black Votes: 1965 (Voting Rights) Act Facing Test." Marvin Wall. v. 1, n. 2, p. 6 (August 1969)
"Letter from Tuskegee." Roger Williams. v. 1, n. 10, p. 6 (May 1970) Black political power in a small Alabama town.
"The Past Is Now?" Francis Walter from the Selma Inter-religious NEWSLETTER. v. 1, n. 6, p. 4 (Dec. 1969) Black political power in Green County, Alabama.

POVERTY
See also: APPALACHIA, HUNGER
"Paternalism Dies in the Delta." Neil Maxwell from the WALL STREET JOURNAL. v. 1, n. 8, p. 8 (March 1970) Review of Anthony Dunbar's THE WILL TO SURVIVE, published by SRC.
"Who Makes the Money?" Arnold Cantor from the AFL-CIO FEDERATIONIST. v. 1, n. 5, p. 6 (Nov. 1969) Poorest 20 per cent get only 5 per cent of the nation's wealth.

POVERTY—RURAL
"A Cry From the Delta." Robert Coles and Harry Huge from the NEW REPUBLIC. v. 1, n. 1 pp. 5-6 (July 1969) A description of the tragic human conditions in rural Mississippi with a discussion of agricultural politics involved.
"Farmer: 'The Genesis of a Chicago Riot May Be Traced to a Cotton Field.'" Paul Good from CYCLE TO NOWHERE. v. 1, n. 5, p. 4 (Nov. 1969)
"Report on Reports." v. 1, n. 2, p. 2 (August 1969) U. S. Department of Agriculture report on housing in rural South Carolina.
"Some Facts About Rural Poverty." From the report by the National Commission on Rural Poverty. v. 1, n. 5, p. 5 (Nov. 1969)
"Students: They Could Help in Rural Areas." Don McKee from the CHATTANOOGA TIMES. v. 1, n. 3, p. 5 (Sept. 1969) Describes proposed Georgia Student Rural Project.

POLLUTION
See ECOLOGY

PRIVATE SCHOOLS
See EDUCATION—PRIVATE SCHOOLS

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS
"Black Vets: A Place Now in America's Mainstream?" Barbara Thomas and Peggy Roberson from the BIRMINGHAM NEWS. v. 1, n. 6, p. 3 (Dec. 1969)
"'Church Must Free Us All.'" Oscar Carr, Jr. from a speech before the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. v. 1, n. 8, pp. 1, 3 (March 1970) His words are a revelation of one white Southerner's response to change.
"Ivan Allen: Status of Blacks is No. 1 Challenge." Raleigh Bryans and Margaret Shannon from the ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION MAGAZINE. v. 1, n. 3, p. 8 (Sept. 1969) Former Atlanta mayor says race is the biggest problem facing cities.
"Memphis: Advisors Say Growth Tied to Race Relations." James Chisum from the MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL—APPEAL. v. 1, n. 2, p. 8 (August 1969)
"The Movies: The 1970s Intensify Hollywood's Struggle of Profits vs. Reality." James M. Wall. v. 1, n. 10, pp. 4-5 (May 1970)
"Report on Reports." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 10, p. 2 (May 1970) Cites U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' report, RACISM IN AMERICA AND HOW TO COMBAT IT.

RADICAL RIGHT
See also: KKK
"Turn Ye Radio On" Reese Cleghorn from ATLANTA magazine. v. 1, n. 1, p. 3 (July 1969) Conservative evangelists on the radio.

RELIGION
"'Church Must Free Us All.'" Oscar Carr Jr. from a speech before the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. v. 1, n. 8, pp. 1, 3 (March 1970) His words are a revelation of one white Southerner's response to change.
"Follow-up." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 9, p. 2 (April 1970) Questions churches should ask before establishing a private school.
"A Theology for the Age of Ecology." William K. McElvaney from THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. v. 1, n. 11, p. 4 (June 1970)
"Turn Ye Radio On". Reese Cleghorn from ATLANTA magazine. v. 1, n. 1, p. 3 (July 1969) Conservative evangelists on the radio.
"White Church, Black Church." Pat Watters from the SOUTH AND THE NATION, v. 1, n. 6, p. 8 (Dec. 1969)

RURAL DEVELOPMENT
"By Way Of: Waugh." Arthur Campbell. v. 1, n. 6, p. 2 (Dec. 1969) An urban planner finds his home town part of the urban solution—if.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS
See EDUCATION—LUNCH PROGRAMS

SCHOOLS
See EDUCATION

SEGREGATION ACADEMIES
See EDUCATION—PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SOUTH
"Bye, Bye Bush Leagues." Paul Hemphill from SPORT MAGAZINE. v. 1, n. 10, p. 3 (May 1970)
"'Church Must Free Us All.'" Oscar Carr Jr., from a speech before the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. v. 1, n. 8, pp. 1, 3 (March 1970). His words are a revelation of one white Southerner's response to change.
"Cock Fight!" Pat Watters from THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. v. 1, n. 7, p. 6 (Feb. 1970)
"Fare Thee Well, Southern Belle." Lydel Sims from the MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL—APPEAL. v. 1, n. 9, p. 7 (April 1970)
"History Afloat: Can the 'Delta Queen' Be Saved?" Roy Reed from THE NEW YORK TIMES. v. 1, n. 11, p. 3 (June 1970)
"Johnny Cash: He Celebrates a Better South." Pat Watters. v. 1, n. 3, pp. 1, 7 (Sept. 1969)
"My Friend Calvin." Charles Weltner from ATLANTA magazine. v. 1, n. 5, p. 3 (Nov. 1969) A Congressman and a Klansman become friends.
"The Past Is Now?" Frances Walter from the Selma Inter-religious NEWSLETTER. v. 1, n. 6, p. 4 (Dec. 1969) Black political power in Green Cty., Alabama.
"'The Past is Now:' Tragedy, Loneliness are South's Theme." James McBride Dabbs from CIVIL RIGHTS IN RECENT SOUTHERN FICTION. v. 1, n. 6, pp. 1, 5 (Dec. 1969)
"Seeing the South." Pat Watters from THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. v. 1, n. 8, p. 7 (March 1970)
"A Shoeshine from DeFord Baily." Paul Hemphill from BRIGHT LIGHTS AND COUNTRY MUSIC. v. 1, n. 9, p. 12 (April 1970)
"Southern Consciousness." Reese Cleghorn from ATLANTA magazine. v. 1, n. 2, pp. 1, 7 (August 1969)
"The Squire of Rip Raps." Jack Bass from the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER. v. 1, n. 6, p. 4 (Dec. 1969) An interview with James McBride Dabbs.
"Sports Integration: Football as Radicalism. . ." Roy Blount Jr. v. 1, n. 9, pp. 1, 10-12 (April 1970)
"By Way Of: Selma." Francis Walter from the Selma Inter-religious Project NEWSLETTER. v. 1, n. 8, p. 2 (March 1970)

SPORTS—SOUTH
"Bye, Bye Bush Leagues." Paul Hemphill from SPORT MAGAZINE. v. 1, n. 10, p. 3 (May 1970)
"Cock Fight!" Pat Watters from THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. v. 1, n. 7, p. 6 (Feb. 1970)
"Sports Integration: Football as Radicalism. . ." Roy Blount Jr. v. 1, n. 9, pp. 1, 10-12 (April 1970)

TEXTBOOKS
See EDUCATION—TEXTBOOKS AND MINORITY HISTORY

UNIONS
See LABOR—UNIONS AND UNION ORGANIZING

URBAN AFFAIRS
"By Way Of: Timberlake." Reese Cleghorn. v. 1, n. 10, p. 2 (May 1970) TVA's proposed "new town."
"Ivan Allen: Status of Blacks is No. 1 Challenge." Raleigh Bryans and Margaret Shannon from the ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION MAGAZINE. v. 1, n. 3, p. 8 (Sept. 1969) Former Atlanta mayor says race is the biggest problem facing cities.
"Memphis: Advisors Say Growth Tied to Race Relations." James Chisum from the MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL—APPEAL. v. 1, n. 2, p. 8 (August 1969)
"Southern Cities on Strike; Public Employe Unions Spreading; City Halls Often Are Unprepared." Roger M. Williams. v. 1, n. 11, pp. 1, 6-7 (June 1970)

VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION
"The Guns of Texas: South Leads in Killings." Gary Cartwright from the TEXAS OBSERVER. v. 1, n. 7, pp. 1, 7 (Feb. 1970) Failure to pass effective gun-control legislation in Texas.
"Orangeburg to Kent State." Jack Nelson from the LOS ANGELES TIMES. v. 1, n. 11, p. 8 (June 1970) Similarities of the tragedies at South Carolina State and Kent State.
"Orangeburg: A Tragedy of Police Panic and Official Defensiveness." Jack Nelson from the LOS ANGELES TIMES. v. 1, n. 1, p. 8 (July 1969)

VOTER REGISTRATION
"Black Votes: 1965 (Voting Rights) Act Facing Test." Marvin Wall. v. 1, n. 2, p. 6 (August 1969)
"Telling It Like It Was." from CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER. v. 1, n. 2, p. 7 (August 1969) Activists describe their experiences in registering blacks.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT
"Black Votes: 1965 (Voting Rights) Act Facing Test." Marvin Wall. v. 1, n. 2, p. 6 (August 1969)

WELFARE
"The South and Welfare." Warren Prichard. v. 1, n. 3, pp. 4-5 (Sept. 1969)
"Welfare: What Kind of Priorities for America?" David Broder from the WASHINGTON POST. v. 1, n. 1, p. 5 (Sept. 1969)

WOMEN'S LIBERATION—SOUTH
"Fare Thee Well, Southern Belle." Lydel Sims from the MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL—APPEAL. v. 1, n. 9, p. 7 (April 1970)

YOUTH
"Report on Reports." Claire Brown. v. 1, n. 3, p. 2 (Sept. 1969) Cites article from the SATURDAY REVIEW on the "Youth Revolution."
"Report on Reports." Kitty Griffith. v. 1, n. 11, p. 2 (June 1970) Cites HEW publication, "Teenagers Discuss the Generation Gap."

REPORT ON REPORTS

By KITTY TERJEN

Land-grant colleges began with Justin Smith Morrill, a Whig member of Congress. He sponsored legislation, eventually signed into law by President Lincoln, which provided for "the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be . . . to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

This legislation, the First Morrill Act, was a major factor in democratizing higher education in America; prior to this time, education was for the elite and rich. It came at a time when 59 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture and 90 per cent of the blacks were in slavery.

In 1890 the Second Morrill Act was passed, and it authorized the establishment of separate land-grant colleges for Negroes. Sixteen of the Negro land-grant colleges established under the 1890 law remain today and all of these are in the South and border states.

The Second Morrill Act contained a separate-but-equal clause, but of course that meant that while the schools were very separate they were also very unequal.

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission has made a survey of the distribution of both federal and state aid to predominantly white and Negro land-grant colleges. Although the separate-but-equal provisions of the Second Morrill Act were supposedly overridden by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, this survey found that black colleges are still discriminated against in terms of a fair share of such funds:

--"When totaled, federal and state aid to the predominantly white land-grant institutions runs approximately $650 million a year. Aid to the predominantly Negro land-grant colleges in the same states is only slightly more than $70 million. Thus, although the predominantly white land-grant colleges enrol only about 5½ times as many students, combined federal-state aid equals more than nine times as much. Federal aid is 11 times as much and state aid is more than 8½ times as much.

--"Looked at another way, total federal-state aid equals almost $2,300 per student in the predominantly white land-grant institution but less than $1,365 in the predominantly Negro ones—less than 60 per cent the per capita aid to students in the white institutions."

You guessed it. The black-land-grant college is in deep financial trouble. It would take $125 million for these schools just to catch up, and that is apparently a conservative estimate. Despite these handicaps, these colleges, which enrol 20 per cent of the black students in college today, have made and will continue to make valuable contributions to higher education in this country. Now exposed, this inequity must be corrected.

Written by Bill Payne, the article is entitled "Forgotton But Not Gone: The Negro Land-Grant Colleges." This report appeared in the spring issue of the *Civil Rights Digest*. Copies may be obtained for 35 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402.

Academies:

Many Parents Would Give Children Bad Educations

By JUNIE BROWN
In The Atlanta Journal

There are a good many white parents in Georgia who would rather inflict an inferior education on their children than have them go to school with black classmates.

Thus, while there is a new look of prosperity to the private school movement in the state this fall, Georgia still has its share of inadequate private schools.

In Lamar County 31 children are attending classes in an old motel. There are three teachers for grades one through six.

At Talmadge Institute in Irwinton, three teachers hold classes for 15 students in grades 1-12. The school is in a dilapidated former public school building.

Bathroom fixtures are broken off the wall, the floors are creaky and the plaster cracked. Only two classrooms are heated.

The headmaster at Talmadge quit shortly after school opened because of a disagreement with the board of trustees. A teacher at the school claims the school is in serious financial difficulty.

Most of the new private schools—segregation academies—are operating on shoestring budgets, charging tuitions of $250 - $700 per child, as compared to the $1,000 and up most established private schools charge.

To make up the difference, the new schools hold cake sales, barbecues and carnivals, to raise money.

Most have retired teachers on the faculty.

"I'll buy their experience," said Walker Cook, headmaster of Piedmont Academy in Monticello, a new school which has two retirees teaching.

Some schools have non-certificated college graduates teaching. At Bartow Academy, in Bartow, a non-certified chemistry major is teaching chemistry. Headmaster Franklin Hyers says she is highly qualified to do the job, however.

And many of the schools are going the religious rather than the academic route. Ministers are serving as headmasters. Worship services take up a portion of every day's activities and religious pictures cover the walls.

These schools, typically, have strict dress rules and codes on length of hair.

Buhl Cummings, owner of an Athens Christian book store and a radio minister, and his wife have opened one such school, Athens Christian School.

Athens Christian offers courses in Bible, opens every morning with worship assembly and prayer, closes each day with prayer and is making plans to carry its first graduating seniors to the Holy Land as a senior class trip.

"We don't teach evolution as a fact," Cummings said, "We teach it as a theory. We're combatting the humanism, materialism and evolution that is being pumped into children by the public schools."

"We're here to combat some of the things that are going on in the schools—terrible things. I feel we can have the Christian message and a quality education at the same time," Cummings said.

At Thomasville Christian School in Thomasville, the waiting room reading material is largely evangelistic—newspapers with editorials and columns by Dr. Bob Jones Jr. and Carl McIntyre.

The dress code at Thomasville Christian bans shorts, pedal pushers, pants suits, slacks and miniskirts for girls. For boys, "enough of the hair is to be cut at the time that a haircut is given so that the hair style does not resemble a hippie," the school policy states.

William "Bill" Bodenhamer, the former state school board member, candidate for governor and part-time preacher, who is now principal of Ravenwood Academy at Meigs, Ga., said he fills the job because "I received a call from God."

Bodenhamer came to Ravenwood from Shellman where he was headmaster at Randolph Southern, another all-white private school.

Ravenwood, while not a specifically "Christian" school, offers Bible courses, and daily devotionals as part of the curriculum. Bodenhamer is an ordained Baptist minister.

The headmaster at Randolph Southern in Shellman (Randolph County) refused to answer any questions asked by a reporter. He insisted that they be submitted in writing to the board of trustees. Several weeks later, Bill Starling, chairman of the board, said the board had not even discussed the questions because "no good purpose would be served" by answering them.

Gary Linbaugh, headmaster of Burke Academy in Waynesboro, attended high school in New York State and holds an unspecified degree in divinity from the Practical Bible Training School.

"There are just too many Baptist preachers running private schools," said Franklin Hyers, headmaster at Bartow Academy.

Would they admit blacks?

Many of the schools give lip service to an open-door policy and are even advertising open-door admissions for the purpose of receiving tax exemptions.

A typical academy headmaster in Southwest Georgia admits, off the record, that his board is split on the question of admission of blacks. Some would accept an occasional black who could pay the tuition and had good academic records, but several trustees said they will never approve the admission of any blacks.

The standard answer to the question of whether or not the academy will admit blacks is, "we'll admit all qualified students."

"We have no policy covering race, color or creed written in the bylaws," said Bodenhamer of Ravenwood. However, he adds, "no Negro has applied."

Rev. and Mrs. James Smith, who operate the Thomasville Christian School in Thomasville, say their school will not admit blacks.

"But we don't make a big issue of it," said Mrs. Smith. "We have nothing against colored people."

Mrs. Smith said Thomasville Christian will not apply for federal tax exempt status because "we don't want anything to do with the federal government."

The admission of a black "would have to be decided by the trustees," said G. M. Charles Jr., headmaster at Gatewood School Inc., in Eatonton. Charles said Gatewood was formed because "the parents were concerned with the lack of local control in education."

"We are applying for tax exempt status and are running an ad in the local paper," said Clinton Grant, headmaster at Briarwood School serving Warren and McDuffie counties.

"We have run an ad that we have an open door policy," Grant said. "We do have that. We're not just mouthing. We admitted anyone who applied this year." Grant added that no blacks applied.

"I'm not interested in anybody's color but I'm damn interested in education," said James Raines, mayor of Dawson and chairman of the board of Terrell Academy there. He said he would approve "qualified" black teachers at the school.

"People are talking out of both sides of their mouths about this thing," said Walker Cook, headmaster of Piedmont Academy.

Ed Bailey, headmaster at Smithville Academy in Lee County, is the former Sumter County school superintendent.

"To have remained in office under the conditions of the blanket court order would have forced me to do things I believe are bad for education. As superintendent I would have been obligated to keep my children in public schools," he said.

Asked if Burke Academy in Waynesboro would admit blacks, board chairman Dr. Dennis Taylor, a local pharmacist, answered, "No comment. . . It hasn't come up. I can't comment on something that hasn't happened."

There is one comfort for public education in all of this.

Unless there is a new court decision this year ordering wholesale busing, desegregation has done its worst. The tallies are in and only 50,000 to 55,000 Georgia children out of about 1.1 million have deserted the public schools.

The private school movement is at its peak now and, while many of the new schools are here to stay, there should be a gradual return to the public schools noticeably by the first of the year if there is no violence and upheaval.

Mrs. Junie Brown is education editor of THE ATLANTA JOURNAL.

Receiving Illegal Public Aid

Many private school supporters consider their outfits to be really public schools and eligible for a share of the public bounty. Almost the first action of the newly incorporated boards of these schools is to look for public assistance in some form.

In many cases, public school board members have been willing to share their bounty in some degree with private schools. Many new private schools are housed in what were formerly public school buildings built with taxpayers' dollars. In most cases, individuals or groups of citizens purchased the old schools and turned them over to the segregation academies.

In Walton County, the private all-white George Walton Academy purchased an older school from the public school system, then exchanged that school in a lease agreement for two newer buildings. The contract calls for the academy to pay "$3 and other considerations."

Many private school pupils these days are picked up each day by the same buses which last year took them to public schools; many even sit in the same desks they used at the public school and use the same textbooks.

To complicate matters, many local school boards have members who send their children to the private school and whose loyalties lie with the private schools.

In Randolph, Terrell, Washington and Hancock counties, to name a few, local board members are sending their children to private schools.

"They are just serving on the public boards of education in order to see that taxes aren't raised," said an official of the State Department of Education.

"I seriously doubt if we could pass a bond issue now, and we need one," said Washington County School Supt. Buddy Outz.

In Warren County, the school board has just voted to allow the Briarwood School in nearby McDuffie County to use its Deering School gymnasium, provided Briarwood becomes tax-exempt.—*Junie Brown*

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AFL CIO

Wash Trip - 4/29

April 1, 1971

APR 15 1971

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This year at the institute on Effective Union Action in Civil Rights at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, we are planning a session on the problems of "school integration and quality education."

Will you participate in a panel discussion on this subject Tuesday, April 27, from 1:30 to 2:50 p.m.? We are inviting Emanuel Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee, and James Harris of the Catholic Conference on Civil Rights, to be the other panel members.

The AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center will, of course, pay the expenses involved in your trip to Washington for this session.

Attending the week-long institute will be about 25 union officers and specialists who have responsibilities in carrying out their union's policy in the field of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

Jackie Brophy

Jacqueline Brophy
Staff Associate

JB/sw
cc: Don Slaiman

Emory
april 29 as per telephone conversation

Fred

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Washington Trip — 4/29

LABOR STUDIES CENTER INC.

AFL CIO

APR 4 1971

April 12, 1971 APR 14 1971

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We are very pleased that you will be able to participate in a panel discussion on "School Integration and Quality Education" during the Institute on Effective Union Action in Civil Rights at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center.

The session will run from 1:30 to 2:50 p.m. on Thursday, April 29 (not Tuesday as noted in my April 1 letter). We are inviting Emanuel Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee, and James Harris of the Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice to be the other panel members.

The AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center will, of course, pay the expenses involved in your trip to Washington for this session.

Attending the week-long institute will be about 25 union officers and specialists who have responsibilities in carrying out there unions' policies in the field of civil rights.

Sincerely,

Jackie

Jacqueline Brophy
Staff Associate

JB/sw
cc: Don Slaiman

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Miles Stanley, President
West Virginia Labor Federation

Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President
New York City Central Labor Council

Hunter P. Wharton, President
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Wash Trip

Finding Targets vs. Solutions

"Idealism" vs personal advance

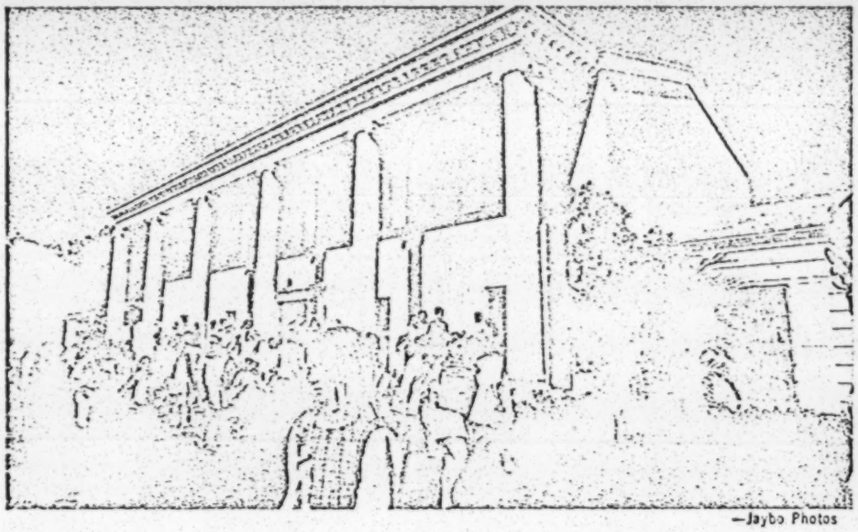
Tough decisions re performance vs.

U. S. News & World Report, ~~XXXX~~
April 19, 1971

Wash Trip 4/29

"WHITE ACADEMIES" IN THE SOUTH —BOOMING DESPITE OBSTACLES

Nothing so far has stopped the growth of private, segregated education in the South. This trend has public-school officials disturbed.



—Jaybo Photos

Gulliver Academy is one of a cluster of private schools in the Miami, Fla., area, where 32 new ones opened in the past year. Gulliver's classes are all-white.

ATLANTA

Private schools, overcoming many handicaps, are growing in number and size all over the South.

Neither money problems nor pressures from civil-rights groups seem to have deterred the switch to private education at elementary and high-school levels.

Large numbers of white children are still being withdrawn from integrated public-school systems, and taxpayer support of these systems is declining.

There are no over-all official figures, but latest estimates indicate that more than 700,000 students are now attending nonpublic elementary and secondary schools in the 11 Southern States. This is nearly 6 per cent of the area's school-age population.

Private-school enrollment is figured to be up 15 to 20 per cent over last year, with most of the increase in the "white academies."

Reports from seven States—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina—illustrate the trend:

From an estimated 1,600 private schools with about 428,000 pupils in 1969-70, these States have moved to approximately 1,800 schools enrolling 535,000 pupils.

Shoestring financing. To a large extent, this growth is being financed from the pockets of parents opposed to racially mixed classrooms. Most of these people do not have a lot of money to spend, and some of the new private academies are admittedly shoestring operations.

Southern legislatures have tried to help private institutions, but the courts have blocked State financial aid in almost any form, holding it to be unconstitutional.

The Internal Revenue Service has added to the worries of private schools by threatening to cut off their tax exemptions if they refuse to admit black pupils. The tax-exempt status of 23 private schools in Mississippi already has been revoked.

Revocation means that persons who give money to the schools will not be allowed to write off these amounts on their tax returns as charitable contributions and that profits of the schools, if any, will be taxable.

Other Southern schools may lose their tax-exempt status before long. The Federal Government is now examining admission policies of private schools all over the country for evidence of racial discrimination.

Pressure to integrate is also coming from the Mid-South Association of Independent Schools. Last month it voted to require its members to admit all qualified students regardless of race, color or national origin—with compliance no later than spring of 1972. The Association has about 50 member schools, all of which, it said, have indicated that they will go along with the new ruling.

Help on the way? Some help may be forthcoming for private schools in the South if the Supreme Court rules in favor of public aid for private education, including church-related schools. Several cases involving this issue are pending.

With a go-ahead from the Supreme Court, State legislatures might act quickly to help Catholic school systems and all other private institutions that are integrated.

It is doubtful, however, that any

(continued on next page)

"WHITE ACADEMIES"

[continued from preceding page]

public aid could be extended legally to segregated academies.

As things stand now, most of the academies say they are not looking for government money.

"Private schools don't want quasi-public status," said William J. Simmons, director of the Citizens Councils of America, which operates five schools in the Jackson, Miss., area. "We don't want public aid. All we want is to be left alone."

Mr. Simmons said Council schools, which have 5,500 students paying tuition of $45 a month, are segregated. "No Negroes have applied for admission, and we wouldn't admit them if they did," he said.

Ralph Martin, principal of Southwest Academy in Jackson, said he did not expect any help from Supreme Court decisions. He added:

"If we received public aid we would be obligated to the Government, and the less obligation you have to the Government the better position you are in to provide the kind of education you want."

Southwest Academy is one of the schools that lost its tax-exempt status last autumn. "It hasn't affected our operations in any way," Mr. Martin said.

In Miami, Fla., this comment came from Mrs. Marian Krutulis, owner of Gulliver Academy and until recently president of the Florida Council of Independent Schools:

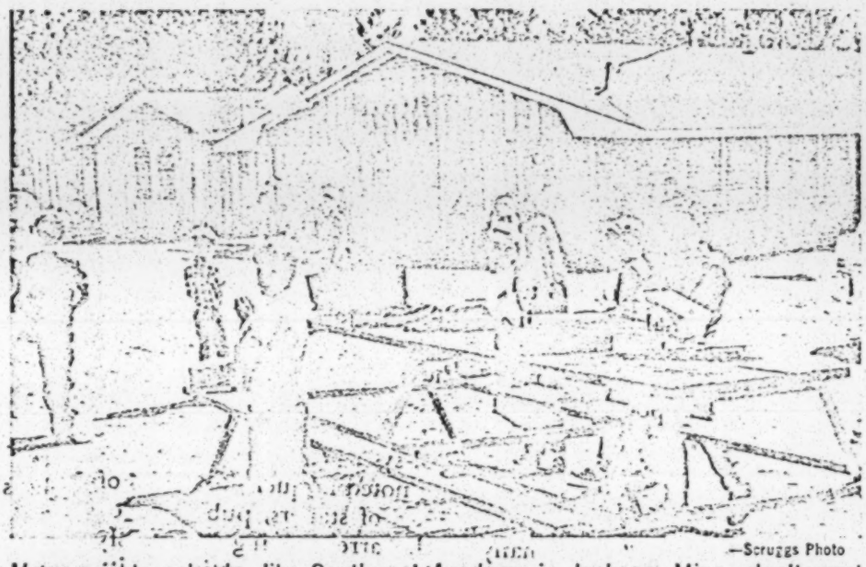
"I think public aid would help many private schools. There's a saturation point in tuition, and many private schools are beginning to reach the point where it's almost impossible to charge enough tuition to handle the operation. Several here in Florida have had to close down.

"But I doubt very seriously," she added, "if we would accept public aid. It would depend on what strings were attached."

Gulliver Academy has 775 pupils—a sizable increase this term. Enrollment is all-white although the school has an open-admissions policy.

Widespread segregation. Of the 700,000 private-school students in the 11 Southern States, between 450,000 and 500,000 are believed to be attending segregated schools. This is the estimate of the Southern Regional Council, a private research organization based in Atlanta.

Private-school growth has been swift in Mississippi, where, in January, 1970, the secretary of state's office listed 110 institutions chartered by the State. One year later the figure was 197—and this does not include all the new private schools, since they are not required to apply for charters.



—Scruggs Photo

Many private schools, like Southwest Academy in Jackson, Miss., don't want public aid. Because it bars Negroes, Southwest has lost its tax-exempt status.

Enrollment in Mississippi's chartered schools over the last year has risen from 46,981 to 62,676.

South Carolina is also having a boom in private education. Although he had no exact figures, the president of the South Carolina Independent School Association, T. E. Wannamaker, reported that private-school enrollment had about doubled this term. A State official estimates enrollment at 35,000 in some 139 schools.

Mr. Wannamaker said private classes are filling up quickly—"and we find a new school every time we turn a corner."

In and around Orangeburg, S. C., five new private schools have been organized within the last year. Wade Hampton Academy, one of the older schools in the Orangeburg area, added 125 students to its total enrollment this term.

Private schools "all cry that they are going broke," Mr. Wannamaker said, "but I know of none. Several are operating on planned deficits."

According to "The Miami Herald," 32 new private schools have sprung up in Dade County, Fla., during the past year and have attracted an enrollment of about 6,500. Dade County includes Miami, Hialeah and Coral Gables.

Reductions in public-school attendance are reported to have cut by about $831,000 the amount of State funds allocated for Dade County schools.

In Hickory, N. C., a town of about 20,000, the North State Academy was organized in 1968 by a group of parents. It now has a 30-acre campus, a new building and 103 students—including two blacks—in grades 7 through 12.

Although tuition is relatively high—about $1,000 a year—Headmaster Thomas Keeley said the school survives "with great difficulty."

Official concern. Public-school officials are worried about the drift to private education.

O. P. Richardson, who is associate State superintendent of schools in Alabama, told "U. S. News & World Report" that enrollment in the public schools of his State dropped by about 20,000 this term.

A State official in Georgia estimated that 14,000 pupils were lost this year to private schools.

In Georgia's rural Terrell County, full-scale integration began this term—and so did a brand-new private school, Terrell Academy. The academy has 27 teachers and 550 pupils—all white.

"We're on a very good financial footing," reported Headmaster William T. Owen. "We're not looking for any help."

Terrell County school authorities were not so cheerful. "We've lost about 800 students this term," said one. "Our public enrollment is now 2,500, and it is 92 to 93 per cent black. We've had to close three schools due to smaller enrollment."

Looking ahead. People in the South, facing the economic facts of life, are certain the boom in private schools won't last forever.

"The average person can't afford private school," said a businessman in Jackson, Miss. "After he pays tuition, he still has to shell out taxes for the public schools. It really has put a drain on the economy here."

Among many Southerners, however, there appears to be a determination to support private, segregated education just as long as they can. [END]

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return this to Wash Trip folder

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 6-71
April 21, 1971

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

TWO URGENT MATTERS: SCHOOL AID AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

There are two important, urgent matters before Congress that require the immediate attention of all constituent organizations of the Leadership Conference: S. 1557, the proposed Emergency School Aid and Quality Integrated Education Act of 1971 and H. R. 1746, the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Act.

School Aid

As you will recall, President Nixon last year proposed a $1.5 billion program to assist school districts in desegregation. The bill embodying this program, after substantial revisions, passed the House of Representatives. In the Senate the bill died in the crush of legislation in the closing days of the session.

On the Senate side, Senator Mondale (D., Minn.) had proposed an alternate bill that placed emphasis on the development of quality integrated schools. Those who supported the Mondale bill cooperated in blocking the Nixon proposal because they felt a better bill could be passed in the 92nd Congress.

In the 91st Congress, the Leadership Conference did not take a position on either the Administration or the Mondale bill. However, on March 23, 1971, the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference adopted a resolution commending the President for raising and supporting the concept of financial assistance for school desegregation, and supporting in principle the Mondale bill, which had been reintroduced in this Congress.

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with bipartisan support, reported out a bill that combined features of both the Administration and Mondale bills. A short analysis of the Committee bill is enclosed. This bill is now on the floor of the Senate.

Crippling Amendments Expected

S. 1557 keeps enough of the Mondale bill's provisions to be within the scope of the Executive Committee's resolution. It is worthy of our support. However, as often happens with a bill of this kind, attempts will be made to weaken it.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

ACTORS EQUITY
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN GI FORUM
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR SOCIAL POLICY & DEVELOPMENT, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
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NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL RURAL HOUSING COALITION
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
POALE ZION
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
U. S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE — DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, NATIONAL BOARD
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Senator Stennis (D., Miss.) has already announced he will try to add to the bill the "Stennis amendments" of the last Congress. Under the guise of requiring that desegregation policies "be applied uniformly in all regions of the United States," these provisions would block desegregation anywhere.

Senator Ervin (D., N.C.) plans to introduce a series of amendments that can also be expected to hinder enforcement. We also anticipate an amendment to strike the valuable section of the bill that would allocate funds for reimbursing attorneys' fees to those who bring successful school desegregation suits.

We oppose all these amendments.

What You Can Do

We ask each organization to contact all the Senators it can and urge them to support S. 1557 without crippling amendments.

TO STRENGTHEN THE EEOC

H. R. 1746 (Hawkins, D., Calif.) would amend and strengthen Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to enforce its findings by issuing cease and desist orders, by extending coverage to state and local governmental employment and to all private employers of eight or more workers and by transferring to the EEOC the equal employment functions of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Department of Justice and the Civil Service Commission. The Leadership Conference supports this bill and has testified in support of it.

What Needs To Be Done

The bill has been reported out of the subcommittee without substantial change. It will soon be considered by the full House Committee on Education and Labor. Please wire or write members of the Committee urging them to report the bill out without amendment. The members of the Committee are:

Democrats	Republicans
Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), *Chairman*	
Edith Green (Ore.)	Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)
John H. Dent (Pa.)	Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)
Roman C. Pucinski (Ill.)	Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.)
Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.)	John N. Erlenborn (Ill.)
John Brademas (Ind.)	John Dellenback (Ore.)
James G. O'Hara (Mich.)	Marvin L. Esch (Mich.)
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)	Edwin D. Eshleman (Pa.)
William D. Ford (Mich.)	William A. Steiger (Wis.)
Patsy T. Mink (Hawaii)	Earl F. Landgrebe (Ind.)
James H. Scheuer (N.Y.)	Orval Hansen (Idaho)
Lloyd Meeds (Wash.)	Earl B. Ruth (N.C.)
Phillip Burton (Calif.)	Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.)
Joseph M. Gaydos (Pa.)	Victor V. Veysey (Calif.)
William (Bill) Clay (Mo.)	Jack F. Kemp (N.Y.)
Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.)	Peter A. Peyser (N.Y.)
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)	
Ella T. Grasso (Conn.)	
Louise Day Hicks (Mass.)	
Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.)	
Herman Badillo (N.Y.)	

SUMMARY OF

EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID AND QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION ACT OF 1971

(S. 1557)

1. Authorization

$500 million for the period ending June 30, 1972 and $1 billion for Fiscal Year 1973.

2. Allocation of Funds ($1,500,000,000)

	% of Total Funds	Approximate Amount
Funds apportioned to States for programs to establish and maintain quality integrated schools, aid to desegregation and eliminate reduce and prevent minority group isolation	68%	1,020,000,000
Metropolitan area programs for cooperative integrated schools, education parks and planning for the elimination of minority group isolation	15%	225,000,000
Commissioner's discretionary fund	9%	135,000,000
Children's educational television	3%	45,000,000
Bi-lingual-bi-cultural programs	3%	45,000,000
Attorneys' fees in successful litigation to bring about compliance with Federal education law	1%	15,000,000
Evaluation of programs	1%	15,000,000

3. State Apportionment

Funds are apportioned among the states on the basis of the number of minority group children enrolled in each state's public schools, except that no state will receive less than $100,000.

4. School District Eligibility

To be eligible, a local education agency must adopt a comprehensive districtwide plan for the elimination of minority group isolation to the maximum extent possible in all its schools. It must also establish or maintain at least one stable, quality, integrated school which contains a substantial proportion of children from educationally advantaged backgrounds, which is substantially representative of the minority group and non-minority group student population of the school district, and which has an integrated faculty.

5. Financial Assistance to School Districts

If a school district has met these conditions for eligiblity it may then receive funds to implement plans for a variety of programs designed to end minority group isolation.

Financial assistance must include funding for the establishment or maintainance of one or more stable, quality integrated schools at a sufficient level as to hold promise of making those schools successful.

A school district may also receive funds to implement court-ordered and Title VI desegregatian plans; and to implement voluntary plans for the elimination of minority group isolation in all schools; for the elimination or reduction of minority group isolation in one or more schools; or to prevent minority group isolation from occurring in schools containing between 20% and 60% minority group children.

6. Authorized Activities:

Funds would be provided for the following activities in integrated schools:

(1) New curricula and instructional methods to support a program of integrated instruction, including instruction in language and cultural heritage of minority groups;

(2) Remedial services;

(3) Guidance and counseling services designed to promote mutual understanding between minority group and non-minority group parents, students, and teachers;

(4) Administrative and auxiliary services;

(5) Community activities including public information efforts;

(6) Recruiting, hiring and training teacher aides with preference given to parents;

(7) In-service teacher training;

(8) Planning, evaluation and dissemination of information;

(9) Minor alteration and remodeling limited to 10% of a grant.

7. Programs in Minority Group Isolation

Of the funds allocated to each State, 22% (15% of the funds under the entire Act) are reserved for promising pilot programs in racially or ethnically isolated schools. Districts are eligible for these funds only if they contain over 50% minority students, or 15,000 minority group students.

8. Community Groups

15% of the funds allocated to each state (10% of the total funds under the bill) are reserved for funding private non-profit groups for programs and projects to promote equality of educational opportunity through: encouraging the participation of parents, students and teachers in the design and implementation of educational planning; providing services which will enable parents to become effective participants in the education process; conducting school-related activities to reinforce student growth and achievement; or improving communications among the school, minority and non-minority parents, students and teachers.

9. Special Programs and Projects

(a) Attorneys' Fees
One percent of the funds authorized are reserved to reimburse attorneys' fees and costs not otherwise reimbursed in successful lawsuits pertaining to elementary and secondary education under this Act, Title VI, the 14th Amendment and Title I of ESEA.

(b) Children's Television

Three percent of the funds authorized are earmarked for integrated children's television programs. The bill authorizes grants to not more than ten private non-profit organizations. It provides that programs must be made available for transmission free of charge and shall not be transmitted under commercial sponsorship. The bill requires that members of minority groups be employed in responsible positions, that grantees utilize modern television techniques and adopt effective procedures for evaluation.

(c) Bilingual-Bicultural Programs

Three percent of the funds are reserved for a program to meet the special educational needs of children from environments in which a dominant language is other than English who, because of language and cultural barriers, do not receive equality of educational opportunity.

The bill provides grants to local educational agencies eligible under the Act or to private nonprofit groups in cooperation with such local educational agencies, for the development and implementation of curricula which address the needs of these children to develop skills in English and in the other language spoken in the home, and to meet the needs of all children to understand the history and cultural background of language minorities.

Committees composed of parents, teachers, school officials and interested persons (at least half the members must be parents and at least half must be members of the minority group or groups served) are to participate in program design and implementation.

(d) Metropolitan Area Programs

Fifteen percent of the authorized funds are reserved for metropolitan area projects including:

(1) the construction of two integrated education parks;

(2) grants to metropolitan area school districts for the joint development of plans to eliminate minority group isolation in all schools in the area; and

(3) funds for suburban school districts with low concentrations of minority group students to establish, through cooperation with urban school districts, integrated schools with student bodies of which a substantial proportion are children from educationally advantaged backgrounds and which contain a proportion of minority group students equal to one-half the proportion of minority group students in the standard metropolitan statistical area.

(e) The Commissioner's Discretionary Fund
Ten percent of the funds appropriated are reserved for the Commissioner to allocate as he sees fit among the various activities authorized in the Act.

(f) Evaluation
One percent of the funds appropriated are reserved for evaluation.

10. Safeguards

The bill prohibits funding districts which, after enactment (or, in the case of ESAP - funded districts, after enactment of the Emergency School Assistance Appropriation (August 18, 1970) have engaged in the following practices:

(a) Aid to segregated private academies;

(b) Disproportionate demotion or dismissal of minority group teachers in conjunction with desegregation or the establishment of an integrated school:

(c) Separation of minority group and nonminority group children within classes for a substantial portion of the school day in conjunction with desegregation or the establishment of an integrated school;

(d) Limiting participation of minority group children in extra-curricular activities, or limiting extra-curricular activities in order to avoid participation of minority group children, or other discrimination among children on the basis of race, color or national origin.

Waiver

Districts may receive a waiver for violations. However, districts which committed violations while funded under the $75 million ESAP program must submit applications of special merit. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the House Committee on Education and Labor must be given notice of intention to grant waiver. No waiver may be granted until 30 days after receipt of the notice by the appropriate Chairmen.

11. Community Participation

(a) All documents pertinent to the application must be made open to the public by HEW and the school district.

(b) Applications must be developed through a process of open hearings, and with the participation of a committee composed of parents, teachers and students of which at least half the members are parents and at least half the members are from minority groups.

(c) Applications would require approval by the committee, but absent approval, committee objections would be appended to the application and the Commissioner of Education would decide.

12. Priorities

The bill requires that first priority be given to school district applications which place the largest numbers and proportions of minority group students in integrated schools, and that second priority be given to applications which decrease and prevent minority group isolation to the greatest extent.

13. National Advisory Council

The bill would establish a National Advisory Council on Equality of Educational Opportunity consisting of 15 members at least half of whom must be members of minority groups, which must report to the Congress on the operation of the program by December 1, 1973.

Wash Trip

FINAL NOTICE

LOCAL 189 MEETS ON APRIL 28

1:00 - 5:00 P.M.

MANGER - HAMILTON HOTEL
14th & K STREETS N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 347-2580

APR 26 1971

TOPIC: LABOR-UNIVERSITY ALLIANCE - About 3:00 P.M.

SPEAKER: DAVID IFSHIN, PRESIDENT
NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

PLUS - OTHER INVITED LABOR AND UNIVERSITY GUESTS

ALSO: NORMAL BUSINESS MEETING

- NOMINATION OF OFFICERS
- JOB SECURITY DISCUSSION
- INDOCHINA RESOLUTION
- NOMINATION OF CONVENTION DELEGATES

* *

NOTE: The ULEA program begins with a reception (cash bar) at 6:00 P.M. on Wednesday evening and continues until 12:30 P.M. on Friday, April 30. The $15.00 registration fee includes Wednesday dinner and Thursday lunch.

Work Cmp 4/29

CHANGING EDUCATION

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN TEACHER

ASSESSING THE ALTERNATIVES: CE's contributors look at this year's educational panaceas, including behavioral objectivism and its spinoffs—vouchers, performance contracts, and the Clark reading plan. Also, the Nixon administration's educational-finance alternatives are dissected in a background paper prepared by John Sessions and the AFL-CIO education department.

KENNETH CLARK'S READING PLAN: WHAT DO YOU WANT, GOOD GRAMMAR, OR GOOD TASTE?/Martin Engel/CE-2

THE TEACHER AS TRAVEL AGENT/John Holt/CE-4

MARRIAGE AMERICAN STYLE/Milton Schwebel/CE-6

TALE OF A PERFORMANCE CONTRACT (A FIRST-HAND REPORT FROM GARY)/Minnie Perrin Berson/CE-8

PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS, TESTS, AND MEASUREMENT/E. Gary Joselyn/CE-10

WHAT'S WRONG WITH VOUCHERS?/Albert Shanker/CE-12

THE EDUCATIONAL-FINANCE ALTERNATIVES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION/AFL-CIO Education Department/CE-13

BOOKS AND FILMS/two new films on urban-school problems; and reviews of new books/CE-15

ASSESSING THE ALTERNATIVES

KENNETH CLARK'S READING PLAN: WHAT DO YOU WANT, GOOD GRAMMAR, OR GOOD TASTE?

By MARTIN ENGEL

The issue you hear so much about nowadays is reading. How can reading skills be taught? How can reading ability be measured? Do tests really indicate what a child knows or can do? Is reading the real issue in the schools? More and more educators are asking such questions seriously.

For many of the recent reformers in education, reading is a symptom, not a cause. They see it as the consequence of having a curious, challenged mind. They see it as the consequence of having learned that learning is pleasurable. They see it as the consequence of a rich, conversational, warm, personal learning environment in which children speak to each other freely and frequently, are read to with enthusiasm, and are not criticized or corrected constantly for mistakes. George Dennison, in "The Lives Of Children," states the whole issue of reading in these terms:

> Jose's reading problem is Jose. Or to put it another way, there is no such thing as a reading problem. Jose hates books, schools, teachers, and among a hundred other insufficiencies—all of a piece—he cannot read. Is this a reading problem?
>
> A reading problem, in short, is not a fact of life, but fact of school administration. It does not describe Jose, but describes the action performed by the school, i.e., the action of ignoring everything about Jose except his response to printed letters.

A new and controversial figure in education circles, Dr. Kenneth Clark won endorsement last fall for a major school-system redesign in Washington, D.C., in which reading and math skills are the only thing that really matters.

He states that not only does ". . . success in math and oral and written communication depend upon (reading). . ." but subsequent academic achievement or excellence **cannot** be attained if the child ". . . is permitted to be deficient in the reading skills of word recognition and reading comprehension (p. 26, Clark Report)." Clark's research organization, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (MARC) was retained by the Washington, D.C., school board to develop a design for improving the failing academic record in reading and math of the nearly all-black school system. His proposal was submitted to the school board July 2 and approved July 6.

Clark attributes exclusive central causality to reading and math. He points to programs ". . . (which) have failed to bring about any measurable sustained improvement in the educational achievement of lower-status children in the basic academic skills of reading and mathematics, **without which further learning is impossible** (boldface added)." Such a strict interpretation of learning identifies Clark's allegiance to behavioral psychology. Perhaps the most dramatic contrast between his definition of learning and that of the humanistic school reformers may be noted in Paul Goodman's observation that: "Up to age 12 there is no point to formal subjects or a prearranged curriculum. With guidance, **whatever a child experiences is educational** (boldface added)."

Behavioral psychologists like Clark believe that certain human behaviors, such as reading, should be isolated, objectively measured and manipulated—that is, improved. They see learning as training, conditioning, molding and shaping, adding skills and knowledge piece by piece, like an assembly-line.

A rejection of the academic bias that argues for reading as central and dominant to the learning process is by no means new. Critics have for some time pointed out that learning is continual discovery within the total experience of every living moment and that the schools, with their stress upon the "head" subjects and skills, the abstractions of reading and symbol manipulation, must stop pretending to have a monopoly upon learning. In 1902, Jane Addams of Hull House said:

> We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that the ordinary experience of life is worth little, and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clue to the life about him, or in any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself with it.

The most fundamental issue at the heart of the Clark design concerns the impact of behavioral psychology upon education. What are the limitations of scientific method in education? What services are the schools obliged to offer, and how? Is a youngster's education analogous to boot camp or industrial manufacturing? What are the implicit values in constructing programs, systems, sequences, curricula, evaluative procedures, etc., on the basis of the numerical abstractions of test scores? Where, in all this, is the living, breathing, individual child?

Perhaps the best clue to Clark's orientation may be derived from a random survey of the imagery of his language drawn from the first few pages of his report:

> . . . critical determinants of academic retardation . . . mobilization of the necessary resources to raise the efficiency . . . a normal distribution curve of achievement . . . rate of learning . . . can be positively or negatively manipulated . . . systematic research findings . . . systematic and specifically defined sequentially developed curricula . . . methods of evaluation and accountability in determining the pace of change and efficiency in seeking objectives . . . self-implementing . . . demonstrate, through frequent and periodic and objective evalution . . . specific research into effective programs . . . that effectiveness must be defined and ensured . . . the specific components . . . complex systems function . . . to modify, mobilize, and reorganize all of the components of that system . . . empirical evidence . . . control rate of learning . . . by a modification . . . permitted to be deficient . . . geared to increasing competence . . . etc.

This is the language of operant conditioning, of behavior modification, of mind manipulation. It is the language of behavioral psychology as well as of educational management, administration, and indusdustry. Mechanistic and manipulative, the proponents of behavioral and applied psychology have dominated the education field for some time. It is necessary for us to remind ourselves of the conceptual base of this position. The leading behaviorist, B. F. Skinner, has said: "A scientific conception of human behavior dictates one practice, a philosophy of personal freedom another . . . (B. F. Skinner, "Science and Human Behavior," 1953)." Elsewhere in the same book, Skinner strikes at the very heart of behavioral science: "The hypothesis that man is not free is essential to the application of scientific method to the study of human behavior."

The other side of the educational coin is represented by the movement toward "free" schools, the British integrated-day, open-classroom, experiential learning as grounded in the theories of Pestalozzi and Froebel, John Dewey, the play-learning of Montessori and Piaget, and the radical-school-reform movement of Paul Goodman, John Holt, George Dennison, and a host of others. They focus primarily upon the process of learning and growth. This "school" of education believes that objective data about what individuals or groups can be taught or have learned cannot be obtained with any degree of certitude or meaningful validity; that the statistics of student performance, including the I.Q. and the "standardized" reading tests are subject to far too many variables, such as the expectations of the testers and the anxieties of test taking itself.

Clark, on the other hand, supports the notion of pre-structuring and imposing a high degree of control upon the educational process. He calls for: ". . . the pattern of essential ingredients of an effective educational program — systematic and specifically defined sequentially developed curricula . . . (p. 17)." For Clark, the curriculum is defined ". . . as the substance or content of what a child **is expected** to learn (p. 25, boldface added)." Note that it excludes what he **does** or **wants** to learn. The word **curriculum** (originally the circular Roman racetrack) has come to mean only the adult-intentioned path prescribed for the learner. Clark believes that learning takes place only if and when that learning is arranged through outside intervention and control. He says: ". . . normal children tend to learn . . . what they are expected to

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The alternative reading proposal by behavioral psychologist Kenneth Clark hit Washington, D.C., schools like a bombshell last fall. Adopted by the school board without consultation of teachers or parents, the controversial plan was fought by the union, opposed by many parent groups, and questioned by new superintendent Hugh Scott. Its purpose was to set a "reading mobilization" year in D.C. schools, eventually tying teacher pay to student scores on standardized tests. Clark has now resigned as a paid consultant to the D.C. school board. The future of the plan in Washington is in doubt.

Are schools "analogous to boot camp?" "What are the implicit values in constructing programs . . . on the basis of . . . test scores? Where, in all this, is the living, breathing, individual child?"

learn . . . taught to learn . . . it is possible to control the rate of learning . . . upward or downward, by a modification . . . of the curriculum (p. 25, boldface added)." Clark's intellectual heritage becomes evident when setting the words of the early behaviorist John B. Watson alongside of his:

> . . . give me the baby and my world to bring it up in and I'll make it crawl and walk; I'll make it climb and use its hands in constructing buildings of stone or wood; I'll make it a thief, a gunman, or a dope fiend. The possibility of shaping in any direction is almost endless.

Unlike Clark, the open-classroom exponents contend that reading is not the basic learning skill, but rather that thinking and feeling are. Thinking develops through the willing, even enthusiastic, immersion in participatory experience and involves not only the eyes and mind, but the whole body. Reading, they suggest, while a highly desirable and essential skill, is relevant and readily attainable only to the degree that: 1) there is a self-determined need and desire for reading, and 2) that there is a perceptual and conceptual base for dealing with the symbols—the words and thoughts of written language. Clark, in his report, states: "In early childhood programs, the focus must be on cognitive skills (p. 27)." In the dismembering analysis of scientific educationism, cognition is set apart and above the more vague and "messy" areas of human feeling. Dr. Alexander Lowen, a psychiatrist very concerned with the human potential movement, articulates the humanistic attitude about learning, though not to the exclusion of knowledge or skills acquisition:

> . . . Of the two ingredients in behavior, feeling is more important than knowledge. But our whole educational system is geared to knowledge and the denial of feeling. My argument is that an ego dissociated from the body is weak and vulnerable, and knowledge divorced from feeling is empty and meaningless. An education that is to be effective in preparing a child for life must take into account his emotional as well as his mental development. It must concern itself with his body as well as his mind, with feelings as much as with knowledge. The school should recognize that spontaneity and pleasure are as important as productivity and achievement.

Another of the basic beliefs of the behavioral psychologists and educators is the law of causality. For each stimulus there is an appropriate response. Thus, teaching is the stimulus, learning is the response. Behaviorism includes a deep faith in the belief that learning is the direct consequence of teaching.

The advocates of the "free" schools believe that learning and growth are organic, whole, complex, and interactive. They cannot be achieved in a compartmentalized way, subject by subject, skill by skill. These advocates believe that learning is best achieved through trial and error, through probing, imitating, exploring, and experimenting. Students learn by testing for themselves the correspondence between the world they perceive and conceive and the language for communicating it. They believe that learning does not depend upon teaching and certainly does not depend upon prepackaged curriculum programs that are structured and imposed upon whole groups of youngsters. Rather, they feel, learning is the result of personal interaction with peers, adults, and the experiential world.

Clark argues that teaching is essential for all but those children of exceptional and superior intelligence. He puts it this way: "While it is possible for children of exceptional and superior intelligence to take the initiative in determining their own rapid rate of academic learning, the average child **requires** skilled, compassionate, and stimulating teaching in order to reach or approach and fulfill his maximum academic potential (p. 16, boldface added)." Elsewhere, he states: "A normal child will learn **if** he is properly stimulated and taught (p. 15, boldface added)." The metaphor frequently used to describe this belief is that children are empty vessels which teachers must fill, or clay that they must mold.

One of the most important distinctions in the two conceptions of education is the attitude toward the Puritan work-ethic and the notion of "delayed gratification." Clark would contend that while learning may be arduous and requires the discomfort of constant discipline and control, the rewards for learning are attainable at the end of the academic rainbow. Clark affirms this utilitarian and practical dimension of learning frequently. He states that the basic academic skills, by which he means only reading, oral and written communication (in proper, not ghetto English), and mathematics, are ". . . necessary for a constructive, competitive, and contributory role in the economy and the society as a whole (p. 26)." Clark's program derives its justification in large part from his perception of his milieu. He speaks frequently of ". . . a highly developed scientific and technologically dominated society . . . a demanding technological society . . . complex industrialized society . . ." And again: "This persistent educational default [of functional illiterates] has become a major dilemma for industry and at all levels of government (p. 2)." The role of the schools is purely vocational training because academic skills are the requisite for economic survival. The mechanistic educational philosophy of behaviorism is ideally suited for rendering the school system a microcosm of Clark's technocratic and competitive world. For him, the value of learning is one of acquiring skills in order to join and perpetuate the labor force of our Brave New World.

The advocates of humanistic learning endorse the learning process **in and for itself.** Mary Brown and Norman Precious, two teachers in the British open schools, say:

> A final thought to keep in mind is that we are not educating children only for their future. Education is in and for the present. Each day is an alive and exciting day in its own right, not just a preparation for some future called adulthood and earning a living, and so each child's day needs to be made a whole, and the whole of that day used.

That learning is not its own reward is made quite explicit by Clark. He strongly favors competition as a device for increasing student performance. Furthermore, he states: "A system that would tie academic success to **concrete rewards** such as

certificates, medals, plaques, and books should be developed, dramatically and attractively publicized, and instituted throughout the public schools as soon as possible (p. 62)." With both competition and external rewards, the economic and industrial world and its values are made manifest, as is the concept that Ends justify Means. It also means that there can be no success, no academic achievement unless it is recognized by someone else. The lesson is clear. Children will learn to perform for the judgment, measurement, and reward of others, rather than themselves.

Clark sees competition as an important external stimulus in the raising of achievement levels in reading and math skills. He states, in his report: "In the elementary and middle grades, a well-planned system of collective competition, of competition for class prizes in reading, spelling, and quality of class newspapers may well be a most important component for raising the quality of modern public-school education (p. 63)."

Clark believes in the proverbial whip and the carrot. The carrot is the reward for performing well. It is dangled in front of the student in order to motivate him to learn. However, in that process the learning he does is devalued. He sees it only as a commodity which is convertible into what adults identify as the desirable goods, the medals, plaques, etc. The whip is the competition, the coercive pressure which pits student against student on publicly posted test scores. In behaviorism, the terms for such stimuli are "positive and negative reinforcement." In "The Conspiracy against Childhood," Eda J. LeShan describes the impact of competition and pressure upon young children:

> It appears that in all our efforts to provide "advantages" we have actually produced the busiest, most competitive, highly pressured, and over-organized generation of youngsters in our history—and possibly the unhappiest. We seem hell-bent on eliminating much of childhood.

To state the difference summarily, the behaviorists endorse the objectivity of the group while the humanistic educators believe in the subjectivity of the individual. The behaviorists would subscribe to the notion: "The whole is no more than the sum of the parts," while the humanists would say that ". . . the whole is greater than the sum of the parts." The behaviorists, like Dr. Clark, believe in **products,** like test data or measurable success. The humanists believe in each moment of the **process.** They would say that the process **is** the product, that learning is a life-long process with no determinate goals or objectives for everyone beyond satisfaction, happiness, self-realization, dignity, and human worth. The Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget also identifies educational goals, but in a direction 180 degrees away from Clark: "The goal of education is not to increase the amount of knowledge but to create possibilities for a child to invent and discover, to create men who are capable of doing new things." In other words, the old commercial that advertised travel by "getting there is half the fun" is now to be understood as being the whole trip. As Gertrude Stein once said: "And when you get there, there is no there, there."

Even to arrive at those desirable outcomes which Clark identifies in his report calls for a methodology quite contrary to the ones he endorses. Associate Commissioner Don Davies of the USOE writes:

> Unless school personnel themselves understand that learning should be enjoyable instead of frustrating, the educational climate is not likely to change . . . It means taking the competition, the fear, and the pain out of our learning . . . The final test should not be something you write for two hours in a room, but how you behave, think, feel, and perform . . . The climate and environment of our educational institutions is, in general, bleak and inhibiting when it should be free and stimulating.

There is a hidden agenda among those who endorse, support, and concur with behavioral psychology, systematic education, and, in Washington, D.C., with the Clark design. This hidden agenda has nothing to do with the rhetoric of raising the performance levels of the underachievers. The real reason for the preference, among professional educators and parents, of an orderly, well-structured, highly controlled educational program was beautifully expressed by Dr. James L. Hymes of the University of Maryland at a conference of the Play Schools Assn.:

> We really like children best only when they stop being children and become like us—adults. We don't like the noise youngsters make . . . We can't put up with their energy and we can't stand their messiness . . . what they want to know is often not at all what we want to teach them . . . Adults can't be bothered with what is childhood's best way of learning—through first-hand experience and through their own personal exploration. We seem more and more determined to get children who will sit, who will be quiet, who will produce . . . conform . . . give up childhood and become little adults.

There is little doubt that poverty and deprivation are unsatisfactory human conditions, that they exist far too plentifully, and that education is the key to the middle-class world of economic security. Yet, if education is to be the key to nothing other than economic security, it is the key to nothing. Consider the larger costs . . . and in total terms. What is the price of academic achievement? What are the rewards? Do the Ends ever justify the Means, as the behaviorists and Kenneth Clark intimate? Are there not other Means, which themselves are self-justifying and self-fulfilling, more moral and more humane—above all, more humane? Grant Beglarian, in the Music Educator's Journal, has written a most salient description of the schools, our values and aspirations for our children, and the real issue upon which Dr. Clark's design rests:

> Childhood is not a purgatory or a basic-training camp for the future hell or heaven of adulthood. Childhood has its own special beautiful qualities, which, unfortunately, are erased systematically beginning with the first hour of the first day of kindergarten. The possibility for creativity, for imagination, wonderment is methodically drilled out of the child by false regards for obedience, measurable answers, and standard responses to standard stimuli. And then the day comes when we congratulate ourselves for our educational efficiency and excellence by citing statistics that 96.2 percent of our high-school graduates enter colleges, as if entering college is a reward for 12 or 13 precious years robbed from our children's lives.

"The mechanistic educational philosophy of behaviorism" makes schools "a microcosm of Clark's technocratic and competitive world." Learning becomes "acquiring skills in order to join and perpetuate the labor force of our Brave New World."

By JOHN HOLT

Digested from an address to the 1971 convention of the Washington State Federation of Teachers

In one of my books, I tell of my first meeting with Silly Putty. I guess you remember this material, although you don't see much of it around anymore. I took a lump of it, squeezed it in my hands, flattened it out, stretched it, and pulled it apart. Then I threw it against the floor. My mental model told me that since it felt "squishy" in my hands, it would splatter on the floor; only it didn't. And for about a tenth of a second, the whole universe rocked around—until I did what all of us do when we adjust to a new and unexpected experience. There are two ways to deal with a new experience: one is to change your mental model so that the new experience fits in; the other is to deny the experience. Many people take the second course because it's easier.

I use this illustration to show how our mental model is set up for what surprises us. Someone who constantly is being unpleasantly surprised by events has a bad model. It's like someone being given a road map to get to a friend's house, but the map doesn't correspond to the roads and he's constantly getting lost.

What I am going to try to illuminate for you is the fact that we experience our lives according to our mental models. Every time I have a new experience, my model grows outward to include a little piece of life that wasn't in it before, and I take away with me my recollection of this growth. And so it seems to me that learning can best be understood as a growth, an expansion outward of the world of the mental model of the learner. When we are tiny children, there is very little in our world—a few people, a few places, our own house, and a tiny trace of experience. Outside, even

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THE TEACHER AS 'TRAVEL AGENT'

the world that we have just heard about is very small. To a very young child, the world that it has heard about but not experienced is even very much smaller than the world any of us has experienced. As the child grows, both of these worlds expand—the world of experience and the world of which he knows something; the world of possibilities, you might call it.

Learning is not something that someone can "do" to another. It is, and must be, active—a positive act on the part of the learner. If you deny yourself new experiences, you will not grow. If you reject new experiences (like the bouncing Silly Putty), because they are new or uncomfortable, or don't fit your past mental model, you will not grow. So learning must be something that the learner decides to do, and does.

What follows from this is that learning always takes place with some risk. It means going out into a piece of territory where we haven't been before, and exploring. It's trying the unknown. Therefore, it always carries with it the possibility that this new experience, this new venture, may not work out as we hoped. We may not be able to cope with it; we may do badly; there is always this sense of risk or exposure. Therefore, to the extent that somebody is unwilling to take risks, to expose himself, to take the chance that something new may work out badly for him; to that extent, he's not going to be able to learn.

From here, something else follows very closely, and that is that our capacity to learn depends enormously on how we feel about this world of our experience, of our mental model, and ourselves. I have a certain notion of myself, as each of you has a notion about yourself. How we feel about the world and ourselves in it determines whether we are willing to expose ourselves to new experiences, to open ourselves to them, to embrace them—or whether we will defend and protect ourselves against them.

And so all the distinctions that we constantly hear made between what is sometimes called cognitive learning and affective learning (which I, being old-fashioned, prefer to call thinking and feeling) are distinctions in language only. Semantically, you can describe some sort of difference between the way you think about something and the way you feel about it; but, in fact, in **experience,** there is no distinction. They're one and the same.

Now, if the world has come to seem to you—as it does to me—a fascinating, peculiar, and interesting kind of place—even with the terrible things going on in it, to the extent that you feel capable of dealing with it and getting something out of experience in it, you will learn. But to the extent that you think of the world as essentially dangerous, threatening, unpredictable, a treacherous place, or if you think of yourself as stupid, incompetent, unable to cope, then you are going to defend yourself against new experience. You are not going to reach out to it, but you will reject it, and you will not be able to learn.

WHAT CAN A TEACHER DO?

Now to the world of the teacher. If it is the case that I cannot give someone else an experience, or make him grow, then what is it that a teacher can do to help others expand, grow, and learn? If our proper work is not to be a straw boss, cop, or judge, then what is it? The best answer that I've heard was coined, independently, by a couple of friends who say that the teacher is best understood as a travel agent, a metaphor that compares learning with taking a trip, or exploring, or doing something that you haven't done before.

Of course, you don't necessarily have to have a travel agent in order to travel, just as a lot of learning takes place that teachers don't make happen. But a travel agent can help, as can a teacher. When you go to a travel agent, though, he doesn't say, "You want to take a trip? Here's where you're going: one, two, three, four, five, six." The first thing he does is try to find out something about you—who I am, what I am, what kind of trip I want to take, what I'm looking for—scenery, native customs, cities, art galleries, night life, etc. He finds out what I'm after. Then he draws on his greater understanding of what is available out there. He pulls open a file drawer and he begins to take out lots of colored photos, folders, brochures, and shows them to me. Suppose he shows me a picture of the Alps. By doing so, he's not giving me a trip to the mountains, but he is bringing something into the world that I know about or, perhaps, didn't know about, and is illuminating it for me. He's making this world seem accessible to me. He is convincing me that if I want this experience, I can have it. He lays out various possibilities for trips and travels, and he makes them seem as interesting as he can, and as available. So, pretty soon, I find a trip that I want to take. Well, then he helps me with various details and arrangements, and off I go on my trip. He doesn't come with me; he doesn't have to take the trip. And when I come back, he doesn't give me a little test to make sure that I went where I said I was going, or that I saw what I said I was going to see. But he does care a lot that I shall have enjoyed the trip and that the advice he gave me shall have been good advice. Because, if I enjoyed the trip, and if I liked the things that he said I was going to like, then I'll want to take more trips. I'll very likely go back to him and say, "Hey, that last trip was marvelous. Suggest another . . ."

As teachers, we must be concerned with our students' interests; we must show faith in them and concern for their views of the world. We must have strength to illuminate for them new kinds of experiences, new trips which they may want to take. This interchange, of course, is not something that just happens in classrooms between persons called teachers and other persons called students. This is a universal part of human life; this is why we are all teachers and all learners. A successful teacher is one who helps someone want to reach out and gain experiences.

THE CONCEPT OF LEARNING

Another very important concept is that the learning of a child is interconnected; it's all in one piece. I think it was Whitehead who said that it is a terrible mistake to separate the **skills** of an activity from the activity itself. And this gives us a clue to the most complicated, subtle, abstract task that we ever mastered—learning to talk. It is an extraordinary feat to master, from scratch, the sounds that people around us are making, to discover that they convey meaning and that we should find out what they mean, and to learn how to make those incredibly complicated series of sounds. Just try to speak Japanese, for example, or even to imitate a friend's voice accurately. You can't do it. Yet, as infants, we all did it; we mastered this task. But we did not learn to speak by learning the skills of speech and then using the

A true teacher is one who can bridge the gap between cognitive and affective.

MARRIAGE AMERICAN STYLE

(Or Industry plus Education, with government the matchmaker; or How to hamstring the people's schools)

By MILTON SCHWEBEL

Excerpts from an address to a 1971 AFT-QuEST "Truth-&-Soul-in-Teaching" conference

The schools started getting more than a trickle of federal help in the early '60s. Less than 10 years have passed, and now an SOS has gone out to private industry to run the schools with performance contracts.

This administration has great faith in private industry. For example, A&P, on Jan. 5, reported that the Food and Drug Administration has turned to a research institute sponsored by grocery manufacturers to do a study to help the government decide what labeling regulations would best disclose the nutritional soundness of processed foods. As one critic noted, "This is a classic example of going to the fox to ask what the chickens are doing."

Yes, the government is the matchmaker, and it offers industry as the bridegroom. But then, look at the record of this groom: see how he has maintained the purity of our water, the safety of our mines, how he has used every conceivable device to discourage the organization of unions, pitting minorities against each other to break strikes, and so on. Industry is so successful in maintaining full employment, we are told—while running our resources into the ground—so now maybe it is about to do the same with our schools.

This is the bridegroom, private profit by name. Personally, he's okay. There is nothing inherently malicious about anyone in particular, just that the position of being in business for profit necessarily (ipso facto) leads one to make profit preeminent.

A LOOK OF INNOCENCE

Performance contracting is seductive. American industry has been remarkable in its accomplishments when the chips were down. Many of us remember the way industry and the American people rose to support such a surge as D-Day. The chips were down because the American people, unions, businessmen, almost everyone, supported the war effort. American know-how on the executive level makes for efficiency and concrete goal-achievement. In this respect, in connection with skill achievement, the industrial-educational efforts will probably show gains. This will be discussed later.

We should be aware of the great reshuffling of talent that is going on, and will go on to a greater extent as industry acquires its teachers. Where will the good ones come from? The public schools, most likely.

Then, there is the problem of competition versus cooperation. We shudder at the crassness of some of the external motivation used—the green stamps and pennies and the like. There is an emphasis on teacher outdoing teacher, student outdoing student.

The innocent look is that American know-how, in Horatio Alger fashion, will enter the fray and slay the dragon. After all, the robber barons built great industry, so why can't their descendants build great schools? It takes only the use of the computer, the installation of the teaching machine, and—but no, pardon that error, that was a decade ago. Now we have computer-assisted-instruction—the CAI—and the voucher plan. It all seems so democratic, so open to parental choice. All the parents of Harlem can send their children to Little Red School House, to Walden and Fieldston, to Horace Mann. But these schools are full-up now. Well, then, dozens more will have to be created, and the question is, who will establish them? Where will the teachers come from? Who will be admitted? Chances are, the answer to the last is, primarily middle-class children. Then, too, of course, the parochial schools will enjoy renewed life. Probably everyone will benefit, except the vast majority of the children, the schools, and the teachers—particularly the children, schools, and teachers in the urban centers.

The look of innocence is there,

skills to speak. We learned to speak by speaking. We started the minute we were born with a cry. Then we expressed ourselves in gestures, showing our real feelings to real people, and getting real responses. We did not practice, we did not pretend, we did not drill, we didn't get ready now to do something later. We did it. Our speech was intimately, and inextricably, connected with all of our life, and we were helped to learn to speak by the fact that we were living surrounded by people whose speech is a part of their lives.

We make a terrible, terrible mistake in school when we start thinking that reading or mathematics or other subjects are isolated "skills" that we need to learn to do now so that later on we can do something else with them. We take learning away from life. This fragmentation of learning, of dividing learning up into little bits which haven't got anything to do with each other or anything else, which you only do for certain kinds of rewards, is exactly what we have had too much of in schools. We've divided human experience into academic disciplines and subjects and courses and assignments. So, we've already had too much of it, but this fragmenting process is going to be a thousand times worse if these behavioral-objective people get into the saddle, because they want to cut the wholeness of acute human experience down into these little, 10-minute or so, fragments.

The behavioral-objectivists are saying, in some of the places I've been, that anytime you do something in a class you should have some precisely stated and measurable objective that you can check up on—maybe even within the next hour—to make sure it's been done.

But this is inefficient, even though efficiency is the concept used to sell behavioral objectivism. Here is why: you are destroying the four-dimensional wholeness of experience and reality, the mental model, by turning it into one-dimensional words. Consider, for example, a street map of a city. One sheet of paper. What information is included on that map or available from it? Well, we can find out every possible way to get from any place in the city to any other place. But suppose we were to write down in behavioral-objective style, the Bereiter-Englemann-Skinner style, all the ways by which we could get from any point in the city to any other point. How long would it take? It would take us forever. It would take what the mathematicians call a transfinite number to describe the room needed to carry all this information around. So you see that, instead of memorizing all this information, we use maps which resemble the structure of the city and which are much more compressed and effective ways of carrying information than trying to separate it it into a lot of little discrete bits. It's why this Skinnerian notion of learning is so cumbersome and wasteful.

I suppose we could, theoretically, teach a child bit-by-bit, precisely stated, linear, one-step-at-a-time, objectives. I suppose we could teach a child as much as, let us say, he learns in the first three years of his life, but it would take us 700 years, at least. But this is the mechanistic model which, in the interests of measurement and evaluation and a neurotic quest for certainty, the behaviorists are trying to force on us.

Now, if we don't like this way of going at things, we are going to have to struggle for the right to be "travel agents" in our own classrooms, for the right to assist the learning of each child in whatever way we can, with our very imperfect knowledge, in whatever way seems best to us. I don't think we can begin to call ourselves professionals as long as we are in the position that others can tell us what textbook to use or even that we have to use a textbook, or how much time we have to spend on this subject or that or the other seven. Or even that we have to give a child a certain kind of a test, even if we happen to think that testing that child at that point might be very harmful to him. To get professional control of our own work, it will take a real struggle for self-determination.

Milton Schwebel is dean of the graduate school of education of Rutgers the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Performance contracting is the most-talked-about "educational alternative" of the year. With 150 contracts now in force, the USOE is talking about spending $1 million to aid more such projects this year.

but beneath that facade is just another of a long series of measures, as old as our nation, that frustrate the one and only agency for the formal education of the general population. We are consistently rational, if subtle, in the ways the development of public education is blocked.

How barren and sterile our schools? Ditto our society.

How constricted and authoritative our schools? Our society is, too.

How conservative and noncommittal the teaching profession, at least until the late '50s? Can we say this didn't reflect what society demanded?

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

One can get the real image of these new incursions upon public education only by seeing them in historical context, as only one in a long, long series of acts of omission and commission to prevent the growth of and weaken the schools (at the same time healthy forces were at work to strengthen them).

There will be other attempts to frustrate us. This is nothing new. In the 1820s, the formation of an organization "for the promotion of industry and of national education," WASP workers of the time, was fought bitterly as an attempt of the people in America to get good education for their children. It was fought as such measures have always been fought, as a measure which would not keep the poor in their place.

In 1877, the Committee of Ten, headed by President Eliot of Harvard, was very clear that secondary education was not to be free, not to be for all. "A high-school education would tend to make the poor unfit for their condition and discontented with their duties," a committee statement said. We hear the same thing now for higher education.

In the mid-'20s, Carl Brigham, a Princeton professor, wrote a book on the Army Alpha and Beta scores during World War I, and how the immigrants lowered the scores. He listed those immigrants who were lowering our national standards,

and the list is of almost every European nation other than England, Holland, and France.

The concept of IQ served a similar purpose to the earlier barriers, denial of better teachers, a lower quality of education, poorer facilities, etc.

Most of the groups made it. Some took longer than others, but for reasons that are social, cultural, economic, not genetic or mystical.

THE BIND WE'RE IN

The reasons some groups never had a chance, is because others were getting theirs by standing on the shoulders of these. For example, blacks found every conceivable obstacle in their paths. In New Haven, in the middle of the last century, a woman teaching blacks had her schoolhouse burned down, and she was convicted of a criminal act. Black clergymen wrote the judge praising him for punishing such impudence.

Today, blacks are saying what I'd say if I were black: "I'm not waiting around anymore." And even if it takes a couple of generations to make the full leap, the action now has got to be fast and comprehensive. so it doesn't take more than that.

And the same time the blacks are saying that, some whites are making it even more difficult for them. It looks as if the performance contracts and the voucher plan were intended to serve two diametrically opposed needs: to try to satisfy the clamor of one category of groups by proposing a panacea for good education, and at the same time to enable another group to escape to other schools.

Now, to solve the problem, you've got to know exactly what the problem is. I don't think the question is whether or not performance contracting is good, or even how to oppose it (that is a tactical question), rather, that the problem is the old American one, as American as apple pie and violence, namely, how to help deprived groups get what they're demanding and what they're going to get in the long run.

WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT?

Certainly we don't solve our problems by beating our breasts, mea culpa.

Or by putting first and foremost technical equipment in the schools.

What we must put first and foremost is an unshakable alliance with those whose children are in our schools. Oh, we can fight performance contracting and voucher systems and all the rest, but if all we do is fight other people's ideas, misguided though they might be, to change an intolerable situation, if that's all we do, we are unconsciously, in mood, unprofessional. And if those qualities are of no consequence, there's another reason for action: as long as we in public education do not act with vigor and intelligence, and do not bring about change, we'll be only open to attack and threat.

Educational accountability is about as new as sex, or at least about as new as education in any form. The first universities in Europe had their origins when students sought out and hired lecturers. At Bologna, for example, the masters were told what to lecture on, for how long, and so on, and they were paid only if they delivered what was contracted for. That's accountability. That was also student control.

The boards of education and the parents in our suburban areas expect the schools to deliver. A sizable proportion of students had better be admissible to college, and not a small proportion to the better colleges. That doesn't happen by chance, and the principal, guidance counselors, and teachers know it.

I said before that public education's strength depends upon an alliance between those who must have better education and us, the educators. It was an alliance like that between the workers and educational leaders such as Horace Mann that overcame the resistance of the rich in Massachusetts to full education in the 1840s. Such an alliance now is possible only as strong teacher organizations recognize that, certainly on the long haul, their destiny is tied to that of these groups of people. The way to win is by setting goals for achievement that are clear and concrete, and by being accountable for their achievement. Let the organization give evidence of their success: the AFT's More Effective School program is an excellent example.

I said earlier that the industrial enterprises will probably show some gains, because the objectives they have contracted for relate to **skills.** We in teacher education, with the best of intentions, have at times filled the heads of teachers with fuzzy, ambiguous, and sometimes contradictory notions about the intelligence and ability of children, and about how to teach them. The so-called educational engineers are laying claim to a most basic and elemental method of doing a job: if your goal is to teach a child the concept of addition, teach him, step by step, and don't give up until you find out how to help him climb each step. Let nothing stand in the way of reaching your objective. (That's very much the way, incidentally, that things happen in two countries that don't follow our style of education:

"The way to win is by setting goals for achievement that are clear and concrete, and by being accountable for their achievement . . . the AFT's More Effective Schools program is an excellent example."

Israel and the Soviet Union. Instead of testing kids to find out how "bright" or "dumb" they are, they use tests to help guide them over the steps of learning.)

Children need to master the 3 Rs. Their parents need to see them master the 3 Rs. We in education desperately need to see them master the 3 Rs. Private industry has no panacea. But if it can profit by the use of efficiency methods, it will do it, and I expect that it will buy up talented teachers and strict and efficient supervisors who will see to it that the children acquire the skills, so that they can show some successes.

But what industry can do, we can do better. We can, like industry, set clear and concrete objectives. But we can do more than industry. We can, and must, help children acquire those great human values of concern for self and others and for human dignity—values that are associated with the greatest traditions of the union movement.

The OEO issued a statement on performance contracts which states, among other things, "In effect, the techniques promise that for the first time, education will be able to promise 'equality of results.' " They claim that ways can be found to bring poor children up to the level of achievement of their nonpoor classmates. Is it to be believed that in 1970 a sane adult still believes in the panacea approach—one technique that will do it? In the meantime, while this experiment goes on, years are lost and we continue to foster the deception that there is an easy way out. We won't have to change housing, our cities, unemployment, and so on, to solve the problems of the schools. But the irony is that while money goes into this performance-contract venture, early-childhood-education programs and other educational budgets are suffering severe cuts.

The only good response to these threats is a positive one. Teachers must join forces with their allies, and their allies, as in the past, are the parents and the communities. There will be no substitute for that kind of alliance.

TALE OF A PERFORMANCE CONTRACT

(A first-hand report from Gary)

By MINNIE PERRIN BERSON

During the past year, performance contracting in education has proliferated all around the U.S. I decided recently to go to Gary, Ind., for a first-hand observation of performance-contract process.

GARY AND BRL

On Sept. 29, 1970, Gordon L. McAndrew, superintendent of schools, called a press conference[1] to announce a four-year $2.4-million performance contract with Behavioral Research Laboratories (BRL) of Palo Alto, Calif., for the purpose of converting the Banneker Elementary School into a nongraded curriculum center. The contract stipulates that BRL will receive an annual $800 for each of the 900-plus pupils at Banneker, with a refund to the school district for any child not achieving at or above national norms at the end of three years, as determined by an independent evaluator.[2]

Since Gary is just a three-hour trip from my home, I phoned the Banneker Curriculum Center to arrange for a visit, asking a seasoned school administrator to accompany me.[3] We were advised to come during the period from Dec. 16-18 to join an already scheduled tour.

Typical schoolmasters, we arrived early enough for an opportunity to chat with teachers and see the school open its business day. We were promptly advised, however, that the tour would not start for another hour and were ushered to a coffeemaker in the multipurpose room, to mark time.

When the rest of the visiting group arrived, we were all led into the office of Donald Kendrick, BRL's resident manager. Since Clarence L. Banford, Banneker's past principal and present "learning director," was not present, we directed all questions to Kendrick. The dialogue follows:[4]

DIALOGUE WITH THE RESIDENT MANAGER

Q: We would like to know something of the inservice training you did with the staff to prepare them for this program.

A: Retraining a staff is difficult in concepts and methodology. We say, throw away everything you've done, because it's not going to be useful any longer. You are no longer the dictator in the classroom. The child learns by himself, so you get out of that problem. The **system** teaches.

Q: How is the center administered?

A: My staff (BRL employees) and I administer the school. We're going to establish, in this center, a program improving learning. All the students will read and do math well.

Q: How?

A: By using BRL/Sullivan and AAAS Allyn and Bacon materials. Materials make things happen.

Q: That's it?

A: The teachers come in a couple of weeks before school starts, and we train them.

Q: Do you have any ongoing workshops?

A: Only on demand.

Q: Who trains the staff?

A: The representatives of the book companies whose books we use.

Q: What about central-office supervisors and other staff?

A: They really haven't been doing this job well. What has been established over the years hasn't worked. So we do it differently.

Q: What about human relations?

A: Competence is the most important thing.

Q: Mr. K, what is your background?

A: Oh, I was afraid you'd ask me. Lockheed Missiles. I'm a systems analyst. I view things analytically. Keep out emotions. The idea is, let's fix this, and the children will come out different. When people have needs, the relationship disrupts. If you want more money, it interferes.

Q: But we hear that the teachers have threatened to strike and the aides who are community parents, are ready to walk out at Banneker.

A: You're always going to have tensions. Industry says, we want a job done. This is the difference. You don't have to love the guy next to you on the assembly line to make the product. He puts in the nuts, you put in the bolts, and the product comes out. Teachers can hate me and still get children to learn.

Q: But how about the little love relationships between teacher and child that motivate the child? You are saying that you really don't need teachers to motivate children to learn. Now you have one teacher and one aide to about 40 children. With your philosophy you probably could justify one teacher for every 120, or one classroom manager for every three rooms.

A: You are right. It proves that you don't have to give a $20,000 salary a year if children can learn without a teacher. Everyone has to be a member of the team. The difference between curriculum managers (master teachers) and learning supervisors (paraprofessionals) is that managers can evaluate exceptions.

Q: Tell us how you allocate that $800 per child. What is the cost analysis?

A: Well, we can't tell you yet.

Q: Who is in charge of the education of the school?

A: Mr. Banford, the learning director.

Q: What do **you** do?

A: Train the staff, hire, maintain records, handle custodial services, food, community relations, learning materials, things like that.

Q: You hold the purse strings, then, and that means you also control the instruction, since you determine what materials are to be used and who does the teacher-training.

A: We have $800 per child to manage the job.

Q: There is a textbook law in Indiana. How do you get around that, if you use only your own and related materials?

A: Well, we go through the other textbooks, and if a page fits our purpose, we duplicate it and work it into our program.

What happens when a private business and a former Lockheed systems analyst take over a public school in Gary, Indiana?

Minnie Perrin Berson is director of early-childhood education at Illinois State University. Her report on her visit to Banneker School is taken from "Texarkana and Gary: A Tale of Two Performance Contracts," and reprinted, with permission, from Childhood Education Magazine, March, 1[illegible]

". . . individualized instruction at Banneker appears to be another brand of regimented, lock-step progression conducted largely with inexpensive BRL materials . . . it can hardly be considered a comprehensive 'system' of education."

Q: What about psychological services?

A: The school psychologist was here and he tells us that the kids who used to have problems are now problems no longer. They are absorbed in the program. They are motivated to learn. He is really pleased.

Q: Do your central office supervisors visit?

A: Oh, yes!

Q: Do you consult them?

A: **We** manage the school.

Q: How about community involvement?

A: I hold workshops before the report cards to explain the report cards. The children receive achievement profiles instead of letter grades. We are just starting an afternoon program for parents.

Q: What tests do you use?

A: Metropolitan Achievement, California Achievement.

Q: How do you use paraprofessionals?

A: We call them **learning supervisors.** The teacher teaches the concept and they assist with reinforcement activities.

Q: Tell us about your orientation.

A: When you change a system, the people involved don't know what's going to happen. The planning is reduced at the initial phases. The managers make decisions on what we need.

Q: What if a child has been out for a long time? How do you place him?

A: The **concept of individualization** remains the same. We have no group instruction. A child is tested every 24 pages and he must score at 80 percent on BRL materials.

Q: What do you do with transfer students?

A: We skill-test them and place them.

Q: What is the size of classes?

A: We have 25 to 40 children in a class.

Q: What makes BRL so sure they are going to succeed?

A: Because we work at it. You've got to have faith in people, get them excited.

Q: To whom are **you** accountable?

A: To George Stern, the president of BRL.

THE CLASSROOM TOUR

After this 45-minute discussion with Kendrick, we toured classrooms until lunch time. In the course of the morning, we made three classroom visits. From what we observed, children in this "nongraded learning center" appeared to be placed by age.

Classroom No. 1: Around 40 six-year-olds were divided into three equal groups. The curriculum manager conducted a chart lesson using words-in-color material, with children reciting rote-choir style. A second group sat together at a long table for seatwork, each child using the identical ditto sheet which required him to trace a full page of the letter **i**. The third group, also at a long table, quietly worked at lotto-type matching exercises, under the direction of the paraprofessional.

Classroom No. 2: A woman came to the door and told us that she was the substitute and that the learning supervisor was in charge. After a short observation of a struggle for control between the paraprofessional and the baffled children, we decided to move on, in the best interests of all parties concerned.

Classroom No. 3: Fives and sixes occupied what had recently been a kindergarten classroom. All the children sat on a rug, listening to a record. The curriculum manager manned the record player and the supervisor sat in the back of the room, arms folded over chest. Children were invited individually or in pairs to "do something" to a few bars of music.

Frank Thompson, the Illinois principal who accompanied me, describes briefly his observation of a physical-education class, art work, and mathematics with older elementary children:

Physical education involved about 50 or 60 children with a single male instructor. The only activity was running relays, and it did not necessitate much instruction from the adult.

Math: Fifth-and sixth-grade children (from appearance and age) were doing number work with a tachistoscope-type machine. Children were asked to keep track of the flashing numerals during a specific time interval. Catching on to the cadence of the machine and the numerical sequence, the children came up with the desired answers on their answer sheets by playing the game according to the clicks. They played it so well that they could do other things and get the right answer without even concentrating.

Creative Arts: When we inquired about the creative arts, two examples were displayed. We were led to a bulletin board filled with colored-in-the-line Santas. When one of the visitors asked, "Is this creative?" we were shown an aquarium filled with little pieces of construction paper to paste over ready-made drawings for a mosaic effect.

While the classrooms are all called curriculum learning centers, we noticed that the rooms had retained the original door plates identifying them by grades. When we asked Kendrick about these remnants of the recent past, he told us they were being retained for human-relations purposes.

My colleague and I agreed that individualized instruction at Banneker appears to be another brand of regimented, lockstep progression conducted largely with inexpensive BRL materials. This may even be an efficient way for teaching specific symbolic skills. But it can hardly be considered a comprehensive "system" of education.

Observed Thompson: "The morale of the school is low. The air is tense. The teachers are tense. The public-relations people are tense. If good learning can go on in this type of atmosphere, then we people in education have been doing an injustice to children with our concern for emotional climate in the learning environment."

THE GARY POST-TRIBUNE REPORTS

Eager for a cumulative report of the three-month operation at Banneker, we stopped at the offices of the Gary Post-Tribune and followed the almost daily reports of the local newspaper.

The reports indicate that the Banneker program has been in trouble from the start. Each passing day compounds these troubles with the Gary Teachers' Union (GTU), the Indiana Dept. of Public Instruction, the school's parents, and paraprofessionals.

GTU claims that, in turning Ban-

neker over to a private contractor, the board violated its contract with the union. A number of the Banneker teachers have been declared "surplus" and transferred out of the school. Remaining teachers understand that they can be forced to resign on a 15-day notice. Salaries at Banneker have violated the local salary agreements, with some teachers possibly earning as much as $5,000 more than other teachers in Gary with similar qualifications. Classes that used to include less than 30 children now have risen to sizes as high as 40.[5]

The Indiana State Dept. of Public Instruction questions the legality of the performance contract, lack of compliance with the state's textbook laws, the placement of children, and the innovative claims of the program. A task force is preparing a report at Banneker for the Indiana General Commission on Education.[6]

Banneker parents and citywide PTA officials were invited to a meeting (Oct. 22) for the purpose of receiving BRL program information.[7] Instead, the citywide PTA president publicly stated the morning after that a former school-board member, presently on the payroll of BRL, had brought them together for the purpose of passing a previously prepared resolution as a testimonial for the Banneker program, BRL, and the school administration.

COMMENT

Is it really fair to expect Gary's schools to be a flourishing oasis in the midst of the many unresolved urban problems that surround them? More pointedly, can outside education-mechanics bring in magical learning solutions by converting a school into a skill-shop?

In the Gary case, the California concessionaire actually makes local decisions. For instance, when the superintendent of schools agreed to the union's request to add needed certified teachers at Banneker, and offered to add them as visiting teachers and pay them out of a separate budget, the BRL president rejected this offer because it would "dilute" his approach.[8] He also told a local reporter that further alterations in his design would cause him to withdraw from Gary and that this pullout would hurt the school district more than it would his firm.

Accountablility is hardly achieved by simple test measures in which Leon Lessinger so firmly believes. When children are continually given exercise sheets that resemble achievement-test items, they can play the testing game with great savvy. So doing does not assure that they have mastered critical skills of reading comprehension and interpretation that differentiate mechanical mastery from fundamental learning growth.

For the latter, more is involved than taking over a school, bypassing teachers, hiring aides for one-sixth of the salary and giving them fancy titles for checking the piecework in the child-learning factory. Some Banneker aides have complained they are being paid less than originally promised and are doing teacher work without teacher pay. They, too, threaten a strike.

Educational accountability worthy of its name requires that teachers, administration, and community be accountable to each other with honesty, compassion, and determination. As Ernie Hernandez observes, "All Stern has to face is his board of directors—while the school board is responsible to the people of Gary."[9]

[1] The press releases, "Nation's First Contracted School Opens in Gary" and the "Fact Sheet," may both be obtained from Donald Kendrick, Center Manager, Banneker Elementary School, Gary, Ind.

[2] The independent evaluation is being conducted by the Center for Urban Redevelopment and Education, whose president is Bernard E. Donovan, former superintendent of schools, New York City.

[3] I was accompanied on this visit by Frank Thompson, past state president of the Illinois Elementary School Principals Association and principal of Emerson Elementary School, Bloomington, Ill.

[4] From notes taken in shorthand and later verified by another member of the visiting group.

[5] "Gary Teachers' Union Files Grievance in Banneker Case," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 21, 1970; "McAndrew Tables Teacher Union's Grievance," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 23, 1970; and Ernie Hernandez, "McAndrew, Union Meet on Grievance," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 29, 1970.

[6] "Schools Still Await Money OK," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 19, 1970, and Ernie Hernandez, "Good, Bad Seen in State Banneker Visit," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 21, 1970.

[7] Tom Knightly, "Prospects of Meeting Teacher Payroll 'Nil,'" Gary Post-Tribune, Dec. 16, 1970; "McAndrew Asks U.S. for Banneker Funds," Gary Post-Tribune, Oct. 23, 1970; Ernie Hernandez, "Schools Pay Hope Dims," Gary Post-Tribune, Dec. 14, 1970.

[8] Ernie Hernandez, "McAndrew To Nix Banneker Plaints," Gary Post-Tribune, Dec. 16, 1970.

[9] Ibid.

PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS, TESTS, AND MEASUREMENT

By E. GARY JOSELYN

Digested from an address to a 1971 AFT-QuEST "Truth-&-Soul-in-Teaching" conference

Measurement, the area I know most about, also happens to be the area, I believe, of performance contracting's most serious flaws and abuses. In fact, they are a built-in component.

When there is an audit of the "performance" of a contractor (or, a teacher), what kind of test should be used—a very specific test or a general one? This is the very heart of the problem, because they are two ends of a continuum.

Developing tests to measure **exactly** what the curriculum teaches, carried to the extreme, would probably have the curriculum defined as a pool of test items. Such a pool might be fair to the contractor, but not to a school trying to provide a good, rounded education. But, on the other hand, how can a contractor do his work unless he knows what is being measured, and this must necessarily be very specific, narrowly defined items.

Taking the other end of the continuum to the extreme, testing **generally** what the curriculum teaches, the school board would hire the contractor to teach "reading" or "mathematics," without further specification of curriculum content. The test could then be any reading or math test the evaluators might choose to administer, or the school could just make a subjective judgment of whether or not to pay the contractor.

These two extremes are absurd, but they do represent the logical ends of the continuum. In every contract, the contractor and school system will eventually have to settle upon a position somewhere between the extremes. And there will be both positive and negative payoffs as we move from one extreme to the other.

As I said, the first situation, where the curriculum is defined by specific test items, is the easiest and "fairest" to the contractor. His task is clearly defined, the goals are obvious, and, at the end, it will be quite clear to everyone whether or not the contract has been fulfilled.

However, most schools are not likely to settle for this approach. They will argue that "there is more to reading than can be defined by a pool of test items." Schools may also feel that this model contains too much temptation for the contractor to concentrate on tests and take shortcuts.

At the other end, where the curriculum content has not been specified at all, and the school could use any measures it chooses to determine outcomes, the conditions are not very fair to the contractor. How can he proceed with the teaching task if he does not know in advance what the school will judge to be important? The contractor must know, beforehand, what the ground rules are and will want them spelled out in as much detail as possible.

Related to this difficulty of where on the continuum the testing aspects of a performance contract will fall is the problem of what the measurement payoff is to be based upon. Some contracts are based upon a guarantee to bring student achievement scores up to a specified level. For example, the Educational Development Laboratories' contract with the San Diego school system, according to the June, 1970, Phi Delta Kappan, guarantees "that students will achieve 25 percent closer to the city norm during the first year, 50 percent closer during the second, and at the same level during the third."

One wonders, of course, what would be happening to the city norm during those three years.

Behavioral Research Laboratories has promised to bring the reading level of each child in the Banneker School in Gary up one year in everything, and Leon Lessinger, in the December Phi Delta Kappan, said it was the right of every child to read at his grade level. If he can convince every parent of this, we will have some pressures on the

For students, two more right answers on a test can mean an instant raising of their "grade level" by one year; for performance contractors, it can mean a fatter wallet.

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". . . the contractor would get paid if, for example, he could raise the student's raw score from 7 to 9 on a 32-item test. And . . . this item pool will always be available to the contractor."

schools unlike anything we have seen so far.

What is average? If all students reach it, of course, it is no longer the average. This is a simple statistical fact which seems to be ignored. The same thing is true about grade-equivalent scores. The whole problem of individual differences is being shoved aside in the prospectuses. Simple logic tells us that some students are already above grade level, while others are so far below they may never reach it no matter what the "treatment." Other students are only a tiny bit below. What does the contractor get paid for all of these types of students?

If, on the other hand, we base our payoff on gain scores, we run into the tremendous technical problems associated with the measurement of gain. I am not an expert in these statistical considerations, but the way I read the literature, the general agreement among those who are seems to be that gain scores are generally useless, if not impossible to get.

Carl Bereiter, in the Chester Harris book (1963) on the problems of measuring change, states that it is only with regard to problems in measuring change that he has ever heard colleagues admit to having abandoned major research objectives solely because the statistical problems seemed to be insurmountable. More recently, Lee J. Cronbach and Lita M. Furby (1970) concluded that we should not attempt to measure change in most instances.

What about teaching to the test? Information published on the Texarkana project shows that we should be concerned with this. It seems pretty clear that students were taught at least some of the specific items that were included in the final test. The amount of true contamination is not clear, and estimates range from Dorsett's 6.5 percent to the independent evaluator's 100 percent.

Teaching the content areas which the test measures, of course, is not bad; in fact, it we have agreed upon certain desired outcomes for the program and have designed a test to measure those outcomes, we want the instruction to teach for the test. But by "teaching to the test," I refer to teaching students answers to specific items which later appear in the final test. Teaching a student answers to items which sample a particular outcome hardly tells us whether or not the student knows anything about the desired outcomes at all.

As long as the entire payoff is based upon the scores on a test, contractors will certainly teach for the test. We are telling them to do just that when we tell them that their reward, if any, will be based upon a test score.

As for using standardized tests as the criterion instruments for performance contracts, it is my opinion that this is a terribly inappropriate use for such instruments, and a use for which they were not intended.

Our present standardized tests are designed to maximize the discrimination between **individuals.** The difference between students in their knowledge of arithmetic, for example, may be very small in relation to the knowledge gained by all students during the course of instruction. Yet, standardized tests attempt to magnify those small differences. Items which almost everyone misses or gets right are eliminated in the test-development process, since they show only how the students are similar, not different. The best items are considered to be those with a 50-percent difficulty level. Thus, the very items which have the most potential for measuring change or status are the ones which are eliminated.

The grade-equivalent score is used as the measure of gain in many contracts. That is, the contractor contracts to raise students' scores by one or more grade levels. What could be more beautiful? Here we have a group of students who are tested to be three grade-levels behind, and along comes a contractor who will guarantee to raise their achievement one or two grade levels or else you don't pay him. Free enterprise has finally arrived in education. We have free enterprise, but do we have education? Let's look a little closer at what our entrepreneur has contracted to do.

On the arithmetic-computation test of the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT), Advanced Battery (junior-high-school level), a student answering 6 of 41 of the items correctly gets a grade-equivalent (GE) score of 4.2; if he answers 9 items correctly, 3 more, his GE score is 5.1, just short of a year's "growth."

On the arithmetic-problems test of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) for grade 7 (a 32-item test), a student grows approximately one year in GE for every 2½ additional items answered correctly from a grade level of 4.1 (5 items right is a chance score) right up through a GE of 8.0 (15 items right).

So, if the payoff is based on a guarantee of raising the student's grade-level one year and this particular standardized test, the ITBS, is used as the criterion, the contractor would get paid if, for example, he could raise the student's raw score from 7 to 9 on a 32-item test. And, let me remind you, that this item pool will always be available to the contractor.

I don't think standardized tests will work as a criteria for performance contracts, although they may appear to for some administrators and school boards, and I expect the contractors will like them.

We must pay more attention to the measurement aspects of performance contracting than apparently has been the case thus far. Most performance contracts have assumed a reliability and precision of measurement which may not exist.

In addition, as a profession, we're going to have to pay attention to the current public emphasis on accountability, of which the performance-contracting phenomenon is a part. We are going to have to find out in what ways teachers can and do make a difference in children's lives. The public has a right to know, and should. To the extent to which we're not able to talk to our public, we're going to have more and more of these bad examples thrust upon us against our will, to the detriment of teachers and students.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH VOUCHERS?

By ALBERT SHANKER

Digested from an address to a 1971 AFT-QuEST "Truth-&-Soul-in-Teaching" conference

The concepts of vouchers and performance contracts are basically part of a political strategy which is concerned with money and power in our society. To appreciate the dangers of this strategy, we need to view it from the standpoint of the coalition of forces which has managed to bring about some improvements for those at the bottom of society—rights which they did not have before, some money, some goods, and some minor redistribution of wealth. These improvements occurred in two ways: one, through the power of workers in their unions; and, two, through legislation providing help, social security, better education, and public services. Through these two ways, we have created a more egalitarian society.

The alliance which helped bring about these changes includes liberals, intellectuals, labor unions, civil-rights groups, and others. In spite of some conflicts of interests, they have stood together and have been able to bring about these changes.

But now we find the formation of a new coalition. We see it in the field of education in those forces which favor vouchers and performance contracts, and we see it emerging in other fields, as well. Who supports it? Well, you have Southern segregationists eager to circumvent the Supreme Court antisegregation ruling (and the way to circumvent it is to get away from the notion of public schools and into funding of private schools). At the same time, you also have separatist black-power groups in this coalition. These groups are interested in building their own school systems to teach their own ideologies and views. Then, parochial-school interests—which have for years tried to get educational funds by somehow working their way into a church-state concept, but not succeeding—are involved. They find that by forming an alliance with Southern segregationists, separatist blacks, and others, they are getting closer than ever before to get public funding of parochial schools. Who else? Middle-class whites who are anxious to provide a subsidy for the private schools that their kids go to, find the concept of vouchers extremely attractive.

More important than any of these groups in the coalition are the wealthy taxpayers who have always resented supporting the public schools and who are interested in keeping taxes down. They ally themselves with these groups because with vouchers and performance contracts will come a reduced commitment to public funding of education.

Albert Shanker is a former classroom teacher in New York City who is now president of the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, and a national vice-president of the AFT.

THE TWO MODELS OF VOUCHERS

The idea of vouchers originated with Milton Friedman, a classic, conservative economist and advisor to Barry Goldwater, who, some years ago, wrote that vouchers would enable teachers and the public to eliminate the monopolistic aspects of public education. Education, he argued, really ought to be considered a consumer product, as supermarket goods are, and each child ought to have his own "G.I. Bill of Rights" with funds to let him go out and buy the product that he wants.

Now, all the way over at the other end, we have David Cohen and Christopher Jencks, and a whole group of New Left critics in education, plus Paul Goodman, and others at Harvard University and elsewhere. They don't talk in terms of classical economic theories, but rather in terms of an anarchistic, left-wing philosophy of giving individuals choices so they can break up a bureaucracy. Jencks has developed the voucher program for the Office of Economic Opportunity; he talks of a number of different voucher "models."

Friedman's model essentially is that each child gets a voucher equivalent in value to the money now spent on him in his public-school system. He spends that voucher wherever he wishes — public schools, private schools, parochial schools, anyplace. There is no regulation. And, because of this, it becomes a subsidy for the rich. The poor child will have only as much as he has now, while the wealthy parent who already pays private-school tuition will have an additional $800 or $900 or $1,000 that he will be getting from the public schools. In other words, the rich get what they are now spending, plus what they are not now getting. It is really a subsidy for those who are not attending the public schools.

Friedman's unregulated model, of course, also means that schools could be set up on a racial or religious basis. And, essentially, the new private schools would be profit-oriented: they would be designed for those children easier to teach. Chances are rather good that new schools would not be set up for the children who have the greatest needs and the greatest learning problems. The public schools would become a dumping ground for the rejects of the private institutions.

Jencks apparently agrees with some of these criticisms. He says, in effect, "Well, we can't do that." If we take Friedman's model, he concedes, we'd end up with segregation, subsidization of the rich, and discrimination against the poor. So Jencks has developed a model which is like a Rube Goldberg invention: children will not get the same amounts of money—poorer kids will get more—and wealthy schools will be encouraged to take poor children because they need the greater number of dollars being carried by the poor. Also, schools will have to accept a certain number of children by lottery or some similar system. In other words, there will be a number of mechanisms built into it to assure adequate funding to the poorer child; there will be integration; and, Jencks maintains, "We will avoid all the pitfalls which the unregulated model has."

Now, there is only one problem with Jencks' notion. The model which he sets up is a very sophisticated one, it is true, but we don't know right now whether it will work or not. And that is one of the problems with the whole experiment of vouchers. Experiments ought to be reversible: if the experiment fails, you ought to have something to go back to. But this is an experiment in the same sense as dropping an egg to see if it will break; when it's broken, there's not much you can do about it.

The voucher experiment is irreversible because once you give people the money, once the other schools are set up to compete with public schools, and the public-school buildings sold to private-school interests, you can't, five years from now, say, "Gee, I guess we made a mistake. Let's pull the money back; let's buy the buildings back; let's rehire the personnel; let's start all over again." So we don't have an experiment; we have something which is bound to lead to an irreversible conclusion. This is not just something you're trying to see if it works. This is something which, once you're on the road, you have to stay, because there's no return.

The other problem with Jencks' proposal is that there is no state legislature in the country that is going to adopt a bill which gives parents money to send their children to school and which then mandates that the schools be integrated and that much more money be provided for black and Spanish-speaking children than for the white middle class. His proposal is a political impossibility. We aren't even getting integration laws passed in our state legislatures today. We are getting antibusing laws. At the present, and at the level where laws are passed, the tide is going in the opposite direction. So, what Jencks, Goodman, and the liberal-left critics of the schools propose is a model which might work, but which is a politically impossible accomplishment. Jencks may make his notion of vouchers a popular one among liberals, but once it gets through the legislatures, it will have become very much like the Goldwater-Friedman model.

The school-voucher notion is supported by a strange group of bedfellows; is an "irreversible" experiment; and is politically naive.

THE EDUCATIONAL-FINANCE ALTERNATIVES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

Excerpted from a background paper
by the AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In his 1972 budget message, President Nixon has set forth the next steps in his educational strategy. They constitute nothing less than the complete dismantling of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the federally impacted-aid program, the education-for-the-handicapped programs, and the school-lunch program.

Already, in his 1970 message on education reform, the President charged that the federal government has not had a cohesive educational policy, that "federal education programs are largely fragmented and disjointed." At that time, he promised to "recommend to the Congress plans for consolidation of grants into packages that are truly useful to states and localities receiving them."

In the 1972 budget, the Administration proposes "to draw together this wide array of overlapping and contradictory authorizations into a new special revenue-sharing program for education."

Nixon proposes to fund this educational block-grant program at $3 billion for its first year. This amount for the total funding package is actually less than the present authorization just for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The specifics of this revenue-sharing proposal will become clearer, presumably, when new legislation is introduced which will, according to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot Richardson, merge the various education acts into two new ones, an "Educational Assistance Act," to consolidate all federal-funding operations for public schools, and an "Educational Renewal Act," to cover all research, experimental, and reform programs.

It is unlikely that the Administration proposal to put existing programs of categorical aid into block grants will be received with favor by Congress, and there is good reason for this. Categorical aid consists of federal grants to state and local authorities for specific purposes spelled out by Congress in the legislation. Funds for the school-lunch program, for example, can be used only for a school-lunch program and nothing else. Under the Nixon proposals, a local school board would be able to transfer the funds which it has been receiving for the school-lunch program to its textbook funds.

Categorical-aid programs did not happen simply by accident. They came about as a part of a creative solution to specific problems.

One of the most critical of the problems which gave rise to categorical aid was the century-old impasse over federal aid to education. There was for years a general recognition in Congress and among the champions of education that federal aid to the schools was necessary. The problem became more intense in the years following World War II, with the enormous increase in school-age population. Between 1940 and 1970, school enrollment has jumped from 28 million pupils to over 52 million pupils. This mushrooming growth placed unmanageable strains on local school authorities, particularly in areas where there were meager sources for additional state and local tax revenue.

There ensued a long series of efforts in Congress to enact programs of general aid to education. But each time, the legislation floundered over the question of what to do about the nonpublic schools. There were those who argued that federal aid to parochial schools would constitute government subsidization of religion in violation of the Constitution. Others were equally determined that they would oppose any program of federal aid which did not include aid to nonpublic schools within its scope.

By shifting the emphasis from general aid to education to one of categorical aid for specific programs, Congress was at last able to break through the impasse. The National Defense Education Act of 1958, passed during the Eisenhower administration, was one of the first applications of the principle of categorical aid. It established financial assistance to both public and nonpublic schools to upgrade their teaching in mathematics, foreign languages, and science, and later in a wider range of "secular" subjects. This approach was successful in satisfying both the public and nonpublic school adherents.

Building on this experience, Congress shaped the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with the strong support of organized labor. By using the categorical approach, Congress was able to achieve an intricate balance between what had historically been rival interests.

There is a second important reason why categorical programs have come about. Congress has reacted to certain specific educational needs for the very reason that, important though they are, they have in the past been largely neglected by state and local authorities. It is the assumption of the Administration's block-grant proposal that state and local authorities are better able to establish priorities for spending available funds according to need than is the federal government.

There is abundant evidence that this is not always true. State and local authorities inevitably make decisions in terms of the various social and political pressures around them, and these pressures are not necessarily consonant with the needs. A conspicuous example of this is the deplorable state of affairs which existed with regard to vocational education in most school systems prior to the enactment of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It is an unmistakable conclusion that the parents of college-bound students carried more political weight with school authorities than did the parents of vocational students. In writing the Vocational Act, Congress was thereby in a sense helping to correct this political imbalance.

In drafting Title I of the ESEA, Congress reacted to the mounting evidence that, in most school systems, there was no meaningful equality of educational opportunity for schools serving poor children.

An illustration of a well-working program which could be seriously imperiled by the Administration's block-grant proposal is the school-lunch program. The funds for this program are among those which the Administration would put into the block grants, permitting school authorities to use the funds elsewhere.

The relationship between learning and good nutrition has been firmly established. The 1970 amendments to the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act make it possible for every poor child to receive free school lunches. Even so, there are still 18,000 schools serving 10 million children in which school authorities have failed to participate in the lunch program. The school-lunch program is specifically designed to meet needs of disadvantaged children. There is already abundant evidence that in many school districts the funds for this program, if placed into block grants, would be diverted to other purposes which are more politically popular.

Finally, there is a third reason that categorical-aid programs have been established, and that is that the national interest in a specific educational problem may transcend local interests. The National Defense Education Act, for example, was adopted in considerable part because it was more important to the nation to have an increased number of scientists and technicians than it was to individual school districts. As a nation, we have a concern which is greater than that of localities that there be more doctors and nurses. Categorical-aid programs have been one of the ways in which this national interest has been expressed and supported.

It is undoubtedly true that among existing categorical-aid programs there is some overlapping and even duplication of effort. The AFL-CIO would welcome efforts to examine these programs with the aim of bringing about useful consolidation. But to do away with the categorical programs altogether and put the money into block grants to the states would be a step backward rather than a step forward. It would channel the funds where the political pressures are greatest rather than where the need is greatest. It would reopen the church-state controversy in a way that could only be harmful to the cause of American education. And it could destroy the progress which we have made up to now.

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You may exchange your AFT Life Insurance Policy when you retire or leave the teaching profession for the same amount of life insurance on any policy (other than term) written by the Insurance Company. Conversion rights guaranteed!

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45-49	16.00
50-54	29.10
55-59	43.35
60-64*	65.20
65-69*	46.30

NOTE: Your life insurance "age" is determined by nearest birthday rather than your attained age. For example: If you are 39 years and six months old, you are considered to be age 40. Premiums apply at age of entry and upon renewal dates of insurance. At age 65, the insurance decreases to $3,750.00 but is renewable to age 70.

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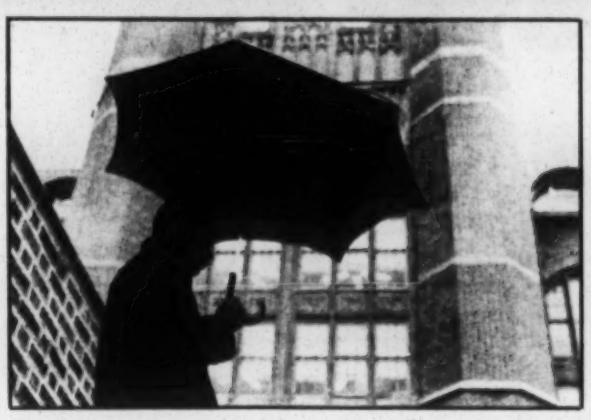
BOOKS&FILMS



Scene from film reviewed below.

EXAMINING URBAN SCHOOLS

Reviews of two films, "With Mixed Emotions" and "Anatomy of a Big-City High School," produced by WFIL-TV, Philadelphia, Pa.

Reviewed by JACK STEINBERG

Nine months of taking and editing over 56,000 feet of film culminated in one of the very few perceptive and objective television probes of a large urban high school.

Station WFIL-TV, the Philadelphia affiliate of the American Broadcasting Company, sent a five-man team into Philadelphia's Overbrook High School. The team produced two one-hour television films; the first hour, Part I, is entitled "With Mixed Emotions," and Part II is entitled "Anatomy of a Big City High School."

Martin Spinelli, director of the project, pointed out that the team entered the school with no preconceived ideas or script. They had little or no restrictions. Filming was done without light and as inconspicuously as possible. After the initial filming, students and teachers ignored the cameras.

The films, though they deal specifically with Overbrook High, present problems that are national in scope. Overbrook is over 80 percent black, with an enrollment approaching 5,000 students. The problems, opinions, and attempts at solutions probed in candid interviews and actual class sessions have direct implications for all of public education.

Spinelli, in directing Part I, weaves his way through the central themes of racial unrest, violence, and the meaning of Black Power and black identity as the inhabitants at Overbrook see them.

We see integration in sporting events and the prom. We hear opinions on dating and hair styles. In the dramatic commencement sequence, we hear an articulate black girl speak of "joblessness" and racism.

Some of the emotional highlights of the films are actual class sessions. In one, as part of an experimental lesson, a young black explains the frustrating oppressiveness of gangs. There is a disturbingly fatalistic air to his explanation.

A classroom discussion involving black and white students brings out emotional feelings that verge on confrontation. Just what will violence accomplish? How do young blacks consider Martin Luther King Jr.? Are there any solutions to the problems raised?

Another memorable portion of the film is an interview which is really a monologue by a young black girl. She states very clearly what it means to be black today and what it must mean in the future.

There is very little narration, and Part I has practically none. True problems are articulated by the students, teachers, and administrators at the school. Almost every conceivable opinion and emotion is displayed.

Part II moves beyond the racial problems. It deals with the overcrowded conditions and the resulting feelings of anonymity. It probes the role of the teacher, the role of the school.

The problems are great, but we do get a feeling that something is happening. We see teachers approaching the problems sanely. We see them experimenting. They are aware.

Rex Polier, a critic for the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, in his review on the films, said, "One thing the reports demonstrate—clearly—is the importance of qualified teachers who relish their challenge." He pointed out that there were many impressive teachers at Overbrook. He cited Ted Kirsch, building representative at the time and currently a staff representative for the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. I use Polier's opinions in this area in order to avoid any charge that as a teacher-reviewer I am biased. He went on to state, "The reports give one an acute awareness of how vital a teacher in a predominantly black school is—not only for the future of his students, and all blacks, but also society."

Station WFIL-TV has put the reports on 16-mm. film. They have been used in teacher-education classes at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania. Teachers at Overbrook High have used the films for staff-development purposes.

The themes developed in the films make them invaluable in the study of urban education today. Faculties, and particularly new teachers, should have an opportunity to view and discuss them. Anyone interested in obtaining the films should write to Station WFIL-TV, City Line Ave. and Monument Rd., Philadelphia, Pa. 19131.

MANY MODELS

"Ways of Teaching," by Ronald T. Hyman. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970, 290 pp.

Reviewed by ALBERT E. BENDER

Some men study a subject until it becomes so involved that only confusion can result. Authors of methods textbooks are, more often than not, guilty of this. Ronald T. Hyman has studied teaching methods until the ideas became simplified, and he passes this clarity on to his readers in this book. The language is understandable, the presentation develops logically and fairly, the analysis is clear, and the examples are complete.

It is important that teachers learn how to use various teaching methods properly. It is equally important that educators have a balanced understanding of the various methods and do not believe in a one-tone approach.

The author presents the discussion method, divided into Socratic and discovery; recitation and lecture; and role-playing, with sociodrama and simulation games. He examines each method in detail without favoring any. There are explanations, clarifications, complete examples, variations of the example, and justification of the method. The references at the end of each chapter are a good source for further reading for particular problems. The major parts of the text, listed as discussion, recitation and lecture, and role-playing, have introductory chapters which justify the method, and variations of the specific method.

The first chapter of the text presents some background material, such as attitudes regarding methods, ideas common to various methods, and consideration of criteria for selection. The final two chapters deal with questioning, and observation and evaluation. Questioning is divided into many types and styles of questions, clarifying and justifying each of these under proper condition. Again, the author does not promote one type of question, but shows the proper use of each. Observation, treated in some detail, is presented as an important tool, while evaluation is clearly distinguished from this and is presented as a problem.

This text is a must for student teachers and students of teaching. It is especially recommended for those who are cursed with single teaching-model mentalities. The reader is left with appreciation for good teaching and respect for all methods of learning.

EMPHASIZING PEOPLE

"Our Nation's Heritage," a series of record albums distributed by Standard Oil and Chevron Oil.

Reviewed by MARSHALL AXELROD

"But where are the people?" We know history too often leaves them out. A major oil company has just begun a new series of historical dramatizations that is surprising, coming from the company that produced the bombastic and "safe" Standard School Broadcasts.

The series emphasizes people—some famous, most not. It tries to recreate what it was like to live at the given time; what people ate, what they worried about, what they wanted.

Twenty record albums are planned for the series. The first four albums have just been sent, free of charge, to elementary and junior-high schools throughout the West, Southwest, Rocky Mountain states, Hawaii, and Alaska. If your school has not received a set, and is in this area, contact the oil company.

ANALYZING THE TEACHER

"What's Happened to Teacher?" by Myron Brenton. New York: Coward-McCann, 280 pp.

Reviewed by DAN SCANNELL

This is a well-written analysis of the historical and sociological development of one of America's largest minority groups, her teachers.

Brenton ("The American Male," "The Privacy Invaders") exhibits a personal style that is rare in this type of book. He is not as comprehensive as a Silberman or as fashionably pessimistic as a Holt, but rather is critical, concerned, and sympathetic as he traces the journey of the teacher over 200 years of second-class citizenship. "Walk a mile in my shoes," is what he's trying to say, and if you go along, you will better understand the person who runs the school system and how he is run by The System.

Among other things, the book examines the history, financial situation, new-found militancy and professional status of today's educator. It is divided into three major parts: Personal and Professional, Indignities and Responses, and Relationships. While all three are interesting, the first part captivates with a few well-researched pages depicting the average teacher of today (he is 36, has taught for eight years, and usually drives a Chevrolet). He paints a sad picture of a person who is overworked, underpaid, and regarded with low esteem in the community.

The book is not without shortcomings: it is often vague, much too general in parts and often wants for stands on specific issues. These aside, it is fascinating reading and is interesting and accurate enough to interest professional and non-professional alike.

Jack Steinberg is a teacher in the Philadelphia public schools. Marshall Axelrod teaches in San Francisco. Albert E. Bender is a professor of education at St. Louis University. Dan Scannell teaches in Pennsylvania.

Doctoritis

Over 20,000 Americans are now dying each year of a virulent new malady called "Doctoritis." It is caused by the inability to get hold of a doctor when you need one.

Item: A study by the United States Senate indicates that America should have 600,000 doctors. We have fewer than half that many.

Item: Because more and more doctors now refuse to make house calls, or to work at night and on weekends, hospital emergency rooms are being overrun with non-emergency cases. "We've simply become a substitute for the family doctor," says the head of emergency service at New York's Roosevelt Hospital.

Item: In some communities, a doctor is not available at *any* time. The Wall Street Journal reports that patients in some localities must plead with up to half a dozen doctors before they can find one willing to treat them, while the governor of Texas states that 15 counties in the western part of Texas *have no doctor at all.*

Item: A study by the Brookings Institution indicates that by 1975, due to the pressures of Medicare, Medicaid, and the population explosion, Americans will require *one billion* doctor visits. There simply will not be enough medical manpower to meet this need.

In short, American medicine, once the pride of our nation and freely available to everyone, is swiftly degenerating into a semi-rationed, hurried, depersonalized form of production-line service because of a severe shortage of doctors. What's more, the situation will only get worse. Survey after survey indicates that a reversal of the current trend cannot occur for at least another decade. As a study by the Carnegie Commission on Medical Education recently concluded, America is confronted by a "massive crisis."

The average intelligent, responsible citizen has but one recourse: To provide himself with instantaneously available, authoritative medical advice that will enable him to minimize his dependency upon doctors. To make this possible, the editors of **Moneysworth**, the galvanic new consumer-affairs newsletter, are pleased to announce publication—and free dissemination—of *The Moneysworth Home Medical Advisor*, by Paul Kuhne, M.D.

The Moneysworth Home Medical Advisor is more than just a reference book listing symptoms and treatments for common ailments (although it contains over 100,000 words of such information and advice). It is a comprehensive, easily understood description of the workings of the human body and mind. It covers anatomy, physiology, medicine, and psychiatry. What's more, its style and wit make it a pleasure to read. It's as though you were chatting informally with an authority who had all the time in the world—and the genuine desire—to answer your most trivial medical questions.

It is not possible within the scope of this advertisement to give you a detailed description of the contents of *The Moneysworth Home Medical Advisor*. Its range is too vast. Suffice it to say that probably never in your lifetime will you encounter an illness that is not covered by this book.

Perhaps you can get an inkling of the book's contents from this list of 100 of the 1500 topics it covers:

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THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN:

School Desegregation 1970-1971

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School Desegregation 1970-1971

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

March, 1971

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INTRODUCTION

For a number of years the Southern Regional Council has issued periodic reports on school desegregation. These reports have, properly, analyzed federal governmental policy, court decisions, local administrative responses and the statistical results of those actions.

In the summer of 1970, as we planned this year's report, we sensed that the 1970-71 school year would be the most crucial one since 1954. More importantly, we agreed that now was the time to determine what was happening to education, to the children.

As a measure of our priorities, we assigned six staff members to the study. Each is identified in the report. The work was coordinated by our Research Department; the full report was edited by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. A number of other persons on the staff and outside the agency assisted with the research or read portions of the manuscript. We are grateful to them all for sharing with us the sense of the crucial importance of public education in the region at this time.

The report begins with a general appraisal of school desegregation in the region and concludes with a discussion by four black high school students who explain in concrete, specific terms what their first year of desegregated schooling has meant to them. In between are four community studies and an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement. The four communities each reflect a different facet of the larger story. Three of the cities—Athens, Charlotte, and Mobile—were before the Supreme Court in October, 1970, and it seemed wise to report in detail on the crucial issues arising from their experience.

The report reveals, I believe, that those who say that segregation problems are solved direct attention away from the very real ones that remain, and support away from those trying to solve them. Those who, on the other hand, say all is lost have much the same effect, and encourage further retreat of the federal government and opinion leaders from the national commitment to equal education.

Emerging from this report is one highly significant point. Six sensitive and competent individuals went their own ways, essentially, to produce sections of the total. Some surveyed better situations, some the worst. Each independently concluded that the important and hopeful factor was that the students were there and involved in determining their own destiny.

This is, of course, an unfinished report. And, tragically, it probably cannot be finished for a number of years. Just as we have lost so much precious time and done so much human damage by stupidity, viciousness, and ignorance, so we seem destined to do more. Yet, we must educate our young. We must have faith in them. Perhaps, now, at least we have begun to do both.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

THE REGION IN PERSPECTIVE

By Paul M. Gaston

I: The Numbers Game

The 1970 school year has been widely celebrated as a watershed in the long struggle for the desegregation of southern schools: sixteen years after the Supreme Court declared segregation to be unconstitutional white and black children of the region seemed finally to be going to school together.

Early in the fall, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson announced that all but 76 of the South's some 2,700 schools districts—97% of the total—were desegregated, and that 90.5% of the region's white and black students were attending schools in desegregated districts.[1] President Nixon boasted of the achievement, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one of his most articulate counselors, fairly glowed with optimism. In a New York *Times* guest column, Moynihan reported that black children attending schools in desegregated districts had soared from 4.3% in 1967 and 6.1% in 1968 to 90% in 1970. It was with good reason, he believed, that the Southern Regional Council, in 1968, had issued a critical report entitled *Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation.*[2] Two years later it was a different world. When he took leave of federal service to return to Harvard, Moynihan appeared to be saying that no such report would ever be required again, for "that great symbol of racial segregation, the dual school system in the South, virtually intact two years ago, has quietly and finally been dismantled."[3]

To most southern veterans of the school desegregation struggle, the Administration appeared to be playing a deceptive game of numbers. To report desegregation progress in terms of *districts* said to be in compliance resulted in high figures but said nothing about the desegregation of *schools.* It obscured the fact that the pattern of segregation within so-called desegregated districts was widespread, and reinforced the fear that

[1] HEW News, October 22, 1970. This news release understated the number of public school students in the South by more than a million. (In this report, as in HEW figures, "South" means the eleven states of the old Confederacy.)

[2] New York *Times,* September 22, 1970. Moynihan pointedly endorsed SRC's 1968 report, which was critical of the enforcement policies of the Johnson Administration, but was silent about its 1969 report—*The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation*—which was critical of the Nixon Administration.

[3] New York *Times,* December 23, 1970.

the Administration's retreat from school desegregation, begun in 1969, was in 1970 going to be frozen into a policy that would condone extensive segregation as a permanent condition in the region.

Not until mid-January—months after the original data had made their impact—did HEW release figures concerning the actual extent of school desegregation. According to these preliminary estimates, which may not be accurate but are the only comprehensive ones available, 38.1% of southern black students are enrolled in schools with a predominantly white student body; 20.4% attend predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attend desegregated schools in which the enrollment is 80% or more black; and 18.4% attend all-black schools.[4]

These figures do in fact reflect a significant increase in school desegregation. It would be fair to say that, for the first time, school desegregation in one degree or another is the rule rather than the exception for the children of the South. This is a far cry, however, from the final dismantling of the dual system; and the mere numbers which the Administration celebrates scarcely justify Secretary Richardson's boast that they "show clearly and dramatically that unprecedented progress has been made in school desegregation since 1968."[5] Senator Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, put the matter more accurately. "We have begun to tear down the outward manifestations of legal segregation," he wrote in December, "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."[6]

II: Federal Policy and National Commitment

The destruction of the "outward manifestations of legal segregation," while accelerated this year, has proceeded unevenly and largely within restrictive bounds set by the Administration. Most of the momentum for the move, moreover, came from the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision (October, 1969)—a decision opposed by the Administration. In that case, the Court set aside its own "deliberate speed" doctrine, replacing it with a mandate to desegregate forthwith. The Administration, already deep in its policy of enforcement slowdown, was faced in 1970 with the task of finding a viable means of complying with the Court's decisions without abandoning its cautious and restricted approach.

In March the President announced his policy. On the one hand, he would have the government prosecute deliberate and official acts of segre-

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[4] HEW News, January 14, 1971. Comparative percentages of the extent of desegregation for 1970 (estimated) and 1968 are as follows:

	1970	*1968*
Blacks as a percentage of school population	27.2%	26.6%
Blacks in majority white schools	38.1	18.4
Blacks in schools 50%-79.9% black	20.4	2.8
Blacks in schools 80%-99.9% black	23.1	10.8
Blacks in all-black schools	18.4	68.0

[5] HEW News, January 14, 1971.

[6] Walter F. Mondale, "Think of These Children," *New Republic*, December 26, 1970, p. 15.

gation. On the other, while recognizing the legitimacy of busing as a means of implementing various assignment plans, he would support the neighborhood school as essential to public education and he would oppose the transportation of students beyond what he called normal geographic school zones to achieve the disestablishment of the dual system.

Officials of HEW and the Justice Department operated within this framework during the summer, exerting pressure on districts still not in compliance, and multidistrict suits were brought in Mississippi and Texas. Meanwhile, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Athens, Georgia, each in different ways, implemented plans that were at odds with the Nixon doctrine. In both places the old dual system was in fact disestablished: through a combination of zoning and pairing, and with the extensive use of free transportation, unitary systems were established in which there were no white schools, no black schools, just schools. Both plans were taken on appeal to the Supreme Court. In Mobile, a plan which was closer to the Nixon ideal—and one which retained segregated schools—was likewise appealed to the Court. All three cases were argued in late October and the Court's decision was expected to resolve at least some of the argument over the extent to which segregated schools are permissible in "unitary" districts.

While the Court studied the cases before it, the Administration continued its attempt to persuade the American public not only that desegregation was operating smoothly and largely without violence, but that the major objectives of the *Brown* decision were on the verge of being realized in the South. Whether white Americans would agree that what Mr. Moynihan once called "benign neglect" should now be prescribed for the racial and school problems of the South, they appeared increasingly receptive to the government's arguments. Obsessed with inflation, unemployment, pollution of the air and water, drug abuse, a baffling and irreverent youth culture—not to mention crime in the streets, revolt on the campus, pornography at the movies, and the war in Vietnam—most white Americans in 1970 seemed eager to believe that school desegregation in the South was one thing that could be written off their list of concerns.

According to a Harris poll conducted at the end of the year, Americans did not consider school desegregation to be among the "top problems" with which Congress should be concerned—despite the fact that the Mondale Committee had by then compiled an impressive amount of evidence underscoring the need for Congressional action. Education ranked eighth in the list of priorities (behind student unrest) and racial problems fell in tenth place.[7] The President reflected this national complacency when he ignored desegregation in his assessment of the state of the union.

Shifting national concerns have combined with other developments to blunt the drive for genuine integration. For one thing, the long-standing alliance between civil rights forces and the federal government, weakened in the last years of the Johnson Administration and shattered in the first year of the Nixon Administration, has shown no signs of coming to life

[7] Harris Survey, Washington *Post*, January 4, 1971.

again. As one veteran civil rights leader remarked at a strategy meeting in the fall, "you used to be able to telephone Washington; at least somebody would listen sympathetically. Now, there's nobody to talk to." Within the government, to make matters worse, officials charged with civil rights enforcement resigned to protest the lack of leadership and commitment from the President, and many of their replacements lack both the experience and the will to pursue desegregation effectively.[8]

Added to the diminished influence of civil rights leaders and the resignation of their friends from HEW and the Justice Department is the crystallization of another development that threatens to give intellectual and moral respectability to the dissipation of the desegregation effort. For sometime now—especially since racial problems have rent the North as well as the South—white Northern liberals, once sympathetic to school desegregation, have begun to have second thoughts. In student radical circles, where the crusade for integration was once a passionate concern, the issue has been shelved along with other *passé* delusions of the liberal establishment. Reinforcing the will to retreat of both groups, many outspoken blacks (primarily Northern) now add to their devastating critique of white-dominated desegregation the cry for black control of community schools as the only realistic alternative to the white man's sham pretensions to equal treatment. Continued failure in the South could scarcely help but strengthen the hand of those whose doubt and disillusionment is already high.

III: The "Unitary" System

It was in this atmosphere of administrative caution and national uncertainty that the new era of the unitary school system spread across the South in 1970. In *Green v. New Kent County, Virginia* (1968), the Supreme Court defined a unitary school system as one "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools." It is this kind of system that allegedly exists in 97% of the southern school districts.

Granted the vagueness of the definition of a unitary system, one could hardly imagine an interpretation that would accommodate the kinds of situations that abound in the region. Not only do segregated schools exist on a wide scale within many "unitary" districts, but even within desegregated schools methods both ingenious and disingenuous have been used to separate blacks from whites and to place both psychological and physical burdens on black students. Classroom segregation, for example, was discovered in 273 of 467 districts monitored in September for one major study of compliance in the region.[9] The separation was sometimes arranged without apology or justification, but more frquently as the con-

[8] In an attempt to deny the significance of the resignations, then Assistant Attorney General William Ruckelhaus told an audience at Mount Holyoke College that the resignations of nineteen civil rights division lawyers between January and June could be regarded as "normal attrition." Washington *Post*, October 21, 1970.

[9] American Friends Service Committee; Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches; Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; and Washington Research Project, *The Status of School Desegregation in the South, 1970*, p. 31.

sequence of a greatly expanded "ability tracking" system, a method of assignment that has been widely perverted to perpetuate segregation.

The purpose of the *Brown* decision was to prohibit the unconstitutional practice of school segregation and to eliminate the kinds of discrimination that did irreparable harm to Negro students. Under the unitary system presently in operation, desegregation has all to frequently substituted new forms to perpetuate old injustices.

For example, unitary systems have frequently been created by closing down (or downgrading) formerly all-black schools and shifting the black students to the "white" schools. In the process, the blacks are the ones who take the longest bus rides, and when they get to school they find that "unitary" means preservation of the white school, with its traditions and symbols (and often its old school officers), and obliteration of the distinctive features of the black school. Discrimination in school activities further impresses on blacks the attitude that they are pawns in a white man's game.

Compounding the hurt, black students find that the authority figures who once gave them pride and a sense of security—generally their principals, but also many of their teachers and coaches—have been dismissed or demoted, and they face in their new schools a white authority structure rendered even more insidious by the proliferation of "assistant" principals who once were persons of commanding authority. As one black group put it, "Many students merely find themselves in a new world with no Black anchors to hang onto, as they try to adjust. They are faced with new standards, new teachers, new rules, new curriculums."[10] In those cases in which whites are transferred to formerly all-black schools, fumigation teams have sometimes preceded them, acting out an ancient white prejudice, now referred to cynically as "deniggerizing" the old school. These indignities, and others that will be discussed subsequently, proceed from a combination of mindlessness, sometimes well-intentioned, and deeply embedded racism, often only vaguely sensed.

If the federal government anticipated praise for facilitating this kind of "unitary system," and if it felt that its "unprecedented progress" would prevent the appearance of harsh judgments of its performance, it must have been sorely disappointed, for this has been a banner year for critical evaluations.

In a searing report published in December, the Washington Research Project and five associated groups concluded that, overall, "the progress of desegregation is in imminent danger of failure if new and stronger policies are not implemented at the federal level."[11] The Washington *Post* called the report "cheerless" and observed that "one can hardly escape astonishment at the meannesses and cruelties revealed by the study."[12] The Administration's Emergency School Assistance Program, hastily devised to underwrite programs aimed at making desegregation effective,

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[10]The Educational Resources Center, *Racism and the Desegregating Process: A Mississippi Study* (December, 1970), p. 21.
[11]*Status of School Desegregation*, p. 1.
[12]Washington *Post*, December 26, 1970.

was faulted by the same group. HEW was accused, among other things, of "acquiescence in fraud perpetrated by local school officials."[13]

Two additional studies—one by the National Education Association and one by the Race Relations Information Center—revealed in detail the shocking plight of black teachers and principals. The NEA, focusing on Mississippi and Louisiana, reported "massive displacement of black educators" and quoted with approval the judgment of Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry that

> Black teachers are being emasculated and stripped of their standing before their own communities. Teachers with years of experience are being assigned as teacher aides or assistants to white teachers. New job categories are being created; black Mississippians will explain to you that "Co-principal is short for colored principal."[14]

The RRIC special report surveyed the entire region, concluding that "the apparent effect of desegregation on black teachers across the South this year has been more negative than positive." Rather than helping to expand the professional opportunities of black teachers, school desegregation is contracting them. Hundreds of black teachers "have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks."[15]

IV: Resistance and Oppression

Writing last summer, Paul Rilling, the former southeastern regional civil rights director of HEW, said that "in the last analysis, the results in 1970-71 will depend on the posture of the federal government." Like his superior, Leon Panetta, Mr. Rilling had resigned to protest the weakening of the federal will to enforce desegregation. Further progress was dependent on the federal government, Rilling declared, because "sweeping changes will not come voluntarily in the South in 1970, any more than in other years."[16]

There have been (as will be seen later in this report) many remarkable changes, some instituted voluntarily. Of more than symbolic significance, for example, one thinks of Yolanda King, whose father once struggled to explain to her why he could not take her to Fun Town in Atlanta, now president of the junior class at the predominantly white Henry Grady High School; or, of Virginia Holton, whose father, the Governor of Virginia, could have sent her elsewhere, attending overwhelmingly black John F. Kennedy High School, and becoming a cheerleader.

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[13] *The Emergency School Assistance Program: An Evaluation,* p. 61. According to another critic, "the $75 million in emergency school funds . . . was intended to be used and was used mostly as a straight payoff for their minimal compliance with the law. President Nixon's personal order was to 'get that money out there' and it was gotten 'out there,' as often as not in flagrant disregard of the nominal requirement that school districts receiving it abandon or correct any and all forms of racial discrimination in the schools." John Osborne, "Call it Desegregation," *New Republic,* January 30, 1971, p. 5.

[14] National Education Association, *Report of Task Force III—School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi* (November, 1970), p. 5.

[15] Robert W. Hooker, *Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States* (Nashville: Race Relations Information Center, December, 1970), p. 1.

[16] *South Today,* July-August, 1970, p. 6.

But the unfortunate truth is that, given ample opportunity by federal enforcement policies, too many southern school leaders not only failed to institute "sweeping changes" but showed instead that they were still able both to frustrate the intent of federal law and damage the welfare of the children in their charge.

The frustration of court orders and HEW-approved plans was widespread. Governor Holton tried to set a good example by sending his daughter to a predominantly black school, but other leaders were defiant. George Wallace advised Mobilians to defy the law by placing their children in schools of their choice; Lester Maddox told Georgians to exercise "freedom-of-choice," whatever the courts might have ordered; and John Bell Williams, Governor of Mississippi, both counseled resistance and dramatized his personal opposition to desegregation by putting his children in private school.

The examples set by these and other unreconstructed leaders were taken to heart by thousands of private citizens and hundreds of public officials; and they found numerous ways of preventing enforcement of the law. In Mobile, for example, more than a thousand children turned up at schools to which they were not assigned. William B. Crane, chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, gave them moral encouragement by describing the court-ordered plan as "asinine." It was made by federal officials, he remarked, "and they can enforce it."[17]

Elsewhere, in less well-publicized incidents, white parents adopted all sorts of strategies to keep their children out of the newly desegregated schools. In some districts parents falsified their addresses to get their children preferred assignments. For example, a Florida school board put nine agents to work to track down parents said by the superintendent to be "lying and cheating to circumvent the court order."[18] In other areas, such as Hartsville, South Carolina, and Birmingham, Alabama, school officials appeared to raise no objection to illegal transfers. U. W. Clemon, a Legal Defense Fund attorney in Birmingham, claimed that "10,000 white students in Jefferson County alone are openly attending classes in schools where they were not assigned in violation of the court's desegregation order."[19]

Added to these evasions of the law and the insidious forms of classroom segregation discussed earlier, the 1970-71 school year has been characterized by a disturbing increase of numerous forms of in-school discrimination. Almost no form of discrimination that one can imagine has been left untried. The most common have been the exclusion of black students from school organizations, the selection of all-white homecoming courts, and the use of symbols and songs ("Rebel" and "Dixie") reminiscent of a racist tradition.

Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of the confrontations and violence accompanying the expansion of desegrega-

[17]New York *Times*, September 10, 1970; Washington *Post*, September 10, 1970.
[18]Miami *Herald*, September 18, 1970.
[19]New York *Times*, September 14, 1970; Los Angeles *Times*, October 8, 1970.

tion. The "Dixie" issue, which has wracked schools in all parts of the region, is an instructive example.

At Butler High School, in Huntsville, Alabama, black students (who numbered 302 of the total enrollment of 2,581) objected to the playing of "Dixie" at football games, the use of "Rebels" as the team name, and the display of the Confederate battle flag as the school flag. At a pre-game pep rally in the fall, black students walked out when "Dixie" was played and the Confederate flag waved; some returned later and tore down the flag. In the days that followed, black students—joined by high school and college students from the area—staged a march, 113 black Butler High students were suspended, students engaged police in a fight, mace was used to suppress the protestors, eight black students were arrested, and at one point a planeload of riot equipment was flown in from Chicago to be available to the police.

During the controversy the school superintendent agreed to consider the banning of "Dixie" as well as the display of the Confederate flag. White parents resented the move, insisted that no consideration be given the request of the black students, and in the midst of one mass meeting they all joined in a chorus of "Dixie." When the next football game was played few black student spectators showed up, and several black team members stayed away. The band held back until the fourth quarter when it responded to shouts of "we want Dixie," playing the tune while Confederate banners waved.[20]

"Victory celebrations" of this sort say much about the problems of racial adjustment in the desegregated schools, and failure to see them for what they are accounts for much of the anguish that schools, and their students, have experienced. In South Carolina, for example, the Columbia superintendent noted that the band leaders themselves had decided not to use Dixie. "Of course, to me," he said in an interview, "Dixie is a very beautiful tune. . . . But there is other beautiful music that can be substituted for it. We feel that inconsequential things like that should be avoided if there is any danger of causing conflict."[21]

The belief that quarrels over such issues as "Dixie" are essentially "inconsequential" is apparently held by many white schoolmen, not to mention those farther removed from the scene. Dr. Cyril B. Busbee, State Superintendent of Education in South Carolina, illustrated this attitude in a recent speech before the state's high school principals. Dwelling largely on disciplinary complications brought about by the change to a unitary system, he said that a "school with inadequate discipline cannot conduct a productive program," and then deplored "unwarranted and unnecessary bickering over issues that were essentially trivial . . . such matters as school colors and mascots."[22]

In what used to be ordinary times, when student bodies were more-or-less homogeneous, agitation over such matters as school songs and colors

[20]Birmingham *News*, October 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 1970.
[21]Columbia (S. C.), *The State*, August 30, 1970.
[22]Columbia (S. C.) *The State*, January 9, 1971.

no doubt could be regarded as "inconsequential" and "trivial." The point, of course, is that these are not ordinary times and student bodies are not homogeneous. To most black students, the strains of "Dixie" are laden with contempt for their dignity. Whites who insist on retaining the song are seen as insensitive and naive, at best; implacable enemies, at worst.

V: Violence and Intimidation

Much of the violence that has taken place this fall stems from the wounds to black sensitivity inflicted by schoolmen either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the racism in their institutions. Consider, for example, the case of Earle, Arkansas.

Earle is a small farming community of 3,000, some twenty miles from Memphis, in the Mississippi Delta. Approximately 60% of the population is black. The mayor, alderman, police chief, and school board members are all white. Earle's schools were desegregated at the beginning of the fall term. According to a special report prepared by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations:

> The mascot of the black school was dropped in favor of the mascot symbol of the white school. The principals of the formerly all black schools became assistant principals of the elementary school and the combined junior-senior high school. The black basketball coach became an assistant coach, although he was the senior coach in the district, and was deprived of his duties of teaching science. White cheerleaders had already been chosen by the students at Earle High, and no effort was made to add any blacks to their number.

Over the summer black leaders who anticipated many of these conditions asked for changes. When school opened, their worst fears were confirmed. In the elementary school:

> No white children were in a class in which they were in a minority; testimony indicated that in the whole system, with the exception of a remedial reading class, no black teachers taught any white children; all of the new teachers hired since last May have been white; rolls were called on a segregated basis—whites first, then blacks; classes were largely segregated except for some elective courses.

According to the report, School Superintendent Sam Bratten explained in Federal Court that ability testing accounted for classroom segregation, but then admitted "that exceptions were made to assign white students to all-white classes whether or not their ability scores justified it." He then explained that "in his judgment and that of the School Board, 'the parents would prefer the present arrangement.' A further question revealed that he was referring to white parents."

The black students in Earle protested against these conditions. Some three hundred walked out of class and began a march to the superintendent's office, where they intended to register their complaints in person. They never reached the office. They were told to disperse by the county sheriff; they obeyed his order. That night some thirty of the marchers, some as young as thirteen, were arrested for violating an anti-picketing ordinance passed during the summer. Arrested on a Monday night, they

were taken to the county jail, twenty miles distant in Marion, where they were held until Thursday when they were tried and convicted.

The abuse of the black students of Earle, and the swift crushing of their protest, exacerbated more general community racial tensions and sparked an adult march that resulted in beatings and more arrests. Federal court hearings led to an order for slight modifications of in-school discrimination practices, but many of the black students never returned to school. According to a count in November, some 390 of them were attending the newly organized "Soul Institute," an all-black "private academy," reported to be "beset by lack of funds, teachers, and materials."[23]

The confrontation at Earle is part of a story that has chapters in all parts of the South. A few examples can only suggest the kinds of abuse, violence, and intimidation that have been visited upon black students—the price they have paid for the "unitary" school districts in too many parts of the region.

—Black students in Coffeeville, Mississippi, began a boycott of their school when term opened. Nearly 1,100 students stayed out protesting a court-approved plan of segregation-by-sex. Student picketers were arrested, but District Judge William Keady subsequently ordered that the segregation-by-sex plan he had earlier approved be abandoned at the end of the semester. "It is now clear," he wrote, that "there is a strong unmistakable feeling in the black community in Coffeeville that this court put a stamp on a plan which calls for racial discrimination."[24]

—In East Tallahatchie, Mississippi, 125 black students were arrested on charges of trespassing and disturbing the peace. Protesting against the elimination of some school activities, a busing system that placed a greater burden on them than on white students, and against other actions of the school board, they were incarcerated in the maximum security camp at Parchman penitentiary because the county jail could not accommodate them.[25]

—In Bogalusa, Louisiana, 600 students released pent-up racial tension in a two-hour fight after a football game. School was subsequently closed while blacks picketed with signs reading "Integration on the Outside, Segregation on the Inside." [26]

—In Jacksonville, Florida, forty black students picketed in protest against being transferred from an accredited all-black school, which was closed, to the unaccredited Robert E. Lee High School. Some objected to attending a school named after a "white racist." The superintendent informed them that their former school was being closed under court order.[27]

—A demonstration of black students at South Iredell High School, in

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[23]Arkansas Council on Human Relations, *Earle Report,* November 24, 1970.

[24]Jackson *Daily News,* September 30, October 11, 1970. Several hundred black students remained out of school throughout the first semester.

[25]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times,* October 21, 22, 1970; Jackson *Daily News,* October 22, 1970.

[26]New Orleans *Times-Picayune,* September 15, 18, 1970; New York *Times,* September 15, 1970.

[27]Miami *Herald,* September 9, 1970.

North Carolina, protesting the absence of black students from the 15-girl homecoming court, led to 120 suspensions ("School Suspends Rebellious Blacks"), 22 arrests, and cancellation of the homecoming festivities.[28] In the neighboring county, at South Rowan High School, the decision of school authorities to ban "Dixie" as the fight song for the "Rebels" led to a walkout and protest by white students, supported by their parents. No whites were arrested and the ban on "Dixie" was lifted, at least for the time being.[29]

The repression and violence that have spread with school desegregation this year—of which these few examples are barely suggestive—are symptomatic of a malaise of frightening potential. As one SRC school desegregation field worker observed in late February, "the handwriting is on the wall." Student patience with administrative blundering and rigidity is wearing increasingly thin, and there has been no diminution of racial confrontations. Indeed, each week brings news of situations that should stand as warnings of the dangers that lie ahead.

At this critical juncture, responsible authorities must be awakened to the need for imaginative and constructive leadership. Unless there is a swift and substantial redirection of school policies, the frustrations and bitterness that have been building up throughout the year will almost surely erupt in the spring. Elections for next year's class officers, tensions caused by school proms, a more crowded social schedule, the warm weather, and the realization that a year is passing without fundamental problems being resolved—all of these are likely to result in protests and a round of repressive measures unmatched by what has happened already.

VI: Change and Hope

Studies of school desegregation have recorded and lamented the meanness and intransigence of the South and have faulted federal policy ever since the *Brown* decision, almost seventeen years ago. Events in the present year require continuation of that unhappy tradition; and the growing national feeling that the battle is no longer of much importance adds to its urgency. On the other hand, the changes that have taken place in the schools—some of them quite extraordinary—must be acknowledged, and the issues and challenges that lie ahead defined.

At one level, the kind of change that the South is witnessing can be measured by the grudging adjustment of whites who now accept desegregation as an inevitable fact of life. In Perry County, Mississippi, for example, a white construction worker was waiting nervously for his daughter at the end of her first day in the newly desegregated school. "If anything happens to my girl," he remarked, "if she's insulted by a nigra, I'll come over here and knock hell out of Adcox." Mr. Adcox, the principal, was pleased by the news: "That's great; that's progress," he observed. "Last year, the same man said he would shoot me if we desegregated the

[28]Raleigh *News & Observer*, September 29, 30, 1970; Charlotte *Observer*, September 29, 30; October 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 1970.
[29]Raleigh *News and Observer*, September 24, 25, 26; October 23, 1970; Charlotte *Observer*, September 24, 25, 26, 28, 29; October 1, 7, 1970.

school."[30]

Acceptance of the inevitable is variously manifested. It may appear in the pomposity of the bitter newspaper editor who scores HEW bureaucrats and rails at the extending tentacles of what he calls the "federal octopus," but takes a kind of perverse pride in boasting that the "success with which schools are being desegregated . . . is due to the determination of most Southerners, black and white, to comply with the law—regardless of how distasteful or unwise they might regard it."[31] Sometimes it is reflected in the way youngsters influence their parents, as in the case of the white high school student who told his parents he preferred the formerly all-black Booker T. Washington High School to the segregated academy they wanted him to attend. "We don't have any bad feelings about it," the mother confessed. "We're all resigned to it now."[32] And in other instances it will be revealed by the decision of a small town mayor, such as Lamar Munroe of Quincy, Florida, to spurn the white flight movement and send his daughter to the newly desegregated junior high school where blacks outnumber whites four-to-one.[33]

In some communities the ominous transfer of whites to the segregation academies has either slowed down or been reversed. In Port Allen, Louisiana, for example, a boycott begun last year cut white enrollment from 2,300 to 400. In September the number was up to 1,100, and the private schools in the area had dropped from seven to two. Similar results have been reported for nearby Evangeline and St. Landry parishes.[34]

In Indianola, Mississippi, desegregation in January 1970 emptied the public schools of their 991 white students. In September, some 200 of them returned, responding to the urgings of many white community leaders as well as to the financial pinch of private education. Pleading for support of those who would join the 2,500 blacks, a young coed from the town wrote that for the returning whites "going to public school here in Indianola requires a particular kind of bravery: the courage to live a life contrary to the established life style of their peer group."[35]

It is true that the segregation academy movement has expanded this year, with enrollment in private segregated schools up from 400,000 last spring to somewhere between 450,000 and 500,000 this year. Slightly more than 5% of the region's white students attend private segregated schools. Apart from the pernicious anti-democratic spirit encouraged by it, the movement is dangerous primarily because it threatens to create virtually all-black public school systems—poorly supported by public funds—in isolated and easily forgotten areas. Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the academy movement began, has never recovered from the white flight, and the danger lies in the multiplication, entrenchment, and acceptance of more Prince Edwards.

On the other hand, instances of white return to the public schools, such

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[30]Washington *Post,* August 25, 1970.
[31]Columbia (S. C.) *The State,* August 29, 1970.
[32]Columbia (S. C.) *The State,* September 1, 1970.
[33]Atlanta *Journal and Constitution,* October 18, 1970.
[34]Washington *Post,* December 26, 1970.
[35]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times,* September 6, 1970.

as those cited above, add force to the argument that the movement will not be a pervasive one, even in majority black areas. Perhaps more important, these examples fit into the larger pattern of the growing acceptance of desegregation as the norm for southern education generally. According to a recent Harris poll, Southerners are almost evenly divided on the question of whether the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision, requiring desegregation without further delay, should be approved.[36]

At still another level, the change in the South can be seen in the slow and uneven remaking of southern power structures, and in the increased importance of the black vote and of black elected officials, including school board members. Seen in regional perspective, black influence on school boards is slight, but there already are examples of the differences that representation can make. In Wabbaseka, Arkansas, for example, black students launched a school boycott in the fall, protesting—among other things—the downgrading and dismissal of black personnel. Negotiations were at a standstill. The shift in power on the school board from white to black in December made it possible to deal directly with the issues.[37]

Grudging acceptance by the white majority and increasing black political power have helped to stiffen the will and enlarge the influence of hundreds of citizens groups working, with varying degrees of understanding, to make desegregation the agent of positive change. In Durham, North Carolina, a civic group called Women In Action To Prevent Violence And Its Causes worked feverishly through the summer to prepare the community to accept a new desegregation plan. After the first three weeks of school, the Legal Defense Fund attorney who had guided the suit against the city praised the successful implementation of the plan.[38] Civic groups like the one in Durham have been a part of school desegregation history since the days of "massive resistance" in the late 'fifties. In 1970, however, they appeared to have greater opportunities than ever before.

Likewise, the potential for good will that has always existed in the South has had a greater freedom to become a reality: as the fact of desegregation becomes more firmly established, the fetters that bound otherwise friendly and decent people have been loosened. Far too few have been emancipated from their fears and suspicions, but there are those who have responded positively and who stand as examples of what must happen in the region. More black and white parents than ever before—in PTA meetings, at athletic events, and in other school and community activities—exchange views frankly, come to know each other as people rather than as stereotypes, and forge a bond out of their common concern for the welfare and education of their children.

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[36]According to the poll, 42% approve; 43% disapprove; and 15% are unsure. Washington *Post*, December 29, 1970. According to a Gallup poll taken last spring, only one white parent in six offered objection to sending his child to a school in which Negroes are enrolled; six out of ten objected in 1963. On the other hand, 69% objected to sending their children to schools where Negroes are in the majority, a decline from 86% who objected in 1963. New York *Times*, May 3, 1970.

[37]Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, December 17, 1970.

[38]Raleigh *News & Observer*, September 20, 1970.

VII: The Students and the Future

In some ways the most important development in school desegregation this year is the significant role students are assuming, and for that reason widespread awareness of the contributions they are capable of making in the future is badly needed. Until very recently, school desegregation was largely a matter for adults—adults who fought court battles, waged political contests, and quarreled over school assignment plans. For the most part, students responded, working out their own private adjustments to new situations. Now, however, there is a difference. Not only are most students in desegregated schools—a fact which in itself alters the situation—but the very newness of the experience permits them to bring a freshness to their situations that sets them apart from adults. This change has occurred, moreover, at a time when youth all over the country are increasingly aware of themselves as a force in their own right, capable of making their own decisions. The fortuitous coincidence of these two developments may yet turn out to be the most hopeful aspect of future school desegregation history.

To give encouragement and provide resources for constructive student activities, the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project, launched early in the fall, began to work with college students in the region, promoting discussions between them and high school students. Pilot projects in Mississippi and Georgia along with numerous conferences of high school students have convincingly demonstrated the sharp awareness of young people, and have underscored their sense that adults have too frequently failed to understand the real meaning and the real challenge of desegregation.

It is, of course, a commonplace to say that the younger generation may solve the problems that have defeated their elders; and younger generations have a long history of turning out to be quite as blind and bigoted as their predecessors. Mindful of this caveat, though, it is nonetheless difficult to suppress optimism over some of the insights youth are bringing to the desegregation issue and to delay any longer stressing the urgent need for significant programs to support their efforts. It hardly needs to be added that imaginative and socially conscious students are in the minority, any more than it is necessary to labor the point that instances of true integration are too few. The point, of course, is that one learns from examples of wisdom and humanity (perhaps more than from recitations of mindlessness and maliciousness); and that in such examples one can see the way the future must and may be shaped.

When classes began last fall at John F. Kennedy High School in Richmond, Virginia, the enrollment was 90% black. Gregory Thomas, heading a welcoming committee of black students, turned to one of the nervous new white students. "We want to make you feel at home here," he said. "This is your school, too."[39] At another school in Richmond a youngster remarked that "the majority of whites that attend seem to accept the fact

[39]New York *Times*, September 1, 1970.

that the integrated system will educate us in more than one way."[40]

Both of these students were part of a pattern understood by a black principal in Charlotte who told an SRC reporter that "children are coming up in a brand new world." In Beaufort, South Carolina, an SRC reporter concluded that "despite the struggles, bitterness and concern of an older generation, integration has produced a new breed of student who is fighting for a flexible and innovative school system. . . ." A white high school student in Columbia, South Carolina, in a report for the School Desegregation Project, writes that black and white parents alike filled their children with apprehension during the summer before desegregation. "These attitudes of the older generation created a negative situation before the students even met," he observes, but even so he discovered that 54% of the white students and 64% of the black students in his school favored the change to complete desegregation.

In his recent study of the crisis in American education, Charles Silberman writes that schools fail to serve the real needs of students "less because of maliciousness than because of mindlessness." Like Procrustes, "stretching his guests or cutting off their limbs to make them fit the standard-sized bed his inn provided," he writes, "educators and scholars, frequently with the best of intentions, have operated on the assumption that children should be cut out or stretched or otherwise 'adjusted' to fit the schools, rather than adjusting the schools to fit the children. And most of us have tended to accept this without question."[41]

More than anything else, students today appear to be challenging the Procrustean habit of mind that determines the character of their schools. Black students who demonstrate against "Dixie" refuse to be squeezed into the bed of rebel patriotism; white students who upbraid their parents for imposing on them the racial shibboleths of another generation have outgrown the confining dimensions of the bed of white supremacy. Black and white students alike, in increasing numbers, are seeing the wisdom in the remark of a black student who told an SRC reporter in Athens that "Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes."

Short of open and warm interracial friendship—which for most students is still something for the future—the region needs imaginative programs that will promote greater communication and mutual respect. It also desperately needs to remove the sources of tension that produce violence and repression. These objectives can only be realized by rejecting the rigidity of the Procrustean mold; by recognizing that new situations demand new solutions. Among several examples, the story of Southern Nash Senior High School, in Stanhope, North Carolina, can serve as an instructive case study.

In the midst of what many once called "Klan Country," Southern Nash was desegregated in 1969 with a white-black ratio of 60-40. Most of the

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[40]Richmond *News Leader*, September 1, 1970.
[41]Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 81.

students came from poor families, and few were without racial prejudices of one sort or another. With poor leadership, a nasty situation could easily have developed. It didn't. The principal appointed two teachers—one black, one white—to serve as co-sponsors of the Student Cooperative Association, the student council. Sensitive and imaginative men, they saw immediately the need to scrap the old system. "Total integration had given Southern Nash a completely new situation," one of them has written, "so we felt the need to devise a wholly new student council." Although they later confessed to several anxious moments, the faculty sponsors put most of the responsibility of creating, and then running, the new student government on the students themselves.

At the outset the students saw that the principle of "majority rule"—however admirable it might be in theory—would work disaster in the early stages of desegregation. They got unanimous support for the principle of equality of representation and succeeded in creating a system that earned the pride and support of the students. Crises over such issues as the election of homecoming courts, the choice of cheerleaders, and the election of student delegates to a state conference were resolved smoothly, with final votes on critical questions of principle often unanimous.

In time the test came for majority voting. The occasion was the election of five delegates to a state conference. The choice was to be made by the student assembly. Louis Low, the white faculty co-sponsor, describes what happened:

> The assembly, which consisted of 23 whites and 17 blacks, did not want to establish any racial quotas for choosing its five delegates to the convention. I wondered if the whites would finally vote down the blacks!
>
> Looking over to Pulley [Herbert Pulley, the black co-sponsor of the student association], I saw that he shared my concern. Pulley . . . suggested to me that we remain silent and let the assembly proceed. The bridge must inevitably be crossed when the students would vote without any racial quotas and choose simply on the basis of merit.
>
> We crossed our fingers while the assembly voted. The ballots were counted—three whites and two blacks were elected. Pulley and I breathed a sigh of relief.

Looking back on the experiences of the first year, Low confessed that "we did not achieve perfect racial harmony. . . . But, on the other hand, we did attain an acceptance of integration and a willingness to work together for common interests." Most of the credit, he felt, was due the students.

The foundations laid in that first year were built on in the 1970-71 session. The appraisal half way through the year was an encouraging one: "We still have a long way to go at Southern Nash, but I think we have clearly demonstrated that in the proper environment with proper spirit, integration—'Southern style'—will certainly work."[42]

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[42]Louis Gregory Low, "Integration 'Southern Style,'" Raleigh *News & Observer*, January 3, 1971.

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA:

"A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

By Pat Watters

I: See the bus.

Charlotte, North Carolina, allowed itself in 1970 to become a symbol and perhaps a scapegoat in the national hysteria over "busing" as a means of achieving school desegregation. With a federal court order for immediate, extensive cross-city busing extant in Charlotte, the President of the United States himself lambasted busing to achieve "racial balance." Robert Finch, then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, specifically denounced the Charlotte court order and one in Los Angeles, calling them "totally unrealistic." The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education had fought busing through the courts, and had acceded to the court order reluctantly. State and local politicians heaped abuse on busing; spurious actions were taken in the legislature and state courts to block busing; 68 members of the Congress, not all from the South, involved themselves as "friends of the court" against busing; the United States Department of Justice questioned the Charlotte busing order in friend-of-the-court briefs that defended the "familiar and traditional" concept of neighborhood schools; thousands of white Charlotte citizens attended rallies, wrote letters and signed petitions against "forced busing"; some picketed the home of the author of the court order, District Judge James B. McMillan; others telephoned him anonymously threatening to kill him.

There seemed little doubt that the furor and hysteria over busing contributed to—if not directly caused—the emotional climate which produced in February, 1971, the burning of the offices of the law firm which had pushed the school and other desegregation cases. Authorities said the fire was deliberately set (it was early morning, on February 4) at the former residence housing the law firm—a block from Charlotte's main business district. Julius Chambers, head of the law firm, said he assumed the fire was in reaction to "unpopular cases" of the law firm, integration cases. Fire in a similar pattern was set at his father's garage and service station in nearby Mt. Gilead, N. C., in August, 1970, when the busing furor was at a peak, and after it was rebuilt, set again in January, 1971. Here, as through the tragic history of southern racial struggle, was expression of the ultimate savagery and lawlessness that underlies the most subtle and sophisticated racism, the political exploitation of the race issue by prestigious leaders and average citizens' susceptibility to such manipulation.

The emotional climate created by adults had to be taken into account also in assessing a series of disorders that broke out among the young people in Charlotte high schools and junior high schools in late February. Evident, too, was the effect on such southern young people of having spent most of their school years in racial isolation or, at best, tokenly desegregated situations.

Resentment by black students at one high school over disciplinary action taken in an interracial incident spread tension to most schools, even elementary ones, and resulted in interracial fighting or confrontations at five other high schools and four junior high schools. Even there a minority of students was involved in actual fighting; seventy was cited as the highest number in any school.

Many students of both races tried to restore order, reduce tensions. Parents of both races quickly volunteered to patrol halls and otherwise calm things down. The students met together in the schools and some churches to discuss what had happened and what might be done.

Then spontaneously, first at one high school, subsequently at three others, the students engaged in what were called "love-in rallies"—simply coming together on their own to talk together, sing, cheer, and express mutual respect and friendship.

Whites tended to blame black students for the trouble. Blacks saw this as but one more indication of what was wrong in the first place, a failure to look at the real causes of grievance. The school administration responded to some of the specific grievances of black students. But what was wrong went deeper, involving attitudes and environmental tone.

Obviously the example of violence had long been set in the interracial context by whites in Charlotte. Those who deplored the violence of students needed to examine how such things as clamor against the court order encourages violence, and how failure to really implement the order jeopardizes the young of both races. They might not only become involved in more violence, but might feel themselves justified in what in the end can only be a ruinous process.

At the root of most of the problems in the schools was a schizophrenia of educational authority: a school board whose majority had opposed the court order, and a school administration which is regarded as having genuinely tried to implement it. This split had been evident from the beginning of the furor of white adults against busing.

Rallies, petitions, and, for a time, talk of a boycott against busing were coordinated by a "Concerned Parents Association" (CPA) which sprang up under the leadership of middle-class whites not previously prominent in civic affairs or politics. Its work was remarkably well-organized; in the spring, three of its standard-bearers were elected to six-year terms on the school board, giving it a six-to-three conservative majority. One of those elected reportedly had not voted since 1952. Leaders and members contended they were not against integration, were not racists—were merely against an inordinate amount of . . . busing.

All of the hullaballoo, continuing from February 5, 1970, when the

court order was issued, until schools were opened in September, with the court order intact, and sporadically since then, was essentially over a part of the order which called for the busing of elementary school children in and out of the black section of Charlotte. (Unlike most southern cities where black people are segregated in scattered sections, Charlotte has segregated virtually all of its black citizens in one section, northwest of downtown—in what amounts to a small-city ghetto.) Integration of the more centralized high schools and junior high schools inside the city and all schools in the county was to be achieved largely through zoning, with some busing involved. It was the "pairing" of 34 elementary schools (27 others were to be desegregated by zoning) to integrate 15,301 white children with 7,077 black ones (22,378 pupils out of a total school enrollment of more than 82,000) that so upset so many people.

See the grown-up. Why is he so upset? Doesn't he look silly?

Before the busing court order, according to briefs in the case, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system already bused 23,600 pupils on trips whose average was one hour and fourteen minutes one-way. In an interim report filed in the district court in November, 1970, the school board said 43,597 pupils were being bused, and cited *round-trip* time for four schools of more than one hour, the longest round-trip being two hours. The brief of Negro plaintiffs in the case, filed in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, pointed out that 54.9 per cent of North Carolina school children were riding buses daily in the 1969-1970 school year (highest amount of busing in any state). It cited previous cases in the state where school systems defended busing of Negro students to maintain segregation, one involving an 80-mile round-trip each day from Burnsville to Asheville, and another where some Negro students were bused 25 miles to a boarding school outside the county where they were required to remain all week, busing home on the weekends.

In this context, the local and national sentimentalizing of "neighborhood schools" settles into proper perspective—at best, a clutching to privilege not shared by all and not, as the Negroes' brief pointed out, a venerable tradition at all but rather a recent institution of the big cities, and, at worst, a code-phrase for maintaining the status quo of segregation.

The total of busing in Charlotte under the criticized court order was less than the state average. That which was most criticized, of elementary school children, involved ten pairs or groupings of the 34 elementary schools—with 10,303 white children going as ever to their neighborhood schools in grades one through four and 4,876 black children busing across town to join them—and 2,201 black children going to their neighborhood schools in grades five and six, with 4,998 white children busing in from the suburbs to join them. The plan for this and other regrouping of Charlotte school children beyond the program promulgated by the school board (and ruled inadequate by Judge McMillan) was drawn up by Dr. John A. Finger, Jr., of Rhode Island College. The effect, but not the purpose, of all the court-ordered desegregation in Charlotte was to obtain roughly an 80-20 ratio of white and black pupils in each school. The

main purpose was to dismantle permanently Charlotte's segregated school system and to replace it with a desegregated system in accordance with Supreme Court rulings demanding unitary systems without black schools or white schools, just schools. Since rearrangements were necessary, a ratio analogous to the ratio of white and black population was possible—but integration as required by the Supreme Court rather than "racial balance" was the purpose of the plan and the court order.

Yet white Charlotte protested what leaders had led them to believe was an unnecessary disruption of "neighborhood schools" for the sake of achieving a "racial balance" beyond the compulsion of the law—all of it to be accomplished by the awful imposition on their children of "busing."

What of these children? They seemed, in Charlotte's generally excellent schoolhouses, remote, not really the subjects of such talk, remote even from the solemn statistics of the court case, and not somehow of the same nation as American adults and their chief official, so set against busing. At one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, a number of the white children talked of their daily bus rides to and fro. The complaints were of having to get up earlier, of inadequate heating, of breakdowns sometimes, of noise and of rowdiness sometimes.

"The only thing wrong is that long bus ride," said one boy. "But I'm getting used to it."

"The heater's in front," said another. "I'm in the back. We need some better buses."

"I don't like the bus," said a boy. "I get headaches and all. But I like this school. So I don't mind riding the bus."

A girl said, "The bus is pretty good. Two boys had a fight. One boy's head knocked the window out. But it's pretty good. You sit with whom you want." Another girl said some boys would tie a girl's hair to the seat rail without her knowing it.

A boy: "If you talk too loud, the bus driver puts you with a girl." Another: "We had assigned seats yesterday. The girls didn't like it—they like to sit with their boy friends." A girl: "Our bus driver is a matchmaker and a singer." Another: "The bus is one of the best parts of school. We can talk about things. We keep it down to a steady roar."

A boy: "The bus rides are fun. You get to meet people in other grades."

A Negro boy of the same school said: "We have to stay in school until after the buses leave. We didn't like it at first. But then we understood it was so that we wouldn't get hit by one of the buses leaving."

Was William Poe, chairman of the school board, talking about these children when he said in an interview that Charlotte was "enduring patiently" all the "inconvenience" of desegregation, hoping that the Supreme Court would get rid of "the worst features"? He said the worst was the long-distance busing of elementary school children. He said his own three children were on three different schedules; they couldn't have breakfast together. (One of three CPA school board members reportedly placed his two children in a private school.) Mr. Poe also said of the busing: "People are not going to put up with it permanently. It's not understandable

to them. It's expensive, time consuming . . . It interferes with family life and church programs."

A long-time observer of Charlotte race relations said of such talk: "It wasn't the busing that was bothering most of them. They just didn't want to send their little white children into black schools, black neighborhoods."

Perhaps Mr. Poe was speaking of the children of the first four grades who boarded the big orange bus for their afternoon trip home to the ghetto from a high-income white suburban school, place of modern architecture, happy, pastel-painted halls and classrooms. They clamored on—noisy, full of energy at the end of the school day, a fine confusion in the finding of seats, changing of seats, getting settled. The driver got aboard, a matron of the neighborhood, who said she undertook the job because her own two children were being bused and she felt people should do all they could to make it all right for the children. The motor started and the bus began to pull away, and the children waved out the window to white friends starting their walk home. There was talk, laughter—much laughter, some shouting, some getting up even while the bus was moving to swap seats. (Money is not available for monitors; the driver said she has not yet mastered the skill of watching the children and the road at the same time.) A studious looking boy dropped his fine cardboard clock with movable hands on the floor. Another boy got up to pick it up and return it to him before anyone could step on it.

A white girl who rides the bus got off, stopped in front of the bus until an approaching car stopped for her, then walked safely to her yard. She turned, grinning, and waved goodbye. (The driver said the black children at first always made room near the door for the few whites who ride the bus. But soon this politeness disappeared, and frequently jostling over seats occurred. She told also of how at first one of the Negro boys always escorted the girl who got off first across the street because she had some difficulty seeing with her bifocals. Once he kept her from moving in front of a car. Her mother called to thank him for saving her life. The girl has since, said the driver, become "women's lib" and gets herself independently across the street.)

The talking, occasional shouting, the laughter keeps up—a din. A boy has a trick box—cardboard optical illusion toy. Boys and girls in relays come back to see him work it, patiently doing it over and over. A boy and girl have a mock fight—somehow gentle. Laurie who is in the third grade and Terry Ann who is in the second sit side-by-side, quiet and ladylike. Laurie has a pony tail, Terry Ann a tight braid and two pony tails. Terry Ann says she didn't ride the bus last year. She liked the school she went to last year better than the one she goes to now. Why? "Because you could stop and buy ice cream on the way home."

At the first stop, five children get off—and as people in the rear yell for the driver to wait, another comes bustling up the aisle to get off, too. At the second stop, the driver sternly admonishes everyone for all the noise—and two boys for fighting as the bus was moving.

Terry Ann points to her church out the window, and tells about how such a big crowd came Sunday night. A boy points to his dog who is kept in a neighbor's yard because it has a fence. Terry Ann tells about her two cats—Kitty and Blue Eyes. The bus is quickly unloading at intervals, stops on nearly every corner. The driver, it turns out, has extended the official stops to accommodate special situations, so that this child won't have to walk so far, that one won't have to cross a street. She knows each of the 58 children of her bus by name, takes care that none gets left behind, worries in a motherly way over their problems. She is not of that small band of southern whites who have involved themselves in race relations. She speaks of her passengers as "Negras."

Terry Ann and Laurie get off at the last stop. Now it is quiet on the bus. The trip—among the longest of the elementary school ones—has taken thirty-five minutes.

II: Some further notes on busing.

The Charlotte school system is not using enough buses for the amount of pupil transportation it has been doing. Consequently, the same bus is used to carry black pupils to their paired schools and white ones to theirs. One school starts at 7:30 (the previously all-white one) and the other at 8:30, with staggered closing hours of 2:30 and 3:30. (Schools were open only an hour and a half for one day the first week.) Black children, who do the most of the busing, have to catch buses the earliest. Tacitly, the arrangement reflects official fear that white parents would not have stood for an arrangement the other way around or fairly balanced, that they might have carried out rather than talked about a boycott. In 1969-70, the system used 278 buses. In 1970-71, it used 500. Some are old ones obtained from the state. Not all are in good repair. The county commission controls appropriations for such equipment. Partly in anticipation of a final order from the Supreme Court regarding the busing, the commission has been doling out the extra money a month at a time. In January, the school board voted against using available federal funds to afford not merely the inadequate transportation currently in use, but an adequate supply of buses and personnel. Much of the criticism of busing has centered on the exorbitant extra cost. Judge McMillan pointed out in court orders and an interview that additional cost for transporting children adequately to implement desegregation would be less than one per cent of the multi-million dollar school budget.

Miss Bernice McMurray, principal of Rama Road Elementary School, one of the paired formerly all-white schools in a high-income white suburb, said the biggest problem has been transportation and the money to pay for it. "You never know if they're going to be on time." When a driver calls in sick, the principal must find a substitute. If this, or the not infrequent breakdowns, causes a delay "two busloads of children wait in the cold." Worried parents have to be reassured, phone call after phone call, when the buses are late in the afternoon. "If we didn't have so much trouble getting the children here and back, this would be one of the best

experiences ever for all the children," she said.

Dr. William Self, superintendent of schools, was in charge of the hurriedly-organized transportation system whose handicapped accommodation of the court order has been an impressive achievement. Generally respected by integrationists and segregationists alike for competence and integrity, Dr. Self was asked in an interview whether he thought the desegregation could be kept going. "I don't know," he said slowly, shaking his head. "The most important question is whether a large amount of money will be committed that has not been committed so far." Most of this would be for transportation, he said.

III: The legal question.

In 1965, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County combined their school systems and adopted what amounted to a zoning and freedom-of-choice method of desegregation—which was given federal court approval. In September, 1968, Negro parents asked the federal district court to compel the school board to eliminate all discrimination in the school system as the Supreme Court had ruled that year school boards had an obligation to do. After extensive hearings, Judge McMillan ruled on April 9, 1969, that schools were unconstitutionally segregrated, that freedom-of-choice had not worked, that the black population of Charlotte was concentrated in one area because of discriminatory laws and government action rather than natural causes, that the school board had located and controlled the size and population of schools so as to maintain segregation, and that transportation by bus was a legitimate tool for desegregating schools. He ordered the school board to draw up plans to eliminate segregation of pupils and faculty.

A plan submitted by the school board in June was ruled inadequate in every respect. Another, calling for transportation of 4,245 black children, submitted in July, was accepted "only with great reluctance" by Judge McMillan as a temporary one-year arrangement, with the reservation that one-way busing would not thereafter be acceptable. He ordered that a new plan be submitted by November for 1970-71. In the meantime, the court found that only 1,315 instead of 4,245 children were bused in the fall of 1969. When the board filed a new plan altering attendance lines of only a few schools, Judge McMillan rejected it out of hand. He had previously held that the Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County* precluded further delay, and now, noting the board's acknowledged refusal to produce a plan which would comply with Supreme Court decisions, he appointed Dr. Finger to prepare a plan.

In February, 1970, the board presented its fourth plan, and Judge McMillan accepted parts of it for junior and senior high schools, adding parts of the Finger plan where required for full integration, and ordered implementation of the Finger plan for elementary schools. (Here, finally, after so many opportunities for the board to find anything better that would be in compliance, was the notorious busing plan.)

Judge McMillan, again citing the Supreme Court dictum to desegregate

now, litigate later, ordered the plan for elementary schools implemented by April, and the one for junior and senior high schools by May. The school board appealed and asked delay until September. Judge McMillan, however, ordered a delay until September himself after the Supreme Court indicated a new inclination to tolerate that. The delay came on the day after President Nixon's policy statement on schools which denounced busing.

Gov. Bob Scott (Democrat) had urged President Nixon to have the Justice Department intervene against Judge McMillan's order, and many Charlotte whites sent a form telegram to the President: "Faced with forced busing. Request intervention as per campaign promise." The Justice Department did so intervene, with Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights, writing in a friend-of-the-court memorandum to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals that "courts might carefully consider whether, for the purpose of achieving a precise, system-wide racial balance, a plan would require a school board involved to make unreasonable increments in transportation expenditures, the number of students bused, distances traveled and the like." And: "Thus we think that the question facing this court is whether, in view of the District Court's supplemental findings, the circumstances of the case and the alternatives reasonably available, the court below (McMillan) invoked a remedy so extreme as to constitute an abuse of discretion." (It was the second time the Nixon Justice Department had sided against equal school opportunity; the first was when it sought delay of 30 Mississippi cases in August, 1969, at which point the Supreme Court issued its order to desegregate at once.) Abuse of discretion is a reason for overruling a district judge in such a case—but the harshness of tone in the Leonard memorandum almost makes one believe it was written out of pique.

(A friend-of-the-court brief to the Supreme Court by Solicitor General Erwin S. Griswold was more balanced. Though it seemed to argue for desegregation and against busing even though the latter might be the only way to achieve the former, it did grant a district judge his leeway in such a ruling as McMillan's—in this instance so long as he did not base the ruling on a belief the Constitution required a racial balance.)

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in May upheld the plan for junior and senior high schools and, in effect, rejected that for elementary ones—ordering a new plan based on HEW assistance. It declared itself favorably impressed with the Justice Department brief, and stated that not every school in a unitary system must be integrated, and urged a standard of "reasonableness" for attaining integration. The Supreme Court in June reinstated Judge McMillan's order for elementary schools but remanded the case to his court for further proceedings pending its own hearings in the Charlotte and other cases in October. Judge McMillan, when neither the board of education, the plaintiffs, nor he liked the plans developed by HEW for elementary schools, ordered the original Finger plan back in force for them—and so it was when schools opened in September.

The Charlotte case, through this history and in arguments when the Supreme Court held its historic October hearings, raised important questions which the court in its discretion could or could not have considered: (1) the whole question of busing and neighborhood schools—whether limitations are to be put on busing even if it is the only way to achieve a unitary school system; (2) whether desegregation of all all-black schools is indeed a necessary criterion for establishing a unitary system; (3) whether previous rulings requiring desegregation of all all-black schools in small-town systems apply to complex urban situations.

Beyond this, regardless of the Supreme Court's eventual ruling, the Charlotte case is one of several which seem to raise an ultimate question about school integration in America's democracy. A strong part of the original case was the evidence presented and ruling by Judge McMillan that government action was responsible for the location of black people in one isolated part of Charlotte. Involved in this were city zoning regulations, city planning, urban renewal, public housing locations, street and public highway locations—in effect, actions by all levels of government, state, local and national, as well as private discrimination. Judge McMillan ruled: "There is so much state action [state as defined as subject to the Fourteenth Amendment] embedded in and shaping these events that the resulting segregation is not innocent or 'de facto' and the resulting schools are not unitary or desegregated." If this might be said of Charlotte, North Carolina, of what city in the United States might it not? Were such evidence considered nationally, President Nixon's disingenious vow to fight "de jure" segregation might turn out to mean the opposite of what he seemed to intend. The Supreme Court might limit its ruling to the particulars of the Charlotte case and the discretion of Judge McMillan's particular rulings and actions. But if the original Supreme Court outlawing of school discrimination is ever to be followed to its logical end, if all of white America is ever to face its essential hypocrisy in the matter, America will have to deal with the broad question raised by Charlotte and its mini-ghetto and the government action that created it.

IV: Judge McMillan.

He was generally considered as one of the establishment lawyers before his appointment to the federal bench in 1968. He speaks freely and honestly in his rulings of his own emotional bias against busing before he faced the facts of Charlotte's deliberate segregation of schools, and the consequences. (How it came about and what it did to children were the two things that most struck him in the long process of hearings in the case, he said in one press interview.) The evidence of consequences was presented in terms of relative scores of black children and white on standard achievement tests. Sixth graders in all-black schools scored at about fourth grade level; children in integrated and all-white schools scored considerably higher.

"I lived here 24 years without knowing what was going on," he said in an interview. "I really didn't know."

He is 54, the son of a North Carolina farm family (he was bused 26 miles a day to his segregated high school), a graduate of the University of North Carolina and Harvard Law School, a Navy veteran, past president of the state bar association, a Democrat, a past leader in court reform. He has sandy hair, fair skin, a farmer's plain face with a stubborn mouth. His voice, enunciation is dry, ironic. He has carried a pistol for self-protection at heights of emotional reaction to his rulings. A colleague, representative of the level of sophistication from which professional criticism of him has come, said local lawyers thought he was just one of them—but then found out after he got on the bench that all along he "belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union and other left-wing activities like that." In a press interview when asked about his friendships with conservative colleagues, Judge McMillan said: "Just because I drink with a man is no sign I think like him."

Dick Phillips, dean of the University of North Carolina Law School, "defended" him (with a southern dry humor equal to his own) against some of the charges that have been made since the ruling:

> It's not fair to call him a liberal and not fair to say he picked it up at Harvard. He's enlightened in the sense of the most progressive people in the state. His character and ideas had been determined long before he went to Harvard. He came up during the Depression and was raised by a good mother. He went to church and he went to Chapel Hill.

Asked in an interview how it came to be he, of all the South's district court judges, who finally confronted face-on the compelling question of busing, he spoke of a penchant for consistency, an inability to retreat from the simple logic of the law of the case. In his final "busing order" for the 1970-71 school year, issued on August 3, 1970, he addressed himself to the idea of "reasonableness" (without mentioning its having been raised by the Circuit Court) and summed up more eloquently his grasp of the meaning of law for the South and America:

> Reasonable remedies should always be sought. Practical rather than burdensome methods are properly required. On facts reported above, the methods required by this order are reasonable. However, if a constitutional right is being denied, this court believes that it is the constitutional right that should prevail against the cry of unreasonableness . . . If, as this court and the Circuit Court have held, the rights of children are being denied, the cost and inconvenience of restoring those rights is no reason under the Constitution for continuing to deny them.

V: A further legal note.

The Charlotte case was prepared and fought by the legal firm of Chambers, Stein, Ferguson and Lanning, one of the growing number of integrated law firms in southern cities with a special interest in racial and social justice. The issues confronted, the alertness to relevant recent Supreme Court rulings, the ability to fit the law to the whole context

of Charlotte's racial and social problems (a current suit seeks affirmative government action for open housing) by such law firms is part of a new chapter in the long southern history of struggle through the courts for racial justice—in which the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., as in Charlotte, continues to be a source of strength.

VI: Notes, political and otherwise.

Spokesmen who claimed the Concerned Parents Association was not essentially racist or segregationist were probably by their lights telling the truth—even though the organization likely did have the support of hard-line segregationists and such people as have practiced sporadic terrorism, telephone threats, home bombings, over the years of Charlotte's racial struggles. By all accounts, many of the "better" whites voted for the CPA candidates for the school board. Whether many now regret this or have come to a degree of acceptance of busing after seeing it work is a matter of conjecture; some think so, others not. Most observers agree the organization will remain effective in politics where integration is an issue, but will not otherwise amount to a cohesive force. But local and state politics suffered erosion from the furor over busing. Two-way re-enforcement was evident: the people influenced the leaders who in turn further inflamed the people. Governor Scott for a time seemed to take a hands-off position on busing, but as public sentiment grew hotter in Charlotte, he became an avid anti-busing spokesman. This is familiar enough in southern racial demagogic politics; what made it different this time in Charlotte and other parts of the South was that the highest official in the country seemed to be involved in the process.

The effect of Nixon southern-strategy politics on Charlotte was part of a general pattern: Just as the campaign-promised weakening of HEW seemed to offer surcease from compliance with school integration law, the courts became more demanding than HEW had ever been. The administration, caught in a dilemma, ended up pleasing no one. Its rhetoric displeased integrationists; its inability to stop overnight the direction of the courts displeased those against busing and/or integration. The brand of politicians directing the frustrated strategy must have been sorely tempted to try to put more than ordinary pressure on the judiciary.

Mr. Poe told why people like himself were so upset by the demands of the judiciary and why they were so disappointed over the administration's inability to do anything about the demands. In the telling, there is insight into how so much of the white populace of Charlotte, surely no worse than most white Southerners in racial attitudes, indeed reputed in the past to be a little better, could become so vociferous in what essentially amounted to a law-resistant position. Mr. Poe said he journeyed to Washington twice to see Mr. Leonard and once to see Mr. Griswold, and each time all he wanted to tell them was that Charlotte was not some rural, recalcitrant, racist place, but had tried all along to obey the integration law. It therefore deserved more time to work out its problems.

Perry Morgan, editor of the Charlotte *News*, whose anti-busing stand

has been so strong that he has emerged as a sort of central figure in the situation, said much the same thing as Mr. Poe in an interview. He said if the court really wanted integration it would have given a city like Charlotte with a good past record of compliance time to evolve a long-range building program to put schools where they could be integrated without so much busing.

Meanwhile, Charlotte was waiting for the Supreme Court to rule on its case. The waiting has been a crucial part of what has happened so far. Many of the children, especially in the upper grades, have not identified themselves with the school they attend, have not become involved in activities or even studies deeply, feeling the arrangement to be temporary. Some observers said most white parents have accepted the busing so far only because they believe the Supreme Court will throw it out. Dire predictions are made on both sides of what might happen when the court rules. Blacks, in some views, would be disillusioned with the nation by an adverse ruling to the point of severe alienation, if not violence. Some whites, including Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan, predict massive withdrawal of white support of public schools should the ruling uphold busing. Mr. Morgan spoke of a resulting "integration of the impoverished."

Both the boycott effort at the beginning of the year and an attempt to stir separatist sentiment in the black community failed. No more than 2,000 white children were withdrawn to segregationist private schools. One observer cited as the reason for this, North Carolina's tradition of plain people dependent on and believing in public education. The state has no aristocracy of graduates of select private schools, as some southern ones do. This meant, in his view, that whites would rant and rail if the present plan were upheld, but eventually would accept it. There are at least a few small hints so far in Charlotte that they might even come to like it.

It is easy, of course, to point out how many years since 1954 Charlotte has had to do whatever was necessary to comply with the law. But the truth is that in the faulty manner in which school (and other) integration law has been enforced, in the essential hypocrisy of America's past approach to the obligations of this law, including the hypocrisy of blinding itself to the "de jure" nature of most "de facto" segregation, Charlotte has been technically in compliance. The plaint of men like Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan was basically the familiar one of Southerners over a decade of gradualism: I've been for all that's gone before, but now they've gone too far. In this context, the CPA claim that it is not segregationist and the less sophisticated versions of Mr. Poe's position vocalized by the CPA school board members are easier to understand and somehow less sinister.

The people caught in the anti-bus hysteria, many of them, seem in this view more mistaken than racist. Better local and state leadership might have at least given them a more accurate, realistic view of their position *vis-a-vis* the law. (The city's other paper, The Charlotte *Observer,* has generally supported the court order, but less vigorously after reported loss of circulation over the stand.) National leadership has since 1954 been more deeply at fault. Something is indeed wrong with a nation which could

allow leaders in a place like Charlotte to convince themselves or kid themselves into thinking that, even as they continued the process of building a ghetto and a system of segregated schools, they were in compliance with law against segregation.

The setting fire to the Chambers firm's law offices might be expected to shock some white Charlotte leaders and people into seeing what at base all along they have stood for. But such terrorism in the past obviously did not provide immunity against the busing hysteria. In the spring of 1965, Mr. Chambers' automobile was dynamited in New Bern, N. C., while he was attending a civil rights rally. Three Ku Klux Klansmen were arrested, and given suspended sentences. On November 22, 1965 (the second anniversary of the assassination of President John Kennedy), bombs were exploded in the predawn hours at the homes of four black Charlotte leaders—Mr. Chambers, City Councilman Fred Alexander, his brother, Kelly Alexander, state president of the NAACP, and Dr. Reginald Hawkins, dentist and militant civil rights leader. Damage was considerable at all four homes; fortunately none of the occupants, including sleeping women and children, was injured. The case has never been solved.

On the surface, Charlotte does not seem the kind of place of raw racist hatred that would engender such terrorism. Whites in the past prided themselves on their peaceful acquiesence in token desegregation, made it a subject of Chamber of Commerce boosterism. Thoughtful black people, viewing the past and the recent furor over busing, say simply that racism is just more subtle, more sophisticated. The terrorism shows that the meaning of racism, raw or subtle, is the same, just as the effect—as on children in the previously segregated Charlotte schools—is the same.

VII: See the schools.

It is in the light of so much of Charlotte's adult response to school desegregation, and the failure of so much adult leadership, from the President on down, that the disturbances among the young people in the schools in February must be judged. It was possible shortly before they occurred to assess major problems within the schools and conclude that desegregation was succeeding, despite adults. Their occurrence suggests the importance of paying immediate attention to the problems within the schools and the deeper need to understand what these problems mean to the young people involved. In interviews with school officials, teachers, parents and young people, the following emerged as main problems during the six months leading up to the February disturbances:

Discriminatory attitudes, actions on the part of some officials and teachers, some children (this a minority balanced by another minority making every effort to help integration work); internal segregation in the schools, the very most of this resulting from grouping of children within classes on the basis of performance levels; some indications of suspensions and expulsions too heavily among blacks giving rise to the suspicion among some blacks that it is to cut down the amount of integration; roughhousing, interracial fighting (how much of it normal, how much racial is proble-

matical); disruptions from bomb threats, busing delays and monitoring by parents, mostly white ones of the black-area schools; narcotics (again, with no ascertainable racial significance). One high school teacher said discouragedly that sometimes a day could be counted good or bad on the basis of whether there was a bomb threat, or whether police had come in looking for a student about some offense outside the school. The latter problem would seem an interracial class concern and a problem of the whole community made visible to the whole community by desegregation. A more serious concern was the same teacher's feeling that parents opposed to busing were watching every move of teachers, in effect repressing their freedom of expression and choice of materials.

Grievances articulated by black students during and after the disturbances reflect the same problems—calls for black administrative officials and counselers in schools where there are none, for more active human relations committees in the schools to foster communication between the races and between students and school officials. There had been resentment among black students that Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday was not properly observed. Students of both races who are bused resented club activities and the like being held after school because it is difficult for them to attend. Students who had changed schools felt a sense of loss of school traditions, spirit; this particularly affected black high schoolers because all high schools had become predominantly white.

Another issue, evident in January, suggests how the struggle to achieve desegregation has brought to light attitudes long abiding in public education which tend to attach more importance to things than to children, and which ignore the legitimate wishes of the children. This issue had nothing to do with race; indeed, a black student at one of the high schools where no trouble occurred said white and black students were united in a stand about it. The issue was lunch time—complaint of a lack of enough time to get through cafeteria lines and eat leisurely. In some instances, this had led to jostling for places in line.

Other issues suggested a deeper layer of problems. Black students felt that expulsions and police actions (some 15 or 20 cases) went too heavily against blacks in the aftermath of the disturbances. Julius Chambers said an investigation was underway to determine whether this should be raised in federal court. He was critical of a four-hour school board meeting, televised locally, at which principals told what had happened at each school. He said it seemed to be trying and convicting black students. One principal used the pronunciation, "Negra." A white, senstive to race relations, could view the same meeting and consider the performance of the prinicipals generally constructive. In this way, the struggle for integration continued as an educational process for black and white Southerners, showing them, among other things, wide gulfs in perception as a part of the legacy of segregation.

The most hopeful instance of such education were the rallies that occurred at the high schools. Dr. Laird Lewis, principal of Myers Park High School, described his own feelings watching two thousand young

people joining hands in a circle, singing, some of them crying. "It was like the old-time religion. There were white and black, rich and poor, expressing mutual respect and love for one another." He said there was at least for the time less self-segregation in the cafeteria and student lounge, and less fear and distrust among students.

Dr. Self suggested at the four-hour school board meeting that additional staff be hired to comprise teams, one white and one black, of human-relations workers in each high school. Their job would be to build on student communication already established to develop future programs. (During previous months, the school administration had employed such things as a rumor-control center and closed-television instructions in human relations for principals and teachers.) Negro Alderman Fred Alexander had earlier proposed a new procedure for police in handling school disturbances. He said a white and black team of officers should make an initial investigation and be empowered to decide whether more officers were needed. (The intrusion of many police and many parents on the disturbance scenes had been as disruptive as the fighting, some observers said.)

Principal Lewis and Alderman Alexander both, in differing ways, directed themselves to the problems underlying the specific causes of student discontent. Dr. Lewis spoke of a general atmosphere of frustration and tension. "You can't change everything with just a quick move," he said, expressing confidence, though, that desegregation would work. He spoke of frustrations for both races, of adult distrust, unrest.

Mr. Alexander addressed himself to the split in the attitude of the school board majority and the school administration. Somebody, he said, had to tell the school board people were not going to put up with what it was doing. He said the attitude of the school board was against desegregation, against the federal court intervention, and on the side of "anybody else against desegregation." Thus principals and teachers not wanting to cooperate with desegregation did not feel they had to follow administration procedures. And those trying to make desegregation work are "scared of the school board," he said.

Beyond busing hysteria and schoolhouse fist-fights, the impressive thing about Charlotte is that things have worked as well as they have against so many impediments. Given anything like the support and the resources they deserve, the young people and those operating the schools do seem capable of moving beyond the mere physical placing of bodies in a unitary school system. The problems, both on the surface and at deeper levels, are not insurmountable. Given half a chance, Charlotte could achieve real integration, and that would mean real education.

VIII: See the children.

In ultimate terms of real education, the important thing to have seen in Charlotte was the resilience of the young people. The "love-in" rallies that followed the disturbances in February were a magnificent display of the will of a majority of them to work things out for themselves, to

escape past patterns of destructiveness, to deal creatively with a situation made unnecessarily difficult by those past patterns. It was this in the Charlotte young people (and their counterparts across the South) that dedicated educators could encourage, and build upon. Surely parents saw the beauty of spirit flickering there; surely they would be proud of their children, and encourage the good in them.

The rallies were a dramatic, spontaneous expression of something that had been there all along, that adults, parents, teachers, school officials alike, needed to listen to and learn from. A black student at one of the high schools where a rally occurred, Calvin Miller, described how it felt afterward. "Things are a whole lot better. People are talking to each other now, mixing in together — everyone is really cooperating now, really talking to each other."

Here, student-created, was the basis for building within the schools customs and programs that would remove the barriers of racial concern from the main purpose of education. And here was the basis for the cooperative reconstruction of education—to listen to the students, consider their interests, utilize their creativity. Charlotte had the opportunity in its desegregated schools to accomplish such real reconstruction of education, so badly needed across the South and the nation. There were as many impediments, as many signs of failure present as ones of hope—but everywhere, given a chance, the potential of the young was evident.

In the white suburban school, a second grade is having a play period out in the pretty lobby. Happy music is coming from a record player, and different groups are doing different things, some jumping rope, some dancing, some playing catch, some using an indoor bowling set. The black teacher moves easily among the black and white youngsters, seeming to enjoy all their noise and exuberance. At the end, she organizes them for a group game. Part of the class forms a circle; each in the other part stands behind the child he wants as a partner. Race is obviously transcended. Some partnerships are black and white, some white and white, some black and black.

It is not so in an eighth grade algebra class. The students drift in before class, seat themselves randomly. Most whites are on one side of the room; the whites who are on the other are separated by a row of chairs from the five black students in the class.

At the Oak Lawn Elementary School, one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, it is felt that the teacher has a responsibility to guide children away from such grouping which grows as much out of cultural experience, familiarity, as race. This school is considered one of the most successful in taking advantage of the new educational opportunities in Charlotte. The philosophy of the black principal, Mrs. Gwendolyn D. Cunningham, pervades classrooms and hallways, is reflected in the openness of black and white faces of the children. The philosophy seems to be one of loving children and encouraging the best in them. She moves about the school, energetic, enthusiastic, calling out to children, seemingly knowing

each by name, stopping to talk with any who wants to. A white boy approaches her, says he has decided not to seek a transfer to another teacher after all. He had complained the teacher picked on him. Mrs. Cunningham had suggested to him that he would take his real problem with him. What was that? Himself. He had thought it over and agreed, he said, and would try to work out that problem without changing teachers. Was the teacher black? Mrs. Cunningham chuckled—no, no.

Child after child said he liked the school because children were considered important and were allowed to work out their own problems. A white teacher, transferred into this new situation after being in the same white school for thirty years, said: "They're just children. Only two parents were at our Christmas party. I wish they could have all been there. They would have seen for themselves how well the children are getting along."

A black teacher, experienced more than most in integrated education, told of a thing that happened in one of her classes. A black pupil, large for his age, tending to be a bully, had showed from the beginning hostility to white children. She had talked with him, with his mother about it. His mother felt much the same way. But finally all three agreed that given the situation, the thing to do was to try to get along in it. When the boy was absent one day, white and black children came to the teacher about him. In the spirit of the school, it is not considered tattling to talk about another child's problem. The problem they came with was that the boy had been taking pencils and the like from everybody. They showed in his desk a plastic bag stuffed full of such contraband—a fantastic amount. She confronted him the next morning, gently, sympathetically. He finally admitted all were not his. What should he do? Give them back, he said. How would he do it? He would handle it. As is the custom in the class, if a child has something to say, the teacher announces it—and she did for him that morning. He got up and manfully, with no excuses, said he had things that weren't his. He said that pupils should come up in groups to claim what was theirs. The teacher said it was all done with dignity, that no child giggled or nudged another, and that not a few had tears in their eyes, as did she. When it was over, she asked how many understood now what an act of courage was. All said they did, that the boy had performed one. Did he feel better, she asked. He said he did. In a class discussion some time later, he said the reason he liked that school was because if you made a mistake, you could correct it, that people instead of hitting you for it, helped you correct it.

Many of the children there come from homes where opposition to busing was most strenuous. Slowly, some of these parents have come to share what most of the white children feel—that it is a better school. One father who had at the beginning of the year told his child's teacher he resented the situation bitterly finally came to a PTA meeting. He told the teacher he had been convinced by his child that he had been wrong. His reason might prevail in Charlotte, in schools becoming real schools across the South, might eventually in all of America: "It is," he said, "like in the Bible. A little child shall lead them."

MOBILE, ALABAMA:

THE ESSENCE OF SURVIVAL

By Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

In the spring when the azaleas and dogwoods bloom and you drive along Government Street beneath Spanish moss clinging from ancient oaks, it probably is harder for the visitor to think of Mobile, Alabama, in terms other than the cliche its Chamber of Commerce likes to paint—a burgeoning, industrial port city of the new South, mindful of the best in its past, but making progress on all fronts, including race relations. But in January this year, the wind from the Gulf driving a cold, steady rain, the smell of the city's paper mills rancid in the air, outer charms were under cover, realities easier to read. Focus on the question of public school desegregation in this the 17th year since the Brown decision, the eighth since the first Negro high school students began to attend classes with whites in Mobile's prestigious Murphy High School and what you find, sometimes stated boldly, sometimes implicitly, sometimes hidden in expressions of good intentions is an air of deep misgiving that Mobile is capable of dealing with the education crisis to which white leadership has brought the city.

In a small, neatly-furnished low-rent apartment in the city's black ghetto, a mother of five put into a single sentence the impression most thoughtful blacks have of the city's school desegregation policies: "They are trying to make us mad enough to pull our children out of the white schools." It was a statement reminiscent of the words of 17 year-old Tyrone Thomas who last year told the Southern Regional Council how his white principal called him "nigger", how the frustrations of in-school discrimination were leading many black youths toward separatist-oriented thinking, really against their deeper instincts, their sense of the need for integrated education.[1]

In another part of town, on the second floor of a weather-worn office building, a middle-aged black man leaned forward away from the cold at the window. "Desegregation, civil rights were things you didn't talk about to the white power structure in this town," he said. "Men like me. We are educated. We have lived all our lives here and we know how the Negro high school kids feel. We have seen and lived through things a lot worse than they have. The only difference in us and them is that we are older and educated. But we know what's in their hearts."

But whites do not know—or if they do are too frightened to get involved, too indifferent or too hostile to blacks to care what they think, or, knowing, feel that the enormity of the situation is beyond their capacities to af-

[1] *Voices From the South,* by Betsy Fancher, Southern Regional Council, August, 1970.

fect change. Downtown in the newly-renovated offices of the Mobile County Department of Education, Dr. Harold Collins, superintendent of schools since September, 1970, seemed an exception as he outlined his plans for education in 1971 and his hopes for Mobile. He spoke of increased library services and in-service training for black and white teachers in the coming summer. "I'm very optimistic," he said.

There was no optimism, however, in the words of black civil rights leader David Jacobs who heads the American Friends Service Committee's Mobile Education Project. Jacobs is an unreasonable militant in the eyes of most Mobile whites. In person he is a gentle, tough-minded native of the city with far greater rapport among the average black parent than whites care to admit.

"It will take some kind of tragedy, like a hurricane, maybe, for people here to wake up, to grow, to understand."

Jacobs' strategy now is to work with black parents and students, assisting them in grass roots organizing to improve education. His pessimism with Mobile's white leadership is not self-induced, a conditioned black response that automatically equates all white actions with duplicity. It is a pessimism, rather, that is born of long and sad experience, from seeing meaningful integration time and again delayed, blocked, and from close involvement in desegregation efforts.

The Background of Delay

The Mobile school desegregation case is long and complex, having gone before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals thirteen times since 1963. To trace the entire thread of the lengthy litigation would make a formidable tome. What was at issue between the plantiffs and the school board, however, prior to 1968, can be reduced essentially to the fact that the freedom-of-choice court-order plan under which the Mobile district operated between 1963 and 1968 had produced only minimal desegregation. As late as 1967, for example, only 638 Negroes attended schools with whites. Since March, 1968, however, when the Fifth Circuit ordered the city to adopt a plan of assigning students by zone rather than freedom-of-choice, the issue of neighborhood schools has emerged as a shibboleth for white parents opposed to various zoning arrangements drawn by a pouting, reluctant school board and a more aggressive team of HEW Title IV education experts brought into the case in 1968 on orders from the Fifth Circuit to District Judge Daniel Thomas.

In 1968 only a few weeks before schools were scheduled to open under a zoning plan that would have put 2,400 Negro students into previously white schools and 1,200 white students into formerly Negro schools, Judge Thomas, after an extensive hearing, determined that the zoning plan would pose too great administrative problems and granted the school board another year under freedom-of-choice. A militant white reaction against the plan had brought into being an organization known as STAND (Stand Together and Never Divide) which professed to oppose the plan solely because it violated the neighborhood school concept—but the vir-

ulence of its pronouncements, and the conservative background of its leaders, brought many blacks in Mobile to believe that the organization was, in truth, simply a more sophisticated version of the White Citizens Council, rallying now for freedom-of-choice as it had in the past rallied for pure segregation.

The district court's ruling in favor of free choice was appealed by the Negro plantiffs and in June, 1969, the judgment was overturned by the Fifth Circuit which noted that the District Court had failed to follow its zoning mandate of 1968. The appeals court directed that a new plan be devised and ordered the District Court to request the U. S. Office of Education to collaborate with the Mobile Board of School Commissioners in preparation of such a plan. Local school officials and the HEW team clashed over the federal agency's proposals which called for cross-town busing of 2,000 Negro students, and in district court Judge Thomas rejected the plan, again allowing for limited freedom-of-choice. Negro plantiffs in late August, 1969, again appealed to the Fifth Circuit. Further litigation, further appeals had by the fall of 1970 set this stage: a zoning plan under which the system was to operate called for some 10,000 students to attend schools which were not in their immediate neighborhoods; six all-white schools with enrollments of 7,000 students and six all-black schools with enrollments of 5,000 still existed. Theoretically some 60,000 students were to be in desegregated schools.

The Non-Bused and the Non-Conforming

Events since schools opened last fall, however, have convinced black parents that the school board has craftily, in full awareness of what it was about, set out to make integration unbearable. The case for such a conspiracy theory is persuasive. William Crane, chairman of the school board, has described the court order under which Mobile schools are operating as "asinine." At best the Board's approach, according to most knowledgeable civil rights observers in the city, has been one of washing its hands of any responsibility to see the court's mandate implemented. A source who fears repercussions if he is identified said that he had heard a high education official in the city declare that Mobile was going "to prove to the federal bureaucrats that integration won't work."

Although many students under the zoning plan now attend schools as much as two and a half miles from their homes, many have no means to do so other than walking. The school board says it will bus only those students who were eligible to be bused last year. The system presently owns 252 buses and claims that to give bus transportation to every child who needs it this school year it would have to add 100 more buses at an estimated cost of $1,000,000. That much money, school officials say, is not available. Critics note, however, that $2,000,000 *was* available for renovating the present education building the past year. They also point out that under federal Emergency School Fund regulations it would have been possible to have gotten some money for school buses, a fact that they suspect was deliberately ignored by school administrators.

Some of the difficulties of black teachers in the current school year were described in hearings before the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission last October and also in unauthorized interviews with an SRC representative in January, 1971. (Unauthorized because teachers and principals in the Mobile County school system are forbidden these days to discuss school problems with outsiders, without permission.) Under the court order, faculty composition in each school had to be on the ratio of 60 per cent white; 40 per cent Negro, roughly paralleling the population proportions of Mobile County. This meant that large numbers of teachers of both races had to be transferred. Before school opened black principals who were to remain principals in the new school year (most in predominantly black schools) were told that they could retain 20% of their key faculty members under the new desegregation plan. As it turned out none were able to retain nearly so many and there is suspicion within the black community that the real reason the principals were asked to name their key personnel was "to finger the best people" so they could be transferred to predominantly white schools. Whether the charge is true or not, most of the county's more experienced teachers, white and black, now teach in predominantly white schools, a fact attested to by numerous teachers in testimony before the civil rights advisory committee. Moreover, the teachers said, they had almost no advance notice that they were to be transferred. Testimony was also given telling of the transfer and demotion of black principals and coaches. Numerous fights involving black and white youths have occurred in Mobile schools this year with the most frequent solution being the disciplining and even arrest of black students and subsequent suspension.

By far the most controversial decision of school authorities involves so-called "non-conforming students". These are white students who, under the court's zoning plan, were assigned to schools with more blacks than whites and which, for the most part, were located in black residential areas. These students have simply refused to go to the schools they were assigned and instead attend classes in schools with predominantly white enrollments.[2] Estimates of the number of such students vary. At the beginning of the school term when white parents accompanied their children to school—insisting on the right of freedom-of-choice (which Gov. George Wallace publicly assured them was theirs)[3]—the official number, according to Dr. Collins, was as high as 1,000, but he puts it around 15

[2]A memorandum on the subject from school board attorneys to school officials although advising them to discourage non-conformers and pointing out that the students could not be issued textbooks, allowed to participate in school activities, take tests or receive grades, also stated that the students "cannot knowingly be officially enrolled or registered at the improper school." The modifying word "knowingly" has been the key to the problem of enforcement. Civil rights leaders say school officials have been at pains not to be "knowingly" aware of illegal transfers.

[3]Speaking to a Labor Day crowd of 4,000 people in suburban Pritchard, Wallace said: "I recommend that you good people exercise your freedom-of-choice when you send your children to school Wednesday." New York *Times,* September 8, 1970. "If I were you on school day, I'd exercise my freedom-of-choice," Wallace said . . . The roar of the crowd turned to laughter when he added, "In the peaceful way you always do things." Charlotte *Observer,* September 9, 1970.

today. Black leaders think the number legally is vastly higher because they have discovered that many students now are falsifying their addresses, a few parents even transferring guardianships to grandparents or friends who live in zones where predominantly white schools are located. Dr. Collins' response to this charge is that he has no resources to check on the addresses of all the county's 70,000 students. "We are in the business of education," he says. Under a district court decision of last year non-conformers are not supposed to receive grades or be allowed to participate in school activities, a fact which Dr. Collins believes has discouraged non-conformers. Blacks protest that no disciplinary action was ever taken against any of the non-conformers, just as the state education department announced it would refuse to prosecute parents who kept their children out of school altogether at the beginning of the school year, in violation of the state's compulsory school attendance law. Official figures for enrollments prior to school opening last year do not coincide with unofficial figures given to SRC from a few selected high schools. Murphy High School, for instance, which was the scene of a widely publicized student fight in September was supposed to have had 1456 black students and 1114 white students. The figure today is roughly 400 whites and 1800 blacks. At Toulminville High School there were supposed to have been 247 whites, 401 blacks. There were 18 whites enrolled in January, 1971. Such figures are not comprehensive, of course, but the arithmetic from these two schools alone show nearly 1,000 white students not attending schools to which they were assigned at the beginning of the year. Figures from other schools doubtless would add to the number. What is happening to such students? Many are now apparently officially enrolled at predominantly white Davidson High School which was *supposed* to have had 2350 whites to 70 blacks. These figures meant that at the beginning of the year the school was 477 over capacity. In October, 1970, its enrollment was 980 over capacity. Dr. Collins' estimate of only 15 non-conformers now may technically be correct, but there are obviously many hundreds of other white students who have managed to become legally enrolled in schools of their choice. Dr. Collins did not say so, but it is generally accepted by Mobile blacks that the reasons the transfers have been accepted is to placate white parents.

"Education is Problem-Solving"

Altogether Mobile County's school enrollment is 4,000 less than it was last year. Some are drop-outs, some are students who are attending public schools in other counties, living with relatives or friends, some have defected to private schools. A total of three new private academies, are known to have been chartered during the past year. The First Independent Methodist Church was instrumental in their founding. Three years ago the church began its own private academy in the church building itself housing children from kindergarten through the tenth grade. It has approximately 200 students. Wesleyan Academy located in Citronelle, Alabama, 45 miles from Mobile city limits was begun in 1970 with an

estimated enrollment of 300, handling grades one through eleven. The school provides busing for students at the rate of $1.00 per day. Another new private school—Chickasaw Academy—accommodates grades seven through 12. Officials estimate that the school has at least 25 students per class. None of the new academies is integrated.

Dr. Collins seems dedicated to the principle of public education. He does not believe private schools have a chance to educate more than a small fraction of students anywhere. He sees himself as an administrator with many problems, (most of which, as a matter of fact, he inherited) all of which he thinks can be solved with time and patience. "Education is problem solving," he says. This is the theme of some 100 speeches he has made before PTA and civic groups since taking over the administrative reins of Mobile County's public schools last year.[4] Though viewed without enthusiasm among more activist black leaders, he is regarded by some blacks as a sincere man trying to act fairly. He says that he wants to get on with the job of education, starting with people "where they are." He spoke with some pride of the fact that all of the city's schools now have full-time libraries, staffed full-time, but he spoke with great disappointment about the apparent fate of Mobile's application for funds under the federal government's Emergency School Aid program which to date has received no final action. In December, HEW officials wrote Dr. Collins that the proposal was being held up pending further information on such matters as student transfers and teacher discrimination. Dr. Collins called the application a "very fine proposal" which would be used for new instructional materials, the employment of 150 teacher aides, 80 per cent of whom would be assigned to the schools experiencing the most integration. The aides would have been used for "clerical and routine management duties, thereby releasing teachers for more student contact." In addition, it was proposed that they be used in liaison roles to parents and to the community at large. The proposal also called for orientation training for the aides and the teachers to which the aides would be assigned. Dr. Collins expressed resentment that the proposal was opposed by "highly militant groups" in Mobile which he felt were responsible for the funds being delayed. A spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee who has opposed the federal grant said the chief reason it has done so is because Mobile has not been in compliance with the court order on such obvious matters as student transfers. HEW, at this point, seems to agree.

There was at least one other proposal in the application which caused some concern among civil rights advocates—a request for funds to change plumbing facilities. Dr. Collins explained this on the ground that under the new zoning plan there would be younger, smaller students attending schools formerly attended by older, larger students and vice

[4]Dr. Collins' predecessor, Dr. Cranford Burns, who resigned prior to the opening of schools in 1970, was a source of discontent among civil rights leaders who saw him as an obstructionist in earlier desegregation efforts. His resignation, however, was unrelated to civil rights controversy.

versa. Implicit in the proposal, however, was an old white southern phobia about bathroom facilities that had been used by Negroes, and whether intended or not the proposal was taken by some as a racial slur. Such a response illustrates a major difficulty of administering public education in Mobile. In the present climate proposals that might elsewhere be interpreted as educationally sound become sinister and suspect. To fire an incompetent black teacher solely on the basis of his incompetence would be difficult for Mobile school administrators to justify, precisely because other black teachers, not incompetent, have been discriminated against solely on the basis of race. To discipline a black youth bent on violence for the sake of violence might become a *cause celebre* because other black youths whose only crime is the color of their skin have been presumed guilty until proven innocent and treated accordingly. In brief, Mobile's raw racism has come home to haunt whatever attempts it might now want to make toward quality education for all and for simple justice. Sadly, the evidence indicates that the city does not want to make many such attempts.

Mobile's Credibility Gap

Throughout the year there have been frequent fights between white and black youths resulting in student suspensions and dismissals, mostly of blacks. Dr. Collins said he hoped to deal with the education of such students through a proposal that, subject to school board approval, would open a school that is now closed for use by students "with disciplinary problems." No diploma would be awarded and the students would be "encouraged to seek employment of their own liking," according to the memorandum outlining the program—which he willingly shared with an SRC representative in January. The program called for no more than 150 students to be in the school at one time, in classes of 15 each. Such a proposal, has obvious discriminatory potential. For who is to define students with "special disciplinary problems"? The mother of one black student likely to be so identified recently told of her son's experiences with the education department's disciplinary committee. Following an altercation between whites and blacks in one school, her son had been identified by a white girl as being involved. He denied it. The next day the mother kept the youth at home, but while she was away buying groceries, the police came and took her son away to jail. She could not raise bond. He stayed in jail two weeks. When his hearing came he was easily acquitted in an appearance before a county judge, when the witness said he was *not* involved. But he had to appear before the school board's disciplinary committee, which after questioning the youth at some length, concluded that he could not be re-admitted to school in the current term. His mother asked them why and they said it was because his grades were so low that he was not likely to graduate.

At Murphy High School it also seemed likely that numbers of black youths might be identified as having problems sufficient to warrant their being transferred to the disciplinary school. In a conversation with the white principal it was evident that the violence at the school last September

which resulted in a threatened walk-out by white teachers and which brought city police patrolmen into the school for a period of two weeks will not be soon forgotten.

"It was caused by Negro kids coming in and trying to take over. They were insolent and are still insolent to the teachers," the principal stated.

He seemed a worried man, still, taking little joy in his work. Walking along a dimly-lighted corridor he discovered that an electric switch was out of repair. "They've torn it up," he said. There was no exchange of words between him and a group of black students standing near the entrance to the school's machine shops. The students stood quiet, sullen. "We don't have many promising shop students," he remarked later.

But all seemed orderly now, it was pointed out. It was lunch-time. Students stood outside. There were no fights. "No," he said, "not right now." One could not help but feel a certain sympathy for the man, untrained as he apparently was in dealing with blacks at any educational level, a career teacher, middle-aged, a former physical education instructor, handling such a job as he had in such a school as Murphy, in such a city as Mobile. And one could feel the same sympathy for the students for the same reasons.

The whole scene at Murphy put into perspective a major problem of integration that is not Mobile's alone. Under the court order, Mobile students, black and white, have been uprooted from schools and environments, familiar places, familiar teachers, friends. This in itself is traumatic to young people for whom group identity is all important. Under the most ideal circumstances such changes would produce tensions and frustrations and thus the credibility of school administrators would seem absolutely essential to any reasonable approach to relieving the situation. Such credibility is lacking in Mobile because of actions in the past and in the present school year to avoid school desegregation at any cost. It is also lacking because of the students' experience in a white-dominated society where blacks historically have been systematically discriminated against. It is this awareness, this past knowledge combined with the uprootings from old environments, the harsh realities of the new and the current of separatist thinking from some black leaders that have brought large numbers of Mobile Negro students to feel they would be better off in all-black schools. "How can you have integration," a black student asked a Southern Regional Council representative, "when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everything, he's the head of everything, and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight."

A militant black organization in Mobile called STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) feels that black students would not only be better off in all-black schools but also in all-black school districts controlled by an all-black school board. In the present school crisis STEP and another black civil rights organization NOW (Neighborhood Organized Workers) have emerged as vocal spokesmen for Negro aspirations in the city. NOW, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organized

in 1965, has been active in a number of other civil rights issues, including protest demonstrations against the city's employment practices during the Junior Miss Pageant of 1969. STEP, of more recent vintage, has gained attention largely because of its proposal regarding separate school districts. Some controversy surrounds the origins of the group which was founded by Roy Innis, director of CORE. Innis reportedly conferred with federal officials prior to launching the organization in Mobile. The organization's decentralization proposal, articulated in a public speech last summer, drew the approval of white segregationists in Mobile and has appealed to many black students who feel that the proposal, whether practical or not, does speak to the real problem of education and integration of Mobile blacks, spotlighting as it does the present lack of power blacks have to affect decisions of the school board.

Yet integration has not been without educational benefits for black students though they have come indirectly and in ways that Mobile could not look to with pride. At schools formerly attended solely by Negroes but now having sizable white enrollments, the new school year brought better textbooks and new classroom equipment.

"A truck pulled up to my school one day," a black principal who now heads a school with a large percentage of whites recently said, "with aids and equipment I didn't even know were coming."

Observers of schools with low white enrollments say that no such windfall has come to the still-predominantly black schools. Improvement of facilities at a school with increased white enrollment was reported in one case soon after the election of a white PTA president. Beneficial to Negro students or not, incidents such as these increase black resentments, illustrating as they do the school board's apparent indifference to the education of black students.

The Stifling of White Leadership

The root causes of Mobile's education problems lie in the weakness of the city's white leadership. White moderates are mostly underground and have been so for many years. Prior to the initial desegregation of Mobile schools in 1963 an all-white organization known as ABLE (Alabamians Back Local Education), made up largely of middle-class housewives, came into being for the purpose of continued uninterrupted free public schools. By the nature of its goal the organization inevitably served as a counter force to Citizens Council agitation against the impending school integration and for this reason came under heavy criticism from many right-wing elements in the city, including the American Legion. Gov. George Wallace publicly denounced the group as having "total integration" as its design. Local state representatives called on the state legislature to investigate the group. Although the investigation never materialized and such criticism had little immediate effect on ABLE, white moderate leadership in the city was dampened by the extreme reaction to what was really a modest effort on the part of a few whites simply to keep the schools functioning and open. Many observers believe that the experience of ABLE is still

felt among whites of good will who might now be in position to influence school board decisions, but fear repercussions.

With the exception of a statement by the Chamber of Commerce asking for good will in a time of crisis last year, and supporting public education business leadership in Mobile has not taken a visible role in recent developments. Yet one white leader who asked not to be identified by name or occupation talked of his behind-the-scenes efforts to involve powerful black and white leaders in trying to solve some of the problems between black and white students. He spoke of confidential telephone calls and gingerly-stated overtures—a strategy recalling that of cautious white moderates in other localities a decade or more ago. Mobile whites aren't ready for more, he said, and gravely warned that to reveal more details of his efforts would be to jeopardize all attempts at meaningful biracial cooperation in the city. What he seemed not to realize was that a large and growing segment of Mobile blacks are no longer interested in biracial cooperative efforts that have to be so clandestinely arranged. When this was pointed out to him, he shook his head. "It just can't be too late for such efforts," he said, "It just can't be."

There is some precedent in the city for businessmen's reluctance at being too openly identified with efforts at racial cooperation. A former Mobile businessman, for instance, recalls that after a *Wall Street Journal* article appeared several years ago telling of the city's attempts to bring about an accommodation with civil rights complaints, business leaders who were identified, and some who weren't, were hounded by segregationist groups to the extent that an economic boycott on the business of one such leader resulted in severe financial losses. "They were scared after that," he said, "too scared to do anything at all."

Contributing to the dearth of white leadership has been the consistently negative posture on civil rights matters followed by the city's two daily newspapers. Neither paper could bring themselves editorially to condemn the Birmingham church bombing of 1963. In 1964 they carried a series of stories on the then-pending civil rights bill which most observers think was designed to increase local opposition to the bill. The Citizens Council, in fact, distributed copies of the articles not only in Alabama but throughout the country. During the mid-1960s the papers carried a daily column by a John Birch Society lecturer and sometimes cited the extreme right-wing publication *Human Events* as if it were an objective, reliable news magazine. Comments from two editorials prior to the opening of schools in September, 1970, illustrate the papers' position today.

> —When Earl Warren vacated the chief justiceship, he left the Supreme Court with its work cut out for it in dealing with the confusion and contradiction produced for public education during his tenure.
>
> —When the 1970-71 school year begins, parents throughout the Mobile County school system should protect the communitywide tradition of having a citizenship fully and steadfastly mindful of the value of law and order.

Aside from the papers' editorial position, civil rights advocates say the papers emphasize and blow out of proportion all racial incidents in newly integrated schools in order to inflame white reaction as much as possible.

In other stories and editorials the newspapers have blamed low morale of teachers and students on the numerous federal court rulings which are made to seem high-handed and capricious. There is little editorial criticism, however, of Judge Daniel Thomas who, by any accounting, is most responsible for the delays in bringing about an end to dual schools in Mobile. To demonstrating white students in the fall of 1970 he was a figure worthy of hanging in effigy for his ruling—made only after earlier decisions in favor of freedom-of-choice had been overturned—taking them out of their neighborhood schools. To almost everyone else, however, it is obvious that he has yielded to pressure from white segregationists. His own sympathies, as a matter of fact, are no judicial secret. He has publicly stated before an unprecedented gathering of indignant white parents in his court last summer that he disagrees with desegregation laws. "For nine years," he said, "I have fought this thing and tried to slow it down." Such an admission made in a time of strife and turmoil by the arbiter of justice in a city increasingly polarized would seem to have served no purpose other than to absolve Judge Thomas from the ill-will of white Mobilians.

The Essence of Survival

The United States Supreme Court now has the Mobile case under consideration. Its ruling, hopefully, will clarify any remaining doubts as to the legal demands of school desegregation in that city. But it might not. The high court could return the case to Judge Thomas for futher hearings on the evidence, on matters of fact. The whole process of litigation could thus be stretched out for many more months. In the meanwhile, Mobile waits. Desegregation has come and no one is really satisfied with it. The violent encounters between black and white students—the most recent occurring on February 12, 1971, at Vigor High School in Pritchard—have greatly raised the anxieties of parents of both races.[5] In such incidents there is a dilemma for all committed to the principle of integrated education. And it may well be that in the handling of these matters the success or failure of integration depends. Solid efforts by white and black parents working together in some kind of human relations context would seem to be essential. Emotions stirred by Governor Wallace, the local news media and actions of the school board and the presiding judge, however, have so widened the gap of racial understanding in Mobile that efforts at racial reconciliation today seem almost Quixotic.

But despite the fights and the traumas, the negative expressions of white and black students toward the experience of integration, most Mobile

[5]The incident at Vigor High began as a fight between two teen-age girls, one black and one white. It quickly escalated. One hundred policemen were called to the scene. Mace was sprayed on students. Eleven blacks and five whites were arrested. A black girl was charged with assault and battery; the others with disorderly conduct. Classes were suspended indefinitely at the school.

students are not juvenile delinquents bent on trouble. They are young people in the formative stages of their lives; their present attitudes are not inflexible. The experience of integrated education has been harder for them by the willful acts of adults who never wanted integration to work in the first place. If there is hope for the future in Mobile it is that the students will somehow, still, make it work. It seems a slender hope for all it is, finally, is the simplest essence of survival after all else has been shattered through the years of delay, manipulation of people, of injustice and cowardice. In brief, it is the ability to adapt, to accept reality, to grow. It is a certainty, too, that the students can not do any worse at building a community than their parents. Given encouragement, given support, they may do far better.

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA:

THE NEW BREED and the OLD

By Betsy Fancher

When Austa French, a member of that band of bright, liberated yankee school marms, Harvard graduates and Unitarian preachers who made up the Port Royal Experiment, arrived in Beaufort, S. C., in 1862, she wrote that, "there steals over you the feeling that you are passing under a great cloud of accumulated wrongs, in which you seem mysteriously implicated, the vague feeling that you yourself have done something awful, somewhere in the dim past. . . Slavery is written upon the shore, the trees, the sky, the air. . . The enormous black hawks, with their screams, seem to be its very spirit. No wonder they caw, caw, over this land—mean vultures, waiting for blood."

The "Gideonites", as they called themselves, had come to minister to the Port Royal slaves, abandoned by their masters after the Confederate Fort Walker was overrun in a massive Federal amphibious invasion. Their mission, according to the New York National Freedman's Relief Association, was to teach the Negroes (then labeled "contrabands") "civilization and Christianity . . . order, industry, economy and self-reliance; and to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self respect."

The Port Royal slaves were the first in the South to be freed, the first to be educated, and they produced one of the first legitimate war heroes, Robert Smalls, who captured a Confederate gun-boat after the firing on Fort Sumter, delivered many of the Port Royal slaves to federally-held Beaufort, rallied the Sea Island blacks to join the Union troops and went on to become a National Guard general and a politician who forged enlightened legislation in fields ranging from economics to education.

The End of Freedom-of-Choice

The specter of slavery still haunts Beaufort and the barrier islands. The education of blacks, launched with such high hopes by Yankee school marms like Laura Towne, whose little hay loft school has grown into the Penn Community Center, is still a burning issue. In the spring of 1970 a

federal hearing examiner, acting on HEW complaints that freedom-of-choice had not resulted in substantial school desegregation, recommended that federal funds to Beaufort County be withheld. The school board, waiving its right of appeal, agreed to HEW recommendations for the school year 1970-71 which called for a 50-50 black-to-white faculty ratio and a geographic zoning plan for students.[1] But in January, 1971, an HEW investigative team reported that the district was not in compliance on faculty integration percentages, pointing out that blacks represented 79 per cent of the faculty at St. Helena Junior High; 70 per cent at St. Helena Elementary; 73 per cent at Michael E. Riley and 29 per cent at formerly all-white Beaufort Junior High. As a result of HEW's recommendation, Beaufort presently is in danger of losing between one and two million dollars in federal school aid. The chances, however, of funds actually being terminated are remote for HEW has seldom used this method of enforcement in the past year and a half.

Both blacks and whites, interviewed by the Southern Regional Council last summer, were apprehensive about what might happen when schools opened in the fall. Some were predicting an outbreak of violence or at least a school boycott by blacks, angered at the reduction of Robert Smalls High to the status of a junior high school, and the demotion of black principal Jacob Richardson. Black parents were also embittered at the renovation of the school to accommodate white students which they felt was proof positive of the school board's previous indifference to the education of blacks. Moreover, the school board introduced double sessions at previously all-white Beaufort High to accommodate the sudden influx of blacks many of whom had to be bused as much as fifty miles from the outlying islands past their old schools, schools whose songs, trophies, cheers and traditions were a part of their heritage. Other sources of discontent among blacks included earlier defeats of bond issues designed to finance a new high school at Beaufort and delays in submitting another such issue to the voters during the present school year. Many white parents, meanwhile, apparently have made other school arrangements for their children. White enrollment in Beaufort's public schools declined from 4,490 in 1969-70 to 4,210 in 1970-71. (Whites who have enrolled their children in segregated Beaufort Academy seem to belie the fear of busing heard from other quarters this year. Many of their children are transported as much as 100 miles a day to the unaccredited private academy some of whose faculty members do not meet South Carolina's teaching requirements.)

The Pat Conroy Incident

One single event in the current school year illustrates much about both the quality of education blacks have received in the past and the educa-

[1]Beaufort presented a thorny problem. The charming historic town with its columned mansions, patterned gardens and Revolutionary arsenal is ringed by a half dozen islands, ranging from all-black Daufuskie to all-white Fripp Island. The school board's plan required extensive busing and combined children with backgrounds as diverse as the Gullah communities on St. Helena's Island to children who had come of age on Hilton Head Island, a planned community which boasts the largest concentration of "Who's Who" listees in the country.

tional atmosphere in which Beaufort teachers and students must function today. This was the firing of Pat Conroy, a popular white teacher at Daufuskie's tiny two-room elementary school, who was discharged for alleged insubordination. Twenty-five year old Conroy started his second year on Daufuskie in September. The school board, overlooking the miracle his innovative teaching methods had worked in raising the grade levels of his black students, criticized his transportation costs to the island. The little boat he navigated, often through hazardous waters, was expensive to maintain, they said. On September 21, Conroy took a week's leave from the classroom to serve as a consultant to the Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina turning over his lesson plans to a VISTA worker he had enlisted as a substitute teacher. He was fired on his return and the Beaufort County school board turned a deaf ear to the labored and eloquent petition by the mothers of Daufuskie, pleading for Conroy to be reinstated. He was, they said, the only good teacher their children had ever had. After Conroy's unsuccessful suit to be reinstated, Beaufort blacks were convinced that school officials, headed by Superintendent Walter Trammell, had no regard for the quality of education their children were receiving. Second-rate facilities and a second-rate education, long accepted in mute despair, suddenly became a heated issue to them.

In firing Conroy Dr. Trammell explained to the news media that as a young teacher he was an idealist and innovator much like the Daufuskie teacher.

Dr. Trammell took the school superintendent's post at Beaufort in 1968 after an impressive 30 years in public education. He gave up a promising career in the textile industry to go into public schools "to dedicate my life to helping the children of South Carolina."

Discussing education he disarms the interviewer with a shrewd, appraising glance over half-glasses and the inarguable logic of his doctrine of a "democratic education," a doctrine which some staffers will tell you is belied by "his iron fist." "The reason I took action with Mr. Conroy was that he was not in the school room teaching. It was that he ignored school policies, deliberately disregarded the written procedures."

The written procedures he spoke of he developed as an undergraduate student at Columbia and still keeps carefully bound in a manila envelope on his desk.

George Trask, the lawyer who represented Conroy in his unsuccessful suit to be rehired, says, "This is definitely the case of creative individual who has run afoul of the system and the system is not flexible enough to accommodate him."

"You Learn a Lot on the Bus"

A visitor to Robert Smalls Junior High School will find black and white students mingling on the playground, engaged in talk, tossing a ball, laughing together. Black students Brenda and Cynthia Holmes, Jo Ann Grinkley, Deborah Jones and Stanley Hayes, eager, open and confident, talk freely about integration. Their white colleagues? "Nice kids, most of them." Busing? "We ride with the white kids and talk a lot and some

of the buses have radios and we listen to music. It's fun. You learn a lot on the bus." Incidents of violence? Sure, a few scuffles after football games, but these are old school rivalries. And the school itself—the temporary buildings and the reeking dump heap beside the play ground? "It does smell bad on damp days," grants one student, "but they're covering it over with sand and things are getting better." The conversation is cut short by two assistant principals who explain firmly and with obvious anxiety the tedious process terminating at the desk of school superintendent Walter Trammell by which visitors are allowed to speak to students in Beaufort's schools.

The impact of black students on formerly all-white Beaufort High can best be documented in the mimeographed pages of the *Daily Planet,* an unofficial newspaper published by a dedicated group of black and white students. The initial issue, published Wednesday, October 28, contained an interview with Sumner Pingree, chairman of the Republican party in Beaufort County; a plan for reorganization of student government which would put the "do-nothing" student council under an activist steering committee; and an interview with Pat Conroy. "Education seems like a type of prison for kids," Conroy says. "And until this changes, I think teachers have the right and duty to criticize the administration or even themselves." A black student editorializes on Conroy's dismissal and the "calcified backbone of our present school system." Quotes from Spiro T. Agnew are countered by quotes from Senator Edmund S. Muskie, one of the *Planet's* heroes.

The *Planet* has grown steadily bigger, better, braver and more controversial indicating a creative ferment of ideas and opinion at the school which one black student described last summer as "scarcely human." The Christmas issue featured a thoughtful study of high school women. "Compulsory attendance," charges the author, means that students are subjected to the system's way of training people in capitalism—a system based on competition, status consciousness, conformity and unquestioning obedience to authority. For women students there is added oppression—"not only are they unequal because they are students, but they soon learn to know their unequal place as women, both academically and socially." The poetry is uneven, but often moving—"Tears of a thousand orphans; Victims of Vietnam. . . . Despair of a mother, without food, shelter or hope . . . young people in rebellion, marijuana, hash, dope." There is an inside view of ROTC, a diatribe against alcohol, some remarkably literate book and music reviews, an article in defense of dissent, another condemning legalized abortion and a half dozen letters from readers, hotly protesting prejudice against both black and white. "The black man is not begging, sister; he is demanding his rights," says one, and another, "We're not going to bend over backwards for blacks just because their skin is black. I feel like they're just like anybody else, NOT SOMETHING SPECIAL." Among the memorable quotes, there is one from Tricia Nixon: "It is amazing what (Agnew) has done to help the (news)

media—helping it to reform itself. You can't underestimate the power of fear."

The reader notices in the later editions of the paper little concern for integration as an issue. The problems that are still being hotly debated by Beaufort High parents—busing, double sessions, racial balance, HEW guidelines and the possibility of violence are seldom discussed in the *Planet*.

A Frozen System

There have been incidents, most of them unreported. A black student at Beaufort Junior High was arrested for using obscene language; a student at St. Helena's was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon and exonerated after he explained he'd just returned from a hunting trip. And there was a near riot after a rock festival at Robert Smalls which now has 1,200 students, 650 white, 550 Negro. But the most urgent concern of students, black and white, is quality education, also an intense preoccupation of their parents. At the heart of the matter is the definition of what education actually is. A *Planet* contributor, M. R. Kelly, puts it this way: "All the while, the elders are not realizing that if they would bend their sturdy old oak mentality in some sort of movement towards helping instead of hindering youth's progress, they would not be remembered badly. It all has to do with goals and objectivity. The youth wants to formulate change as their work. The elders wish a frozen system."

It is the inflexibility of this system which Beaufort youngsters are questioning with growing intensity. Meanwhile their parents are wrestling with other problems. Beaufort Academy (a private school) is expanding; a new and reportedly more farsighted and liberal head master has been hired and teacher requirements have been made more stringent. An off-duty policeman has been hired to stand guard over the Academy bus which is parked on one of Beaufort's picturesque streets, a bitter symbol of racism to Beaufort blacks. Mrs. Agnes Sherman, one of two Negro members of the school board, points out that the children are bused 50 to 100 miles to the school from resorts like Sea Pines and Fripp Island. "The Academy exists on a tight budget—it simply can not offer quality education," she says.

A recent meeting with Mrs. Sherman; John Gadsden, Director of Penn Community Center; Andrew Mariesett, field representative of the American Friends Service Committee; and lawyer Charles Washington revealed a growing disillusionment with integration. Under HEW it is administered "white style," they complained. "The ultimate decision is always made by the whites." They are skeptical of the proposed bond issue which would finance the new area schools, noting that there was already talk of a cut-back, of floating a smaller bond issue.

Washington says, not without bitterness: "The process of getting a unitary school system has destroyed black pride and identification. Our children are being forced to identify with white concepts." He cited the dress codes at Beaufort High as "just another weapon to control behavior."

John Gadsden claims that although schools are integrated, they still have white dominated administration. An example: Beaufort High, whose assistant principals are black and whose reigning principal is white.

Washington feels that integration is jeopardizing the sense of black identity established in the past ten years. "Black students have a gut feeling about this. The whites don't realize that most of Beaufort's history is black history." He feels that the whites, ranging from the freedom-of-choice advocates to the HEW administrators, have "gone about integration in the most cruel way. They've created a potential powder keg. As black identity and pride grows, violence could erupt in Beaufort schools. The system is too static. Inevitably it will crack and fall to pieces," says Mr. Washington.

He may be right. The atmosphere that pervades Beaufort today reminded one globe-trotting writer-photographer of the up-tight silence that pervades East Germany. The *Planet* reflects a growing discontent, but not with integration. While their parents continue to fight the battles of racism, integration and separatism, many young people, black and white, appear to have come to terms with integration. Says one poem in the *Planet:* "Love and peace, the teens new creed, is really true you see/there should be love and peace for people like you and me."

The students instead are questioning the whole system of education which *Fortune* editor Charles Silberman and others have criticized as joyless, oppressive to the questioning mind, destructive to spontaneity and "a sense of self." And with education, they are questioning every area of American life—the military, women's rights, politics, the arts, pollution, poverty, the competitive ideal. South Carolina already has a 50 per cent drop-out rate, many of them students who, having rejected the educational system, are dropping out of the mainstream of American life. In Beaufort, the rhetoric of violence, racism and separatism can be heard both in the drawing rooms of the affluent and the shanties of the poor. But these are the adults speaking. To many of their sons and daughters it is an antiquated and tedious refrain. For integration is producing a new breed of students ~~in Beaufort,~~ youngsters who are fighting for a flexible and innovative school system to meet the urgent challenges of a nation both torn by dissent and united by the powerful dynamics of an emerging and infinitely promising American ideal.

ATHENS, GEORGIA:

WHERE BUSING WORKS

By Horace N. Barker, Jr.

In October, 1970, when Clarke County, Georgia, was well into its second year of system-wide desegregation, lawyers for the school board appeared before the U. S. Supreme Court. Their mission was unique: to plead not for neighborhood schools, but to defend the school board's plan involving a generous amount of busing, against charges of "unconstitutionality" from a group of Athens parents and to plead for a reversal of a Georgia State Supreme Court decision which had supported the citizens' legal challenge.

Clarke County has completely desegregated its public schools in less than two years. The primary impetus for this sweeping transformation came from civil rights officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) who had threatened in the summer of 1969 to terminate over $300,000 in Federal funds if the county refused to comply with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Like hundreds of other southern school districts, adoption of a freedom-of-choice plan was the only step towards desegregation which the county had taken since 1954. By September, 1968, this plan had placed only 10 per cent of the county's black students in schools having majority white student populations. Several all black schools remained.

In October, 1968, HEW advised the Clarke County Board of Education that much greater student and faculty desegregation would be necessary for the 1969-70 school year. After months of study and negotiations, the board submitted a "Neighborhood Plan" to HEW on May 1, 1969. This plan would have increased the number of black students in predominantly white schools, but still would have left four elementary schools, a junior high, and a high school with all-black or nearly all-black student bodies. HEW said this plan failed to meet the requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Greater desegregation was feasible, said HEW, and therefore, greater desegregation was required.

(This exceptionally strong stand by HEW, requiring desegregation of every school in the district, occurred in the early days of the Nixon Administration, six months before the resignations of Leon Panetta, former director of the Office for Civil Rights at HEW, and Paul Rilling, former director of HEW's regional Office for Civil Rights in Atlanta. Soon after these departures, HEW scrapped the administrative standards which Panetta and Rilling felt were required by Title VI and the Constitution. The agency then began to describe entire school systems as "desegregated"

even though some schools within the districts continued to have the same predominantly white or black student enrollments as in the "old separate but equal" days.)

Realizing that loss of Federal monies was intolerable, the school board submitted another plan to HEW on July 30, 1969. A week later HEW gave its approval.

The plan which was implemented in September, 1969, established a 20 to 40 per cent black student population in 11 of the 13 elementary schools. In the other two schools the black population was about 50 per cent. The plan meant busing approximately 200 more students than had been bused in 1968-69. Desegregation of the white and black high schools was set for September, 1970.

According to Clarke County Superintendent of Schools, Charles P. McDaniel, neither he nor the school board was happy about the increased busing. "But there was no other way we could comply with the law," he said. "For a half century we have been busing black students past white schools and vice versa to maintain segregation. Now we're busing to eliminate segregation."

When the plan was challenged[1] and, at last, brought before the Supreme Court, school board attorney Eugene Epting says he rather enjoyed his appearance. "Most school boards are up there complaining that they've been forced to do too much. But we went up there asking the Court to overturn the Georgia court and let us continue what we had already done."[2]

However strong may have been the initial reluctance of the Athens' school board to adopt a plan which would actually desegregate every school in the system, school officials now want to keep the plan. Don Hight, principal of Clarke County's high school, said a return to a neighborhood plan would be ". . . a serious setback for students and parents. Our schools could adapt themselves to the old ways, but it wouldn't be nearly as good."

No Place to Run

Superintendent McDaniel feels that the current plan is essential to the operation of a thoroughly desegregated system. "If you want desegregated schools, a neighborhood school plan simply wouldn't work here in Clarke County. It would mean we would have all-black and all-white schools . . . It would mean that parents would be moving around to get their kids in a predominantly white zone." McDaniel said the present system has helped to stabilize the community. "There's no place for anyone to run now."

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[1]The Athens suit raised two questions for the Supreme Court: (1) Whether the plan violated the constitutional rights (equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) of students required to attend schools other than the school nearest their homes, and (2) Whether Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits a school district from operating a school attendance plan which involves the assignment of students to achieve a racial balance.

[2]Mr. Epting's personal feelings about desegregation are not necessarily represented by the plan he defended in Washington.

An Athens real estate agent affirms McDaniel's observation. "With a consolidated school system, it really doesn't make any difference which attendance zone people live in. They can be much less concerned about having to locate in the 'proper' zone."

McDaniel says the plan has helped to maintain the number of students in the public schools. He claims the county lost only about 100 students out of 11,500 to private schools in September, 1970, and less than 35 in September, 1969.[3] "With our plan there was no reason for parents to worry about sending their children to a 'bad' school. Now, everybody faces the same situation." He added, "The vast majority of the people have accepted what we had to do. All of them are not yet convinced it will work. We need some time to show them that it can and is working."

What would happen if the Supreme Court were to declare the plan unconstitutional? McDaniel said there would be some public pressure to revise the plan and go back to neighborhood schools. "An adverse decision would present unnecessary difficulties which we would rather avoid."

A black member of the school board, was less discreet: "We'll be in a hell of a fix if we lose it. Before you know it things would be just like they were before all this got started. It would be a bad situation. . . ."

The geography of Clarke County lends itself to a county-wide busing system. With only 125 square miles of rolling, woody, clay land it is the smallest of Georgia's 159 counties. Schools are situated in this area so that the longest one-way bus ride for any student under the present plan is five miles and normally requires a maximum of 35-40 minutes. The majority of students ride for about 25 minutes or less.

Over 51,000 of the county's 65,000 residents live in the "Classic City" of Athens[4], including 20,000 students at the University of Georgia. About 80 per cent of the county's total population and about 70 per cent of the elementary and high school age children are white. The county and city consolidated their school systems in 1956. Until January, 1968, the school board consisted of nine appointed members. At that time, the number was expanded to eleven, permitting the appointment of two black members.

Parents Response

Many, probably a majority, of the white adults who live in Clarke County still would prefer to send their children to neighborhood, segregated schools. The most frequently-voiced complaints of all parents concern irregular

[3]There are three private schools in Clarke County. St. Joseph's, a Catholic parochial school founded over 20 years ago, has an enrollment of 218 elementary students, including 12 blacks. The Athens Academy is a college preparatory school with 325 students, all white, enrolled in kindergarden through grade 12. The Academy opened in September, 1967. The third school is Athens Christian Academy. Opened in August, 1970, it enrolls 130 white students from six counties in grades one through eight. Having complied with the Nixon administration's politically soothing paper policy of simply declaring "non-discriminatory admission practices," the latter school was declared tax-exempt by the Internal Revenue Service in January, 1971.

[4]So named by its own residents because of the presence of many Greek Revival ante-bellum homes built on large, four-acre lots and because of the university's location on a high hill overlooking much of the city.

bus schedules, poorly-trained drivers, early morning departure times, lack of discipline within schools, and in some cases, overcrowded classrooms. But whatever may be the deficiencies in implementing the current plan, there have been no major disruptions or acts of violence to support segregationists' claims that, "It would never work."

Contributing to the success and support of desegregated education has been a sizable group of white parents, including members of the University faculty, who believe that the present educational system is best for their children and their community. Although sharing many of the complaints about imperfections in the current operation of the schools, this group of adults believes that the sacrifices made during this transitional period will be more than justified by the public benefits derived from providing every child with an equal educational opportunity through integrated education.

Typical are the comments of Howard Schretter, a school board member and 14-year resident of Athens with three children in the public schools: "Let's face it, the present generation of children are up against it, especially the most gifted children. Desegregation means that the teacher must spend more time with those that are behind in reading and other skills. . . . But I think it's more important to have a child learn something about human relations, to be exposed to a variety of people than to learn a little bit more than anybody else . . . . "

Schretter also said he wouldn't hesitate to send his children to private schools if they were subjected to bodily harm at public school. "If a kid's life is in danger, then integration is not worth it. But we're in no danger of reaching that point here. In fact, considering the mess we've made of things in the past, I'd have to say things are going pretty well now . . . "

One white, liberal middle-class parent said that, much to his chagrin, his son in the fourth grade had begun to develop a negative attitude toward his black classmates from the ghetto, describing them as "nuisances" and "troublemakers." The father hoped for a change in his son's attitude before the end of the school year.

Another white parent said that his son and his son's white friends in a junior high school thought their black classmates were "sort of exotic." "I've noticed a tendency for some of the kids to admire and sometimes imitate the black kids. My son is even picking up a ghetto dialect . . . . He seems to be getting along fine."

A parent with a son in one of the two consolidated sixth grade schools said his son's education has not been damaged. "The . . . school is very good this year. But that's because of the principal and because it has some of the best teachers. It has nothing to do with integration one way or another . . . . " He also said that his son catches the bus at 7:00 every morning—when the bus is on time. He has driven his son to school two or three times because the bus failed to arrive.

Sending their children to school with blacks has come hard to many white parents. A professor at the University described the reaction of some whites confronted with desegregation on a personal level for the first

time when they took their first graders to school on opening day and met their child's new black teacher:

"Some of the parents were really shook-up. I remember that one mother in particular was terribly upset. She almost cried as she introduced herself and the child to the teacher . . . But she left her son in the room . . . didn't take him out. For people who've been taught all their life to be prejudiced, that took a lot of courage . . . .

"I know some people who use the word 'nigger' with all its derogatory overtones, but who've made a real effort to see that their children get along in the integrated schools. I suppose that gives some basis for being optimistic about the future . . . . The change in attitudes here over the last seven years has been incredible."

A special concern of black parents this year is an unusually large number of black students who have been suspended from school for one to three days. Many members of the black community see this as a disturbing indication of the considerable progress that needs to be made in interracial teacher-pupil relationships.

For example, one mother who has seen all of her ten children attend Clarke County schools said that many white teachers still fail to understand the language, feelings, and problems of young black children. She said it does most of the students ". . . . no good at all to send them home. That just encourages them to go ahead and drop out." She feels the school board is obligated to provide much more training for teachers in an ongoing intergroup relations program and to add well-qualified counselors to help students with personal as well as academic problems.

Several students and parents mentioned a need for an improved and expanded vocational training program. Superintendent McDaniel and other school officials indicated a willingness to invest more resources in this area as well as in areas of intergroup relations. But whether these kinds of problems will actually receive a higher priority in the future is an open question.

A group of about 78 parents, many from the comfortable neighborhood of University Heights initiated the court challenge to the desegregation plan. They charged the school board with unfair treatment since their neighborhood was the only area of the city from which white students were to be bused to a formerly black school. They also complained about the poor condition of the school.

The school board responded by improving many formerly black schools with paved driveways, fresh paint, new blackboards. The board also modified the school attendance plan so that students from areas other than University Heights were to be bused to the school in 1970-71. (All schools now have a 20 to 40 per cent black student population.)

With these changes University Heights parents withdrew their support of the court challenge to the '69-70 plan. But other Athens parents, whites and blacks, carried the case through the courts and succeeded in getting the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia to declare the plan unconstitu-

tional. The school board appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court which heard arguments in October, 1970.

One of the groups most inconvenienced by the present desegregation plan consists of the approximately 100 black children who live in Rock Springs Homes, a large public housing complex. Black parents from the area who were involved in the suit complained that children in grades one through five had to walk almost one and half miles to school, crossing heavily traveled streets. This is so because bus transportation is provided only for students who live more than a mile and a half from school. School officials concede that the restricted transportation is sometimes an imposition, but they point out that many white children are also required to walk the same distance as the black children from Rock Springs. To ease the safety concerns of parents, the school board has provided guards at the crossings but the matter remains one of concern to many black parents.

Merger and Dissension

The most serious disruption of education in Clarke County came last spring as school officials made plans for the September, 1970, merger of the all-black Burney-Harris High School (486 students) and the nearly all-white Athens High School (1529 students). As has been true in many other southern communities, some black and a few white high school students found it necessary to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with desegregation plans drawn up by school officials, most of whom were white. Marches, mass meetings, and other activities concerning the consolidation of the two schools occurred during April and May. Over 350 arrests were made. There was some minor vandalism and charges of police brutality, but no serious injuries were incurred.

During the demonstrations a predominantly black group of students presented a list of grievances to the school board. The grievances did not question the basic plan which made Burney-Harris serve all of the county's 10th grade students and Athens High serve 11th and 12th grade students. Rather, the demonstrating students were concerned with how the plan would be implemented.

The school board met with a student negotiating committee and formulated written, itemized responses to each issue raised by the students. Student leaders involved in the protest were satisfied with only one or two of the board's responses. Many of the board's answers were too general and evasive, according to the leaders.

The list of demands *per se* ceased to be an issue, however, after the board issued its written response and after the 1969-70 school year was completed. But some high school students feel that many of the issues are still not satisfactorily resolved. For example, the students wanted a black studies program implemented on a broad basis from elementary through secondary school. This year a black studies course, taught by a black teacher, is offered as a regular elective course at the high school. But some of the students in the course, while saying it was a "pretty good one,"

complained about a shortage of books. No special black studies programs have been included in the curriculum for elementary and junior high grades.

Another student concern last spring was the selection of colors for the new school. The problem appeared solved when one color was selected from Burney-Harris High and one from Athens High to form the new colors for "Clarke Central High." (This is the new name given to the secondary school system which includes the "Burney-Harris campus" and the "Athens campus.") However, the new football uniforms displayed the old Athens High color quite prominently but gave very little visibility to the old Burney-Harris color. (One Athens minister said this was typical of the "blundering, stupid, unnecessary mistakes of the white community which create bad feelings and makes our problem more difficult to solve.")

A third issue concerned the place of the Burney-Harris teaching and administrative staff in the new system. For example, the former principal at Burney-Harris High was made director of the Clarke County adult education program. (The principal at Clarke Central is white, while the assistant and building principals at the Athens and Burney-Harris campuses are evenly divided between whites and blacks.)

The most serious controversy in the merger of the two high school faculties involved football coaches. The black head coach at Burney-Harris was demoted to an assistant coach while the Athens head coach returned to his position. During the football season this situation produced considerable resentment of the part of the black football players who felt that the white coach was incapable of treating them fairly. Dissension among the black players could not be easily dismissed or overlooked by white school officials since several of the athletes not only were student leaders, but also the team's best players. (Two of them won football scholarships to the University of Georgia.)

One Monday, late last October, after the integrated Clarke Central team had lost its only game of the season, a group of black players refused to practice. They claimed that the head coach had unfairly blamed them for losing the game. The coaches and protesting students had a meeting, however, and the walkout ended the next day.

Some observers in Athens believe that the absence of more incidents like this during the season indicated a special effort on the part of coaches and players to establish mutual respect. But many of the black football players still strongly feel the need for a change in the attitude of the coaching staff.

One of them put it like this: "The head coach is wrong, he's wrong from his heart . . . . If there's anyway possible for him to straighten out, then things will work out, I believe. If they keep him, and he don't change, there won't be many black students playing ball . . . because they know what we went through. And besides, there may be trouble . . . ."

In contrast to the dissension which plagues the football team, other areas of the school's athletic program are much more satisfactory to all concerned. The basketball team is co-coached by the former Burney-Harris head coach and a coach from the former Athens High. Players said this

arrangement was working out well. As of the first week in February the team was undefeated and ranked among the top ten teams in the state.

The baseball team will have a black head coach.

Policies For Transition

The city of Athens and its schools have been free of major demonstrations since last May. The newly-named Clarke Central High School opened in September, 1970, without any disruptive incidents. Principal Hight said that many parents thought that the black and white students would never get along together. "Some parents believed the school would be blown off the map. It hasn't been. This doesn't mean we've done everything right. We've made some mistakes. But we have kept things together."

School officials have made some policy decisions that have resolved problems which continue to plague schools in other southern communities. For example, the dress code in effect this year in Clarke County schools permits considerable personal freedom in selecting the length of one's hair and the style of one's clothing. In roaming the halls and campus one sees many white students decked out in hippie-style outfits and black students with the most outstanding kinds of Afros and matching attire.

The playing of "Dixie", which has terrorized band directors and high school principals at other schools, is no problem at Clarke Central because the band stopped playing it a year before the schools were consolidated. Superintendent McDaniel says he likes it and considers it a fine song, "But," he explained, "we would prefer not to use it if it's going to offend some of our students and to cause dissension. We believe that helping students to get a good education is more important than stubborn adherence to tradition just for stubborness' sake."

One long-haired student, a member of the high school band who takes a great deal of pride in what he terms the progressive attitude of band members ("We've never had any problems admitting blacks"), said that band members themselves decided 'Dixie' wasn't worth playing if it got people all up tight." He found continued use of the song by the University of Georgia band rather juvenile. "They still play it at all the games. I wish they would grow up and realize they're living in the 20th century. They should set an example for us, not the other way around."

With the assistance of faculty members from the Department of Education at the University of Georgia, the high school is training some 17 students to work in biracial teams to lead "sensitivity sessions" on the dynamics of black-white relations with selected groups of junior high students. Initial meetings with student groups met mixed results. However, most students on the teams thought the meetings were worthwhile, but that the number of students involved was too small. What was needed, they felt, were many more school-sponsored opportunities for students to talk frankly and openly with each other about racial problems.

One student-initiated effort at promoting better understanding among students and between students and school administrators was the formation this year of a new club called "Union for Student Equality" (U-S-E).

The organization was started by a group of 10th grade students at the Burney-Harris building for the purposes of protecting the rights of students, acting as a mediator between students and faculty, and bringing students together on a social basis. USE has sponsored some community events, such as a Christmas party for Headstart children. It is trying to enlarge its membership and to secure financial assistance from HEW under the emergency school desegregation programs.

One of the more ominous new policies at the high school is the deployment of a half dozen security guards. They are all young men, uniformed, armed with a can of Mace for "self-defense". School officials claim they are there to guard against outside bullies and troublemakers. If this were the only reason they were there, one might expect to find them stationed only at the building entrances. But they in fact are found throughout the building.

Walter Allen, the black assistant principal at the high school, said that he at first had serious reservations about hiring the guards, primarily because of the potentially bad image they might have for black students. "I remember all too well," he said, "what, historically, policemen have done to me and most other black people. But now since they've been here for a while, they seem to be working out."

Student opinion of the guards is far from unanimous. Many students said they "didn't mind the guards being there", but thought they were unnecessary. Some black students said they got along well with the guards "except for one or two who try too much to assert their authority . . . ." Other students said the guards were needed to prevent incidents of extortion and bullying in the halls. Still other students expressed strong resentment of the guard's presence and felt they contributed to a repressive and tense atmosphere. However, barring a flagrant discourtesy or indiscretion by the guards, it appeared unlikely that their presence would precipitate a major incident.

The number of school-sponsored social activities at Clarke Central has been reduced considerably. The traditional fall homecoming dance was cancelled and only one other social event—a Christmas dance—has been attempted. The latter dance flopped partly because students considered ticket prices too high and partly because black students disliked the band.

School officials are proceeding cautiously in the area of social activities apparently to avoid a major incident of violence which would provoke an outcry from the white community. But many students expressed an interest in a greatly expanded social calendar. Students generally seemed much less apprehensive about the potential for trouble than did school officials and parents. One white student leader said school administrators could take necessary precautions against violence and could do much more to encourage antagonistic white and black students to cooperate in seeing that social functions were kept peaceful.

A black member of the student council offered this advice:

The thing that would help our school now more than anything

else would be for the administration to stop worrying about the black and the white and to start worrying about students . . . Treat everybody as students because that's what they are, really . . . and the situation would work out, *but they just don't believe it.* [emphasis supplied]

Interviewed for this report during the first week in February, high school officials readily agreed that an expanded social program was highly desirable. Principal Hight said, "It is now imperative that the school sponsor more social activities. Students are growing tired of administrators using 'integration' as a crutch for not doing anything. Everyone is much more accustomed to integration now and there's no reason why we can't hold generally all of the activities that the schools sponsored before they merged."

Student Reflections

Given the encouragement and opportunity, a vast majority of black and white students probably could do much more to relieve resentment and mistrust. The following experience of one black high school senior suggests the possibilities:

We were in this class together, another black guy and I, and we got into a discussion with white kids about the demonstrations of last spring.

Some of the white kids thought we did it because we were violent, and didn't like them and didn't like anything about them.

But we explained why we demonstrated. It wasn't for any reason of violence, not to cause violence. But that's the way it turned out . . . we had to demonstrate anyway.

We explained [to the white students] how we really thought about things. We sort of made them see the light, to see how we really felt. It wasn't that we didn't like them, but it was a cause we were fighting for.

Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes.

The black seniors also articulated a determination to secure on a permanent basis the fundamental rights, respect, and civilities due them as American citizens.

One student, reflecting on part of the meaning of his heritage said:

I think some of the older white folks think that stuff [white domination] is still going to happen. But, I don't believe it's going to come about anymore . . . because I'd rather be dead than do what my foreparents did . . . .

When some whites come up to me now and, you know, try to holler at me and say do this, do that, demanding like, I want to retaliate . . . because I've heard many times before what my grandmother went through, and I just don't want to go through that. It's heartbreaking to know what she had to go through.

Another student:

> My mother and father, they tried to put me down, told me I was going to get in trouble because I talk a whole lot, speak my mind . . . but I say what I think because I don't mind. I told them that Martin Luther King said, 'If you don't have a cause worth dying for, you're not a man' and that's what I tell them . . .
>
> That's what they [white people] want Negroes to do anyway. Sit back and don't say anything. That's what happened to our parents. They were afraid to speak up . . . .

A third student, referring to the demotion of black teachers and principals when desegregation occurs:

> The Negro, he's been taking it for so long . . . he's tired, he's not going to take it anymore.

The Future in Athens

A biracial committee, consisting of students and faculty from the former Athens and Burney-Harris high schools, was set up three months before the April, 1970, protests to devise a mutually satisfactory way of implementing the desegregation plan. But one student, a member of the committee, reported,

> Students at Athens High wanted to be on it mainly because it was a big deal, a prestige thing, but they weren't really interested in communicating with the black students or in understanding how they really felt about having to give up their school . . . . Students' feelings should have had top priority, but they didn't.

Another observer who was involved in these early meetings also blamed black students from Burney-Harris for not taking advantage of this initial opportunity to express their opinions. "They gave us no indication of how they really felt or what they really wanted. Some of them didn't even attend some of the meetings because of basketball games . . . "

Rev. Frank Hutchison, however, white minister of the Athens United Presbyterian Church, sees the events of last spring as a logical consequence of a culmination of bigotry and ignorance on the part of much of the white community: "A lot of white people either didn't know or didn't care about the feelings of the black people, adults and students, who had strong emotional ties to their high school . . . ."

Many school and city officials in Athens do not deny that what happened last spring has made the white community more *attentive* to voices from the black community. The crucial issue, however, is whether the white community will be more *responsive* to the needs of the black community.

In the aftermath of the demonstrations several leaders in the black community spoke out against the failure of the "old Athens establishment" and the city administration to show any kind of genuine concern for the poor and problems of poverty. "The black people have not been heard," said Mrs. John T. (Jessie) Barnet. "There's a terrible lack of communications. The city seems blind to proverty."[5] When asked in

[5]Athens *Banner Herald,* May 31, 1970.

January, 1971, if the situation had improved, Mrs. Barnet replied, "Maybe it's a little bit better, but we'll just have to wait and see what happens. . . . "

Mrs. Miriam Moore is a black woman who has been quite skeptical of the concern of many white Athenians for the black community. (She calls herself a "pure-blooded Athenian" because she was born in the house where she still lives.) But Mrs. Moore sees some progress in Athens, particularly as reflected in the greater interest city officials have shown in the Athens Model City program.

Another reason for a slightly more optimistic outlook, Mrs. Moore said, is the election of 26-year-old Edward Turner to the Athens city council. He is the first black man to serve since the days of Reconstruction.[6] Turner sees a major benefit of his election as giving the black community an official voice for communicating with city officials. He said he has little indication that the city will make significant improvements in programs affecting the black community. "There's not much hope in one vote out of nine, but at least the black community will have a voice that they've never had before."

Turner emphasized that the problems in Athens involve " . . . not just improving the educational system, but raising immediately the socio-economic status of most of the students' parents. Athens needs a lot more decent job and housing opportunities for its black residents."[7]

One outgrowth of the demonstrations last spring was the establishment of the *United Free Press,* a mimeographed monthly newspaper published by a group of black and white citizens in an effort to fill a communications gap between the black and white communities. Founders of the paper say it was established " . . . due in large part to the apparent unwillingness of local newspapers and radio stations to report certain kinds of news, especially news which reflects discontent with the manner in which the public business of Athens is conducted."[8]

The paper has received a warm welcome in the black community and among students. Many black residents said the paper serves a very useful function in discussing events that the " . . . two establishment Athens dailies wouldn't touch." Continued publication of the *United Free Press* should make social injustices in Clarke County more difficult to ignore.[9]

One cannot responsibly predict that the school system will be free of major disturbances during the remainder of this school year. In Athens as in many other American communities, meaningful communication

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[6]Turner was elected from Athens' First Ward where 800 whites and 1175 blacks are registered. He defeated the white incumbent 645-571 in a runoff election after receiving the highest vote in a 3-man primary race.

[7]Only 8 per cent of the black labor force in Clarke County hold jobs classified officially as "white collar" positions, compared with 58.1 per cent of the white work force in these positions. 53.1 per cent of the county's blacks work in "service" jobs, compared with only 7.2 per cent of the white work force.

[8]*United Free Press* June 1, 1970, p. 1.

[9]In its second issue, (June 7, 1970) the *Free Press* noted "some improvement" in the "establishment" papers' coverage of events concerning the black community. Such improvements included a special eight-page feature section on "Black Athens: Triumph and Tragedy," wherein some black leaders were given an opportunity to express their ideas in public.

between white and black residents was breeched by a history of enforced patterns of racial segregation and discrimination. The legacy of that history continues to be a considerable amount of resentment, frustration, and mutual suspicion. But, through the physical desegregation of their educational system, the people of both races in Clarke County have created new significant possibilities for ending the destructive legacy and correcting past injustices.

Having taken this initial step towards giving all students, for the first time, an equal educational opportunity, school officials may find more time and resources to invest in expanding and revising the total educational program. The situation is now at the point where students and school officials can begin to confront problems more sophisticated and complex than simply placing black and white students in the same classrooms and buildings. The remaining problems, particularly at the high school and junior high schools, require a more energetic attack on feelings of mistrust, resentment, and social isolation. The present challenge is to create good-will, espirit d' corps, a situation where everyone feels that they are welcomed and "a part of the team."

Clarke County has the potential for operating one of the highest quality integrated school systems in the country. During the last decade its citizens consistently supported increased local spending for education.[10] Yet, only a small percentage of the county's available financial resources have been tapped. For example, local school revenue for 1967-68 represented only 2.2 per cent of the county's effective buying income of *$131.8 million. Less than one per cent* of the total property value of the county is being spent annually for school purposes. The people of Clarke County as a whole clearly have the ability to provide the additional financial support which will be necessary to maintain and improve their public education program.

Hopefully, there are enough people in the county who have achieved sufficient freedom from their personal prejudices and who have enough pride, determination, and patience to complete the social transformation they have initiated. Hopefully, enough people appreciate the progress that has been made and recognize the much greater progress that needs to be made so that Clarke County residents may provide, sooner than the people in many other communities, an opportunity for their children to learn to live together, acknowledging and developing the differences and similarities of their respective southern cultures.

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[10]Total current expenditures for 1968-69 were approximately 90 per cent greater than expenditures for 1964-65.

WHITE FLIGHT:

THE SEGREGATION ACADEMY MOVEMENT

By Kitty Terjen

The rapidly developing segregation academy movement in the South is an anomaly in the history of private education. Unlike parochial schools and the better private preparatory schools founded earlier in the century, the segregation academy tends to be academically inferior—accredited neither by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools nor by the states in which they operate. Although this year there is evidence that many private academies are moving from make-shift quarters into new prefab buildings, the caliber of teachers (many of whom came out of retirement to teach) remains sub-standard and the curriculum offerings, at best, are pale imitations of what is offered in the public schools.

Many of these new schools, with their underlying philosophy of "Never!", are a warping influence on the children who attend. Even aside from the implications of removing children to a segregated situation in a democratic country, it is important to note that many of these schools are motivated by an extreme right-wing philosophy which, in the name of "patriotism" and "quality education," is a perversion of the nation's ideals.

Private School Enrollment

For the 1970-71 school year, the Southern Regional Council estimates that 450,000 to 500,000 students attend private segregated schools in the 11-state South. Many of these are older private schools, not founded for the purposes of segregation but still without Negro students; others are the new segregation academies.

The Council estimated in October, 1969, that 300,000 students were enrolled in segregated private schools. After the Supreme Court's decision in October, 1969, to integrate schools "at once," the Council revised its figures upward to 400,000 students, based primarily on reports of the virtual abandonment by whites of the public schools in some areas of Mississippi and Louisiana. Since that time some whites have returned to the public schools and many of the older private schools have begun to integrate. The estimate of 450,000 to 500,000 students enrolled, therefore, represents an attempt to reflect these subtle shifts but tends to conceal the dramatic growth of the newer segregation academies. There is ample evidence that existing academies are adding grades and increasing enrollments and that a great many new academies were opened for the first time this fall.

Sources of information about the number of newer schools are fragmentary and in many cases uncertain. SRC estimates are based on the latest state records available, as well as HEW estimates and news stories.

State departments of education do not keep up with the phenomenal growth and do not usually separate the various categories of private schools. HEW estimates have proved inaccurately low. Despite SRC recommendations last year for better public records on the private school movement, up-to-date and accurate information is still not available.

State-By-State

Following is a brief state-by-state report on private school activity in the South last year:

—Alabama: The latest figures available from the state department of education are for the year 1968-69, when 39, 214 pupils reportedly were enrolled in 191 private schools of all types (including post-secondary) in the state. The only up-to-date figures available on this state are those provided by Allen Cleveland (an Auburn University graduate student), who made a survey of the non-sectarian private schools in the state last spring. He found, by interviewing school superintendents, that as of April, 1970, there were 83 non-sectarian private schools in operation in the state and that 43 would open in September, 1970. After his survey was made, Cleveland discovered an additional 20 schools which planned to open in the fall of 1970, bringing the total of new schools this year to about 65.

"I anticipated in April that 20,500 pupils would attend private schools in September. My guess now is that it is closer to 35,000," Mr. Cleveland said in January. He added that his survey did not include private schools set up in churches to avoid segregation and he indicated there were a large number of schools so situated in Alabama.

The survey, which Mr. Cleveland conducted as part of his Ph.D. dissertation at Auburn University, indicates that private school enrollment in the state has more than doubled since 1964. In addition, his study concludes that in many instances the newer the school, the lower its enrollment and tuition the more likely it is to be lacking certain elements which constitute "quality education."

—Arkansas: The department of education was having trouble keeping up with the growth of private education as a whole in the state so it quit keeping statistics in 1968. However, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that enrollment in segregation academies—not counting older private schools and parochial schools—rose from 405 in 1969 to 2,348 in 1970. The number of such schools tripled during the year.

—Florida: This state has traditionally had a greater percentage of its school-age population enrolled in private schools than have other states in the South, but it was not believed until last year that there was any significant enrollment in segregation academies. Newspaper reports in the last year, however, reveal that there is an academy movement in that state and it is growing. During 1969-70 there were 396 private schools of all types in Florida with a total enrollment of 109,478 students. The state department has made a conservative estimate of five per cent growth this year.

—Georgia: No official statistics are kept, but an unofficial state department survey, which is incomplete, suggests that this year there are 224 private schools in the state, 144 more than there were in 1967. Enrollment this year is estimated to be 50,078 students, an increase of almost 40,000 since 1967.

—Louisiana: According to the state department of education, 165,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 12,380 more than the previous year and 15,152 more than 1964. The growth in Louisiana is exceptionally large but it does not show up clearly in the figures because of a concurrent drop in parochial school enrollment which is part of a national trend due to rising costs and shrinking financial support of Catholic schools. (Louisiana has a larger Catholic population than any other Southern state.)

—Mississippi: The most dramatic and most publicized growth of the academy movement has occurred in this state. This year, according to state figures, 62,676 pupils are enrolled, an increase of 43,278 students since 1964. State figures on the number of private schools are contradictory. This year the state reports 197 private schools in operation, although last year it reported 256 such schools. Newspapers document a continued growth from 1969, so an estimate of 275-300 schools would probably be accurate for the current school year.

—North Carolina: This is one of the few Southern states which attempts to keep full and current records on the private schools within its boundaries. It even has a paid coordinator of non-public schools. North Carolina has witnessed a steadily increasing private school enrollment, from 18,721 students in 1964 to 36,470 students in 1970-71, an increase of approximately 18,000. Eighty-one private schools have been created in the state since 1964, 31 in the last year.

—South Carolina: The department of education estimates that 35,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 9,000 more than last year and approximately 17,000 more than in 1964. The number of private schools also has risen sharply, from a reported 78 in 1964 (there were 48 in 1954) to 139 in 1969-70. The membership in the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association has risen to 60 member schools this year, compared with 31 in mid-1969. Officials of that organization say there are many more operating in the state which are too inferior in quality to be members.

—Tennessee: The state does not keep private school statistics (except for those few—37 in 1969-70—which voluntarily request state approval) and public school enrollment figures show no significant decrease this year. Observers at the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville feel the segregation academy movement in Tennessee has been limited.

—Texas: The state department of education did not respond to SRC inquiries in time for inclusion in this report. HEW estimates that this year 57,000 are enrolled in private schools, a drop of almost 4,000 from the previous year. This drop probably reflects declining parochial school

enrollment, which is large in this state, and growth of segregated private education, if any, is not reflected.

—Virginia: The Old Dominion, a pioneer in the academy movement (Prince Edward Academy in Farmville has provided a model for other states), reports 56,304 Virginia residents enrolled in private schools this year, an increase of 5,847 from the previous year. The busing issue in Richmond and Norfolk has contributed to this increase.

IRS and the Academies

The signal event in the life of the new "segregation academy" movement during the past year, aside from its continued spread, was the Internal Revenue Service's decision on July 10 that it "can no longer legally justify allowing tax-exempt status to private schools which practice racial discrimination nor can it treat gifts to such schools as charitable deductions for income tax purposes." At first glance this new policy seemed a victory for civil rights advocates who had long argued for an end to indirect public subsidy, through the tax system, of private segregated schools organized deliberately to avoid public school desegregation. However, as the first favorable rulings were announced under the new policy, it became painfully clear that the IRS, in accepting "good faith" statements by the schools themselves as to whether they discriminate, was defeating its own stated policy.

According to Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Randolph Thrower (who since then has resigned from his position) the IRS is issuing favorable rulings "based on representations of fact made to us in writing by responsible officers of the school setting forth its admission policy and the publication of this to the public." He continued, in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in August: "Our whole basis of tax administration in this country . . . is based on trust. We assume a voluntary compliance . . . ."

To assume "voluntary compliance" on the part of Southern segregationists is to ignore realities that by now should be second nature to any federal official involved in civil rights enforcement. In the South, a simple statement by a private school that it is open to all regardless of race obviously will not be sufficient.

As of December 30, 1970, six months after announcement of the new policy, the IRS had not initiated revocation of the tax-exempt status of any of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the nation which already had tax-exempt status outstanding. (In Mississippi, the exemptions of 30 such schools were suspended, but this was under court order in the case of *Green vs. Kennedy and Thrower.*) Nor has the Southern Regional Council been able to ascertain that any of the 136 private school applications pending with the IRS as of July 10, 1970, have received unfavorable rulings.

Information and the Public

In an interview in December, Stuart Patt, an IRS spokesman, declined to say whether IRS had made even one unfavorable ruling outside the

Mississippi cases. "We don't make announcements on that," he said. "As long as schools are not exempt, they are taxpayers entitled to the same privileges under the law as all taxpayers . . . . We are prohibited by law from disclosing the affairs of a taxpayer."

This interpretation was rejected by the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia when it ordered the IRS to make public the names of the 30 schools under its jurisdiction whose tax exemptions were suspended. Many believe that all such IRS rulings, favorable or unfavorable, are matters of public record.

The subject of private schools at the IRS is "so sensitive that we've been cautioned to follow correct procedures," Mrs. June Norris, acting chief of the rulings section, Exempt Organizations Branch, told a researcher who inquired about such information for this report. This "sensitivity" has led to equivocation by some members of the IRS bureaucracy. For example Mr. Patt declined to supply an SRC researcher the list of *136* schools whose applications for tax exemption IRS Commissioner Thrower said were pending July 10, 1970. "Until they receive the exemptions, we can't disclose anything about them," Patt said. However, the IRS did supply the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity a list of *137* private schools with applications pending as of August 7, 1970, and the list was published in the record of the hearings which are available to the public.

To further confuse matters, the IRS, after announcing in Washington the names of the first seven schools which received favorable rulings, began with the eighth favorable ruling to make announcements only at the district-office level. There are 58 districts. Furthermore, rulings on the 17,000 to 18,000 private schools with exemptions outstanding will be made at the district level, according to Terry Gastell of the IRS Public Information Office in Washington. He said he did not think the names of schools approved or disapproved on review would be available in Washington. "We will probably have some statistics," he said.

The IRS, then, is giving no assurances at this time that information regarding any of its rulings, favorable or unfavorable, will be made available to the public generally. Without such information a meaningful evaluation of the effects of the new IRS policy on private school tax exemption will be all but impossible.

Favorable Rulings

As of December 2, 1970, a total of 58 private schools had been granted advance assurance of tax exemption by the IRS. The Southern Regional Council was able to obtain a copy of this list from the IRS in Washington. Of those schools granted favorable rulings, nine were in Mississippi and under jurisdiction of the federal court in the *Green* case. (Eight of these schools are awaiting decision by the court on an appeal by the plaintiffs, who contend that the schools, despite their declaration that they have a non-discriminatory admissions policy, are "part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white

students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The ninth school, the Saints Academy in Lexington, is integrated and its exemption was not challenged by the plaintiffs.)

Of the 49 private schools outside Mississippi which have been granted tax exemption, one school, the Pinewood Christian Academy in Claxton, Ga., does not appear on the list of 137 private schools with applications pending August 7 (as listed in the committee hearings). Nor were the names of the first seven schools which received IRS approval on July 19 on the list supplied to the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee by the IRS. It is very difficult, therefore, to determine whether the IRS is presently issuing rulings only on those schools whose applications were pending at the time of the policy change or whether the IRS is adding, and approving, private schools. Furthermore, current IRS policy makes it impossible to determine which schools with applications pending, if any, have received unfavorable rulings.

Violations

Shortly after the first six IRS exemptions were announced, Mrs. Ruby Martin of the Washington Research Project testified before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity that at least three of the six private schools granted exemption fit "the classic pattern of the segregation academy." At later hearings before this committee, the IRS commissioner said: "We have not at this time made an effort to determine the motivation for the formation of the seven schools about which you specifically requested." Adding that decisions were "prospective" and that the IRS was giving all schools ample opportunity to "conform," Thrower refused to be convinced that a school which was organized to avoid public school desegregation and which remained segregated should be judged on those grounds. "I am not willing," he said, "to make the assumption that assurances given us in writing by the leaders of any institution will represent a farce and a fraud. If any are, we want that called to our attention."

Sen. Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, called to Thrower's attention the following evidence provided by Robert Valder of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.:

> . . . . The information contained below was obtained by Mr. Ernest Johnson, a black resident of Alabama . . . .
>
> Mr. Johnson went to Newnan, Ga., at my request to obtain certain information about Heritage School on July 31 and August 1, 1970. Mr. Johnson first talked to two black residents of Newnan who wish to remain anonymous. One of the residents told Mr. Johnson that the Newnan City Council, in a meeting during the summer of 1969, had discussed methods of 'keeping the niggers out of' the Heritage School. One method discussed during that meeting was to charge excessively high tuition.
>
> In order to get the most complete information possible, I had asked Mr. Johnson to attempt to obtain an application form for

this school. Accordingly, Mr. Johnson decided to ask a black parent to go to the office of this school and say that she was thinking about enrolling one of her children in the school. She refused because she said she had seen an article in the local paper during the summer of 1969 which stated that this school was for 'whites only.' Mr. Johnson went to the local newspaper office in an attempt to locate that article, but was told that newspapers were not retained in that office for that length of time. Mr. Johnson then went to the school's office and talked to Mr. George H. Keller Jr. who is headmaster.

Mr. Johnson told Mr. Keller that he was thinking about enrolling his child in this school and would like to obtain an application form and any other relevant information. Mr. Keller told Mr. Johnson that at the present time no Negroes had applied to enroll their children in the school but that Mr. Johnson could make such an application if he had $750.00 'in your ass pocket.' Mr. Keller did give Mr. Johnson an application form and information about tuition costs. Mr. Johnson said Mr. Keller's general demeanor towards him was 'nasty and hostile.'

Mr. Keller also told Mr. Johnson that if his children were enrolled they would have to be 'clean and decent.'

Enclosed is a copy of the application form for this school. It should be noted that references are required; obviously such a requirement would act as a deterrent should any black person have the desire to attempt to enroll his child in this school . . . .

Enclosed are Xeroxed copies of clippings from the Newnan *Times-Herald*. The clipping dated July 9, 1970, does not state that this school is open to blacks. One of the clippings dated July 16, 1970, does make such an indication. The implication being that suddenly this school became open to black students . . . .

Commissioner Thrower rejected the deeply distrubing allegations in Mr. Johnson's report. He preferred to believe that the Heritage officials were acting in good faith. To the knowledge of SRC, the IRS has not yet investigated the Legal Defense Fund's complaints against the Heritage School.

While Thrower testified that he would welcome information from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson later said that the burden of monitoring private schools will be on private citizens. He said Southerners who feel the private schools are discriminating can complain to the IRS or file suit.

Enforcement

The Southern Regional Council recently discovered that five of the six private schools in South Carolina which have been granted tax exemption as of December 2 are members of the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association. The sixth school, the Union Academy, received advice at its inception from Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a hero of the white Citizens Councils and a founder of the South Carolina associa-

tion, which has been closely aligned with the Citizens Councils organization. The Union Academy, according to one of its board members, intends to join the association in the near future.

One of the first schools to be granted exemption by the IRS under its policy is the Gaffney Day School. As early as 1966 this school was listed as a member of the South Carolina association and it is on record with the IRS as having "applied for membership in the South Carolina Independent School Association and this will be the accrediting agency." When the Gaffney School first appeared on the membership roster of the South Carolina association, Dr. Wannamaker, then president of the group, told the Columbia *State* and *Record* (July 10, 1966): "We're here because we have convictions—and we're going to stay. It's not token integration we're concerned about, but the effects mass integration will have on our schools in the future . . . . The immediate concern is this heavy ratio, the future concern is amalgamation of the races which takes three generations." In the past Dr. Wannamaker has indicated he believes in the inherent inferiority of Negroes and on one occasion he told the Washington *Post:* "I'm an old-time conservative. I believe it's heredity first and environment second. Many (Negroes) are little more than field hands."

The South Carolina Independent School Association's close relationship with the white Citizens Councils often has been kept in the background. As early as February, 1966, an article by Dr. Wannamaker entitled "Private Schools—Developments in South Carolina," appeared in *The Citizen,* the monthly publication of the Citizens Council, and his picture was on the cover. In June, 1969, William J. Simmons, administrator of the Citizens Council, told a New York *Times* reporter that "there are about 24 (private schools) in South Carolina, where the council-sponsored school system is called the Independent School Association . . . ." Later that year Mr. Simmons attended the annual convention of the South Carolina association at Hilton Head as an "observer." The Columbia *State* on December 15, 1969, reported: "The soft-spoken, easy-talking Mississippian said forthrightly that he isn't much impressed by some private school-men who emphasize the need for quality education. He said, matter-of-factly, the root is school integration."

The five schools in South Carolina which have been granted favorable rulings by the IRS, despite their membership in an association which has linked arms with the white Citizens Councils and which in earlier days espoused segregation openly but which now couches its beliefs in terms of "quality education", are:

> The Gaffney School, Gaffney; Holly Hill Academy, Holly Hill; Thomas Heyward Academy, Ridgeland; Coastal Academy; Myrtle Beach; Thomas Hart Academy, Hartsville.

(The sixth school, Union Academy, which received a favorable ruling from the IRS, plans to join the South Carolina association in the near future.)

Because of the new IRS policy, all these schools now have publicly espoused a non-discriminatory admissions policy and published it in a local newspaper (to satisfy an IRS requirement), something not all members of the South Carolina association are sure they are willing to do, even hypocritically. Hillyer Rudisill III, a ranking official in the South Carolina association, recently said he is wary of publishing a statement on non-discrimination in the local newspaper and then claiming that no qualified Negro has applied. Even that would be "capitulation" to the federal government, in his view. "If you said there were no qualified Negro applicants, some Yankee psychologist would come down and say the tests are culturally biased," he said.

Sentiments like these suggest the real spirit of the segregation academy movement. Commissioner Thrower, however, did not consider them relevant. It is his judgment that the IRS exemption rulings should be based only on officially published statements. This policy ignores the cynicism of the statements and the fact that they are designed to placate the IRS. "This policy," Thrower told the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, "makes available to all children, without regard to race, private education in the country which has the benefit of tax exemption. What we are assuring is availability, not attendance." Paper assurances, of course, do not insure availability and the IRS, in a recent attempt to recoup some of its credibility on the subject, told Atlanta *Journal* education editor Junie Brown that the July 10 ruling does not apply to such areas as "testing, grade requirements, high tuition and other technicalities to try to keep Negro students out while still proclaiming an open-door policy." Nor, obviously, does the IRS consider, as it hands out favorable rulings, the social and economic pressures of the white community—not to mention outright violence—which might face Negroes attempting to enroll their children in a private school in the South.

The Green Case

The ugly reality of the situation seems to have entirely escaped the Internal Revenue Service, but it has not escaped the plaintiffs in the *Green* case, who argued in December before the U. S. District Court in the District of Columbia that "the name of the game is paper compliance" to obtain tax-exempt status. The specific issue now before the court involves the eight schools in Mississippi which were granted favorable tax rulings by the IRS last fall. All eight have officially declared that they will accept applications from black pupils, but in none are blacks actually enrolled. One reason for this, an IRS lawyer argued, was that "none have applied."

The *Green* case is significant because it has ordered the IRS to "first affirmatively determine . . . that a school . . . is not a part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The judges, according to the Washington *Post,* "have made it clear that they were not entirely satisfied with IRS action to date." If the court requires the IRS

to go beyond paper compliance in Mississippi, it will surely be forced to do so in the rest of the country. ("Or else Jim Eastland would scream," noted Frank Parker, who is lawyer for the plaintiffs.) If so, then surely most of the 57 favorable rulings issued as of December 2, 1970, would have to be rescinded.

Schools With Favorable Rulings Outstanding

According to IRS sources, a review of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the country with favorable tax rulings outstanding is still in process. "We really don't know very much about the admissions policy of these schools," IRS Spokesman Stuart Patt said. "We have sent out a questionnaire form to all schools we could possibly pick off our lists." Patt said the due date for return of these questionnaires was December 30, 1970. "Until the examinations branch has all of these questionnaires back and goes through them, we won't be able to undertake a full-scale examination in this area," he said. He added that no tax exemptions for private schools approved in previous years had been revoked as of December 30, 1970.

Unless the court intervenes, the IRS will probably continue its farcical acceptance of the written word. There is no evidence that the IRS has yet conducted field examinations or considered the racial constituency of the student body (an earlier criterion announced by the IRS, but later dropped from the record) of a private school seeking tax exemption. All evidence points toward satisfaction with the present policy.

Despite the IRS's new policy on private schools, the government is continuing its indirect subsidy of segregated private schools by granting favorable rulings to schools which hypocritically announce an open-door policy. Its announced position is that if a school's tax-exempt status is revoked, gifts or contributions made to it before the revocation will not be affected. A school already might have received its major capital gifts before adverse action is taken in Washington. Thus, on the strength of bad judgments by IRS in the initial phase, some schools that are not eligible for an exemption will have received the benefit of one at the most crucial stage of their development. While approximately 85 per cent of the private schools' operating costs can be met by tuition and other fees, funds for capital improvements are almost totally dependent upon contributions.

As a letter to the editor of the New York *Times* (August 2, 1970) suggests: "By such action these schools would be able to assure their contributors that the deductibility of their contributions would not be in question. After the buildings have been completed and the buses have been bought out of tax deductible contributions, the effect of a revocation is not harsh since the daily operating costs may be satisfied through tuition payments.

"If the administration is sincere in its aim to prevent the formation of tax-exempt segregated schools, it should ask the IRS to point out that a deliberate misrepresentation in a tax exemption application constitutes a

crime, with a maximum penalty of a fine of $5,000 and three years imprisonment."

Effect on Public Education

While the proportion of students enrolled in all private schools in the South is still below the national average, the growth of private school enrollments in some areas has had an undermining effect on the public schools. The South, a region which traditionally has been at the bottom in virtually every aspect of public education, is again being victimized by its own racial fears. Because of the private school movement, many areas are seeing a return to separate-but-unequal education. According to the latest figures from the National Education Association, four Southern states show a significant drop in public school enrollment this year:

State	*1969/70*	*1970/71*	*Loss*
Alabama	825,072	803,507	—21,565
Louisiana	853,766	842,365	−11,401
Mississippi	575,284	534,395	−40,889
South Carolina	648,182	646,100	− 2,082

In many areas within these states the public school systems are becoming all-black. In many of these instances the school boards remain under the control of whites who are sending their children to private schools. Instances of the transfer or gift of public school property and materials to private schools have been alleged. State revenue to public schools, usually based on average daily attendance, has decreased with white flight and evidence is accumulating that local bond issues for public schools in several Southern states are being voted down because of the move to the academies.

The problem compounds itself. As black enrollment increases, achievement test scores begin to drop, reflecting centuries of educational abuse Negroes have suffered in segregated schools and a segregated society. Negro drop-out rates increase because the public school system in the South is still, generally, a white middle-class institution which does not effectively serve its new constituents. White parents became more and more reluctant to send their children to schools as the percentage of blacks in a school increases and the benefits of an integrated education are lost to all. The present institutional framework of public education is generating trouble and unless effective solutions are created, there is a grave danger that public education in many parts of the South will disintegrate.

Because the segregation academy movement is a prime factor in this depressing state of education in the region, it is imperative that all publicly-supported encouragement of segregated private schools—by tax exemptions, free lunches, etc.—be withdrawn at once. Further, to insure an educated populace for the future, minimal standards of quality should be required of all private schools for the safety and well-being of all.

BLACK STUDENTS SPEAK:

THEY'RE LOOKING TO US AS EXAMPLES

(The following is from a tape recording of a discussion by four black high school seniors who are in their first year at a fully integrated school in a small southern city. It is not necessarily representative of all problems or ranges of opinion among southern students. But it does suggest the concrete reality of a situation about which adults have done so much abstracting and generalizing. And it reflects that which in all southern young people needs only encouragement and honest adult leadership for the making of a better South and better America.)

FIRST STUDENT: You know it may not seem important to some people. But to us—you know we had been going to [all-black school] for three years—and to go to another school and lose all our identity wouldn't seem right to us. Because you know we had more pride in our school than to just go lose it. So we wanted our school colors—you know not all of them—but consolidated. We wanted part of our colors to be there, too. I mean they really sort of played our school color out. They had more of theirs than ours. They just gave a few stripes. [laughter]

SECOND STUDENT: They just had a little stripe of gold [on football uniforms]. All the rest of it was [formerly predominantly white school] colors. For them it was just like last year—only instead of having a little white stripe they had a little gold stripe.

THIRD STUDENT: Football. That's where most of the problems come from—football. The Negro students and the coaching staff—how we were treated over there. . . . They criticized our coaches—about how we played ball. Yet still we had the best players—most of the best players out there on the field were Negroes.

FOURTH STUDENT: Our head coach was assistant B-team coach and our head line coach was really assistant C-team coach and our one black coach on the varsity was—they always sent him down on the end with the leftovers. . . . The head coach [of the B-team] just started coaching this year.

THIRD STUDENT: I think they should change the whole coaching staff. As long as you have Negro players the kinds of things that happened this year will go on happening after the coach acted like he did this year.

FOURTH STUDENT: Rather than get a black head coach, they should

get a fair head coach. Get a man that's qualified. He doesn't have to be black to be qualified. Someone who can deal with both black and white ball players.

FIRST STUDENT: Someone who would treat one player as he would treat another.

SECOND STUDENT: [The present coach] will be back next year. But I don't think he should. They should get a coach who is fair to all players.

FIRST STUDENT: What his problem is—he is the authority over there at school.

THIRD STUDENT: He runs everything.

FIRST STUDENT: What he says—he tells the principal what to do. He can tell anyone what to do over there because you know—they consider him as a god because, you know, he had a pretty good season—winning teams, you know. So he thinks everything should go his way. And the principal lets him have his way.

THIRD STUDENT: On the basketball team it seems as though to me they [white and black co-coaches] try to do half-way right. If they make a decision they try to show that both of them discussed it and made the decision together. . . . The basketball situation is a lot better than the football situation [even though the white co-coach is, in effect, in charge of both the girls' and boys' teams]. Not just because we have more black players out there—even though the black players we have out there—they are the best.

FIRST STUDENT: [A big difference in the new school situation this year] is that the higher authorities expect you to change. You know—you've been going to a black school for twelve years and they expect you to change your ways, your traditions and everything, you know—even your language. They expect you to change this in a year . . . You can change a little. But there's no reason to change totally. The teachers—they're all right. They don't try to be so rough. Just a few do.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal and assistant principal, they'll get you in the office and the first thing they'll tell you is—you're supposed to be setting an example. You can't be with all the other black students out there. You got to walk this way. You got to talk this way. I told him one day, I'm on the student council and he going to tell me I couldn't be with those people. I told him they were the ones who elected me. For me to turn my back now—In other words they want you to be white. I mean they want me—if some trouble comes about—to tell 'em to be cool. Don't boycott. Go along with it. I know it's wrong. But go along with it. I don't believe in it.

SECOND STUDENT: They always tell us they're looking to us as examples. But we got to live with our color. They don't have to live with our color. They don't. We grew up with them. For us to go out there and change—uh-uh—ain't no way. They talk about you got to set an example. Don't do what you see everybody else doing. They want you to stay out from around ones they think cause a whole lot of trouble. We got a little

old place out there [in front of the school]. A lot of Negroes hang out there. They don't want you to hang out there. That's a bad group. You know it's mostly hippies and Negroes hang out there in front. I been with 'em all my life. I can't change in one year. . . . If a Negro don't come to school and they happen to see him on campus, he gets suspended. They've thrown out a lot of them, and the majority was Negro. . . . The Negroes and hippies get along very well.

FIRST STUDENT: They sort of had a reason for putting [security guards] in—consolidation, integration and all. They don't bug me. The majority are white. Some people say they bug them—they try to say they're like policemen or cops or something. But I don't think it should bug them. If you don't do wrong, they don't have anything to do.

FOURTH STUDENT: You have to give it to them. Some of them go out of the way to be nice to you. One of them, white, when he sees a black person, he says, "Brother—brother . . ." You can talk to them. . . . We get along with them. Black people do. But like I say, those hippies and some of the white people, they don't like them. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're just trying to do a job. I think it's good to have them over there . . .

I get along with most of the white kids. In football, we got along all right. They didn't get mad or anything while we were out there on the field. But now after football season is over with—we're just like somebody who just walked onto the schoolyard. When we were football players, they thought something of us.

FIRST STUDENT: The young black students—they can get along with the young white students. The young black students, they have a rather different idea towards older white people. I mean you can't—maybe it's just a generation gap or something like that . . . But the young white students, they sort of understand some parts of how we act.

SECOND STUDENT: All the while we were playing football, all the white football players—they only spoke to Negro football players. You know, seems like there were just a few who would speak to a Negro they didn't play football with. If they would see me coming down the hall, they'd speak. But if you didn't play no football they wouldn't have nothing to do with you. Then when football season was over—don't none of 'em speak to us. It don't make me no difference but—they say we're integrated, but we are not because when you go over there, you've got the blacks in one group, you've got the hippies in one group, you've got the whites in one group. You may find a few whites and blacks together. But mostly you got the whites and hippies and blacks . . . I ain't going to die over them not talking to me—but if you're going to integrate you ought to go over there and be together on things. I try to get along with them. We went over there trying to make the thing work. We gave them a lot. We went over there, we had to go by their rules. . . .

You know we used to have dances. Well, they cut that out. We like to go to dances. [The town] is pretty dead nowadays. You don't have anywhere

to go. Now we can't have a dance because somebody's going to get to fighting. That's the first thing they bring up.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they're going to fight, they'll fight anyhow. We are over there all day—we go to school together.

THIRD STUDENT: So why shouldn't we be able to go over there to a dance? We didn't have no homecoming court or anything. We go to school all day with them. Why shouldn't we be able to socialize with them at a dance? . . .

Anything they have over there, it looks like they try to eliminate a lot of Negroes from being in it, anyway.

FIRST STUDENT: If they're going to have integration over there, seems as though they should want the blacks and whites to get together. But seems like they try to keep us apart. I don't know what they think. I guess they think we can't be together.

FOURTH STUDENT: He [the principal] argued with me about assembly programs. We were going to have a black history program and [one on] Martin Luther King's assassination. He was afraid any time we get in there together there's going to be an all-out battle. We had one program, and he was afraid Negroes and whites were going to get to fighting then. Nobody didn't get in a fight. It was just like anything else. I told him one day, "What you trying to hide? If we go fight, you might as well get it over with. Let 'em fight." He dodged around all the issues, you know. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: The school year is almost half-way over, and we haven't had even two fights over to the school yet between black and white. I mean why do they try to avoid the issue? If the blacks want to fight, they'll fight. We're just like they [whites] are. I mean they try to label us as violent and all that. We are just like they are. We have brains.

THIRD STUDENT: I think that what we did last year, going over there protesting—that helped a lot. I bet you they weren't going to change the colors and all. Because they think that Negroes, we don't think about anything. That we would just go over there and give in to what they already had over there. We had traditions just like they did.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal admitted himself if it hadn't been for those demonstrations, they weren't going to change anything. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: You know you're not going to have many white people taking that [black history] course. I like the class myself. It reminds me of last year. When I go in there, it's mostly Negroes. Three hippies go in there. It's just like a regular [all-black school] class for me. I feel right with it. They say they don't have any class books for Negro history. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're doing things to bring about demonstrations over at that school.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they keep on, it's kind of like a steam pot. If you keep it on the stove the pressure builds, the top will blow off. . . . They should just show they aren't scared of us. Like they feel like we are wild, going to fight . . . . Give me a chance. They say, you know, hot weather—

we're supposed to riot and tear up in hot weather. That's the way black people are. That's what they believe, I guess. But if all along we had been having dances—you know, the more you become familiar with people the less it will be. Like going to school with them—you know, you don't notice white people too much. The first day you really noticed 'em—but now it's just common. If we had dances with 'em, it'd be common if we kept doing it.

FIRST STUDENT: I think they should have a dance and just see how it worked out with the Negroes and the whites. You can't hide from things. They going be thinking about the same thing we are right now. They're making it bad for themselves. For example—if you have a friend that's a white friend—if you made friends with him, you know and socialized with him, if something were to happen you wouldn't want to take it out on your friend—because he's a friend, too. He's just your friend. But I mean if you don't socialize with 'em or anything like that and he's just around, he may get hurt just like the rest of 'em. If you socialize, well, you know, you don't have any problems. If you're separate—like we're all-black and you're all-white—if something comes up, you don't care who gets hurt. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: When we started demonstrating, we didn't start off by going straight to violence. We went over there and tried to talk to the principal, and get a meeting going and everything. They tried to run us out.

[The most of violence that occurred in the demonstrations was by police during mass arrests. Some black students were involved in window breaking.]

FOURTH STUDENT: We had been meeting for two or three months and we couldn't find anything. No changes had been made; no attempt to make any changes had been made. . . . We tried to tell [an assistant principal] and he just ran us out. He literally ran us out from over there. After that there wasn't anything else to do but this other thing. Demonstrating worked better than talking.

FIRST STUDENT: Some people say you can't solve anything by violence. We didn't intend to solve it by violence. It wasn't going to be in a violent way but the stuff just kept building up and building up. We didn't try violence, but that's the way it turned out.

THIRD STUDENT: Like they say you can't handle things by violence, and they over there fighting in the war, trying to solve it by violence. . . You see that talking isn't getting you anywhere. You can't talk your way out of everything. You have to fight your way out sometimes. [laughter] . . .

The same thing will come about next year. They talk about building a new school. When they build a new school, they got to find a way. So why not be looking for it now. They wait 'til the last minute and then they go drop something down on your shoulders. And you're supposed to take that and go on with it. . . .

They get us and try to talk with us individually. We can't tell what everybody's going to be thinking about out there in the student body. The

principal and all have got to get the students together and talk about solving problems. They can't just get some of the folks. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: [The principal] is not the main problem. You know I talk to him a lot. I kind of feel sorry for him really. I think he's just scared. You know, he's trying to keep his school together so the people in this community won't get on him—because, you know, they got on him last year. I told him, "You ought to face the problem," you know, but he just don't want to face the problem. He tries to stay in the middle. The middle of the road is not the best answer. . . . Do it fairly. Go on and face the problem and let it go.

FIRST STUDENT: [A black assistant principal] is a pretty good guy. He tries to work with everybody. He don't just try to work with blacks and not work with whites. He tries to work with white and black, and you know, get us all together. He's not trying to be separatist or anything like that.

FOURTH STUDENT: The situation at that school would be worse if it weren't for [the same assistant principal] because, you know, he understands. He tries to understand you and he listens to the problem. He's helping not just white and not just black; he's helping the whole student body.

THIRD STUDENT: The white students and the black students trust him more than they do anybody else over there. . . .

They try to keep dodging. . . . I don't think it'll be any better myself. You try to be friends with the whites. Now you might be a friend with some that go to classes with you. But some of 'em you can't meet—they don't get a chance to see or anything.

FOURTH STUDENT: We get along with the white students. It's just the older people. I don't know—they've got the wrong—I don't know where their ideas come from.

THIRD STUDENT: If someone started now and when it comes to the students that come behind us someone would help try to bring it along again. It would keep building up and then one day it would be all right and everyone would be human beings.

FIRST STUDENT: If they keep us separated things are going to remain the same. It's going to be just like when they first started integration if they keep us separated. But if we mingle and become more understanding toward each other, why things could be better.

SECOND STUDENT: A lot of people say if it hadn't been for the football team, for the football, with Negroes going out there and getting along with the whites, and going along with it, things would have been all messed up. The way I look at it, they're going to have to get a better coach if they going to want this thing to work out.

THIRD STUDENT: If [the present coach] had been [in an integrated situation] three years ago, he wouldn't be there today. The students that were before us wouldn't stand for this. They think that we are violent, but the students that came before us . . . would have turned it out a long time ago.

FIRST STUDENT: Time . . . time solves a whole lot, you know. The students that were before us—some of them have told us they don't want to associate with whites and they don't want whites to associate with them. But time changes. We want to, you know, get together. Things can't go just separated all the time. But then—they hadn't experienced being with whites, whites with blacks, you know. They were just apathetic. They just didn't care about nothing. We do care. We want things to go on right.

THIRD STUDENT: We was young when we first started. . . . You can't teach an old dog new tricks. When we was young, we had a chance to associate with some white teachers. They talked to us. . . .

SECOND STUDENT: They think they can tell the Negro anything and he'll go along with it. But they're wrong. These Negroes, they've got to the point where they don't want to take no more foolishness. You've been through it so long that you've done got tired of it. Don't want to take it no more. Out there on the field, when the coach hollers at us, that's the white man, he's been hollering at us all the time. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: On a football team, you're going to get hollered at and if you deserve it. . . . I don't mind.

THIRD STUDENT: If you're black and you're not super, you don't get to play.

THIRD STUDENT: I think it's more the older whites than the younger whites. I get along with them. I've got more white friends—whites that I speak to.

FIRST STUDENT: You know my grandmother is 93 years old and you know she's kicking about pretty good. She tells me about what she used to go through, how she used to try to make a living. Compared to now, it was hard. I sort of think, you know, how could people treat people that way?

FOURTH STUDENT: You never will get total integration. You know that. But we're in there together. I figure if they'd put somebody eighteen or twenty years old in there as assistant principal and let 'em go on you know the school would be all right. People are people—I don't care. I don't say there'll be total integration. But I can live with you just as long as you'll live with me. Just like those people at school. We can live with them. We get along well with them.

FIRST STUDENT: You take a Martian and an Earthman, and they get together—you don't expect them to do the same thing. That's the way with Negroes and whites. You can't expect them to talk the same, dance the same. . . . Talk, dance, think.

THIRD STUDENT: All these things they're doing [at school]—some Negroes are looking at it. It won't take a whole group of folks to do it. If some Negroes get together and . . . . start something . . . then everybody's going to join in with it. I mean why shouldn't I help? If some Negroes get together and say, "I'm just fed up"—that's what happened over to the school last year. Everybody just started talking and the hall filled up and everything. . . . It won't be planned or anything; it'll just happen.

SECOND STUDENT: If it keeps going on like it's going now, there's going to be some trouble. If they keep ducking and dodging and going on like it is, just like the man says, it's going to get hot after awhile . . .

They're trying to hide [from] social life . . . Going out to dances and things with white people. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: Our Negro principal [last year] is a principal now in a night school. . . . We were trying to help him. If he had stuck with us he might have been a principal or assistant principal [at the integrated school]. We would like to see our principal get a good job.

THIRD STUDENT: Like our coach. He was the head coach and has fallen back to assistant coach. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: How does [the principal] feel now? I'd leave this town. . . Money helps. But my pride—being a man—that's what we're trying to get away from—these black men who . . . aren't men. They're "boy" you know—that's why they call them boys all the time. That's what we're getting away from. We want to be men.

FIRST STUDENT: If they don't want to talk with you, don't want to associate with you, don't want to say anything—and you go up to them and say something, and they'll walk on off. . . . That sort of gets me. I can't see why they think they are so much superior. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: Now my sister, she's real small. She probably doesn't think much about it [integration]. She's in the fifth grade. She gets along with the whites all right. They call her and she has friends. My little nephew, he brings white friends home, and he goes over there sometimes. The young folk get along all right.

FOURTH STUDENT: They've been going together all along. It's nothing new. . . .

March Status Report

of the

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

For the last five weeks, the activities and resources of the School Desegregation Project have been concentrated in five (5) states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina. The project activities in these states are outlined below.

Alabama:

Birmingham Southern and Daniel Payne Colleges in Birmingham, Alabama, are the focal points of the School Desegregation Project. During the past few weeks, several organizational/orientation meetings were held on the respective campuses to recruit and sensitize students to the needs and problems directly or indirectly confronting Alabama youth (secondary schools) in the desegregated situation. Follow-up training and strategy-building assistance will be provided for these volunteers on Saturday, March 28, 1971 in Birmingham, Alabama.

In addition to establishing pilot projects on the respective college campuses in Birmingham, representatives of the School Desegregation Project participated in a Voter Education Project-American Friends Service Committee-Southern Regional Council-sponsored planning meeting of students and student affiliates to ascertain

student interest in pulling together a statewide youth conference to deal with the eighteen-year-old vote; school desegregation; and, other youth-related problems. Through participation in this, and the follow-up meeting planned for March 28, 1971 in Montgomery, at least forty students will have been introduced to the aims and objectives of the School Desegregation Project and its activities.

With the assistance of the Black Student's Association, pilot projects have been initiated on the Auburn University campus. Follow-up meetings will be held with these interested students in early April.

During the last week in March, Leon Hall, project coordinator of the School Desegregation Project will spend a week touring the state of Alabama, meeting with student groups (high school and college) to get a clearer picture of what's happening with students in the state and to introduce the project. This tour will culminate in the Montgomery conference on March 28th.

Florida:

The School Desegregation Project is presently exploring the possibility of cooperation/coordination with the three-thousand member Student Concern Organization which has already established an intra-state regional communication/volunteer framework for promoting youth-oriented projects. The project participated in the

Southwest Regional Student Concern Conference in an attempt to facilitate and enhance this coordination/cooperation. At least thirty-five youth/youth affiliates attended the conference.

Tentative commitments were received from members of the Florida Consortium on Education to serve in resource capacities. Additionally, the project has been introduced in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Tampa and Tallahassee with organizational efforts proceeding on the campuses of Florida State University and Miami-Dade Junior College.

Georgia:

The Georgia pilot project continues to be based at Mercer College in Macon, Georgia. In an effort to promote on-campus participation, the project members have been holding weekly orientation/training meetings. The project's field coordinator participated in one of these sessions, held in conjunction with a graduate educational psychology class. Approximately sixty people of varied professions participated.

The Mercer volunteers have initiated contacts with other colleges in the state in an attempt to initiate and organize a statewide communications network. Follow-up visits to these campuses are scheduled throughout April.

Through field activities, primarily centered in Columbus,

Augusta, Macon and on-campus recruitment, the Mercer pilot project has reached at least one-hundred students in the past two months. More specifically, project members in Columbus, Georgia are assisting in the development of a Cooperative Grocery Store.

Mississippi:

Pilot projects in Mississippi are based at Jackson State, Tougaloo, and Millsaps Colleges in Jackson, Mississippi. Eight Tougaloo students are engaged in follow-up activities in their respective home communities and in the compilation of their findings into one report. These activities are based upon the information and insight gathered through participation in the five-week interim project.

The coordinators at Millsaps College have held several meetings during the past two weeks. Strategy-building/training sessions are scheduled with the project coordinators for the first week in April.

In addition to these activities, the School Desegregation Project participated in an NEA-sponsored planning session geared towards the initiation and promotion of a Mississippi Educational Conference in early April and helped to initiate a supportive tutorial program for recently re-instated students in Coffeeville, Mississippi.

South Carolina:

At least five organizational meetings have been held at the University of South Carolina - three within the last four weeks. Through the efforts of the School Desegregation Project, at least eighty students have been introduced to the project of which five are now serving as campus coordinators.

For the past few weeks, the field activities of the School Desegregation Project have been focused upon incidents and activities at the J. W. Kennan High School in Columbus. Last week, a potentially volatile racial situation was averted, in part, through the efforts of the project coordinator and the project team at Kennan High through their initiation of a dialogue session among some of the key parties involved.

The project also ran a strategy-building/orientation workshop in Aiken, South Carolina for approximately sixty high school students. Strategies for making administrators and teachers sensitive and responsive to the needs and problems of students were discussed.

Richard Gergel, one of the student coordinators at J. W. Kennan High School, recently contributed an article to NEW SOUTH entitled: "School Desegregation - A Student View."

Other Activities:

In addition to the activities in the states outlined earlier, the School Desegregation Project was represented at a regional youth conference at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The project participated in and will continue to participate in the planning, development and implementation of the youth portion of the Virginia Council on Human Relation's annual meeting format. The project has also been invited to participate in the forthcoming YWCA Institute on Racism and Education in Charlotte, North Carolina on April 16-18.

DECADE OF FAILURE

I: The Making of a Revolution

A. Brown decision: crucial in shaping quest for black freedom.

1. Often forget--now in xera of ambivalence & doubt--central role it played in defining nature of race problem in U.S., and way in which problem had to be resolved.

2. Central to freedom struggle before WWII: general acceptance of framework of segregation, under rubric of sep. but equal

(a) acceptance by white liberals: make separate equal
(b) Negro leadership: whatever fundamental beliefs, adopt pragmatic strategy: hit at points of least resistance.
(c) upshot: general posture assumed by reformist groups in race relations: pursue goal of freedom without serious challenge to segregation.

3. Search for new directions begins gradually

(a) 1930's: basis laid w. spread of scientific lit. on race, national criticism of "system", widespread reform ferment: but practical results few.

(b) World War Two: democracy v. racism; ferment among black leaders, esp. in North

(c) heightening of racial tensions: seg. apperxs more clearly than ever before as symbol of oppression

B. NAACP & Origins of Brown

1. Central role of NAACP

2. Legal attack provided focus for issue

3. Strategy: force court to examine real meaning of separate but equal dictum: never done before since Plessy

4. Dual significance of strategy:

(a) highlighted specific inequities in public education

(b) sharpened perception of nature of assumptions & practices of racial discrimination undergirding society as a whole

(c) hence: contributed powerful, specific evidence to drive home two points (i) pretensions to equal education of separated races a monstrous sham; (ii) spirit of racism infecting education central to all aspects of Am. life.

5. Enlightenment, piecemeal, through the case record:

(a) Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada (1938): black law students sent out of state for law school

(b) Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma (1948): not good enough to defer admission because black law school is soon to be established.

(c) McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (1950): discrimination within graduate school of education not permissible.

(d) Sweatt v. Painter (1950): Comes closer than any previous case to saying separate can't be equal -- tho, like others, principle itself isn't struck down.

C.J. Vinson:

"In terms of number of the faculty, variety of courses and opportunity for specialization, size of the student body, scope of the library, availability of law review and similar activities, the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school. Such qualities...include reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige. It is difficult to believe that one who had a free choice between these law schools would consider the question close."

C. The Brown Decision

1. Combination of cases: S.C., Va., Del., Kansas, [D.C. sep. case]

2. Argument, 1952. Decision: May 17, 1954.

3. NAACP brief: Thurgood Marshall

(a) tangible inequality exists or being approached

(b) beyond that: seg. itself source of inequality

4. Principal points:

(a) segregation on basis of race "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

(b) qu. w. approval finding in Kansas case: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect on the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group...."

(c) "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

5. Larger significance:

(a) segregation incompatible w. dem. ideology of nation

(b) segregation incompatible w. achievement of freedom & equality of blacks

(c) hence: issue of segregation now moves to center of concern of civil rights movement: specifically in education, more generally as acid test to be applied in other areas.

II: Right Without a Remedy: The Problem of Enforcement.

A. Query: What was to be meaning of new decision? What wd. happen to great victory won by Negro leadership?

1. Perspective of 1971: failure & ~~xxxxix~~ chaos in wake of decision bred bitterness, disillusionment, alienation: loss of faith in the very constitutional processes black and white leaders of '54 most heavily depended on.

2. Larger question: how are major social changes brought about? Study of school desegregation in South one of best case studies.

B. Next two lectures will be concerned with some of the fundamental psychological, ideological, and educational issues raised by the history of the struggle for school deseg. All of these were profoundly influenced by the record of chaos and failure in the first decade -- hence survey & comment on that record in this first lecture.

C. Part of story--and major source of eventual alienation--is record of fed govt's failure to support Ct's decision w. both moral commitment & exec-legis enforcement policies.

1. Brown I: postpone implementation; Brown II, May, 31/1955: district courts ordered "to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases."

(a) year's delay: to prepare for compliance hurdles

(b) court traditionally lacks means of enforcing its decrees: depends on consensus backed by legislation & exec. dept. action: point vividly illustrated after 54 with huge burden on district judges, many of whom were unsympathetic.

(c) case-by-case approach insured snail's like pace: Brown II applied, strictly, only to original litigants: pattern of future: no compliance except after individual case litigation

(d) w. no follow-up momentum fm fed govt--no justice dpt suits, no legislative requirements, no muscle fm. the president--nearly all work of enforcement performed by a private agency: L.D.F.

2. In this situation, record of compliance not surprising:

(a) border states (where seg required by law): Md., Ky., Mo., Del., Okla., W.Va. & D.C. moved w. degree of good faith in desegregating schools (e.g., in 1955-56 329 of their 908 school districts w b. students had some measure of desegregation.)

(b) Southern states -- 11 states of old Confederacy - a dif. story:

School Year	DesegStates	Blacks in Deseg Schools	New States Deseg
1954-55	2	.001	Tex, Ark
1955-56	3	.115	Tenn
1956-57	4	.144	N.C.
1957-58	4	.151	-
1958-59	5	.132	Va.
1959-60	6	.160	Fla.
1960-61	7	.162	La.
1961-62	8	.241	Ga.
1962-63	8	.453	-
1963-64	10	1.17	Ala., S.C.
1964-65	11	2.25	Miss.

(c) ten years after Brown I were more black students in segregated schools than had been in 1954.

3. Legislative support fm Congress: recurrent requests; consistent refusals. Section 5 of 14th Amendment provided basis; not acted on until 1964: ten years before national conscience sufficiently shocked to underwrite positive legislation.

D. Presidential neutrality: Eisenhower. Throughout years in office kept his own counsel. Refused to endorse rightness of Brown decision, and spoke of opposition in South more in terms of extenuation than of rebuke.

1. Asked about his reaction to 1956 Southern Manifesto:

"Now, the first thing about the manifesto is this: that they say they are going to use every legal means. No one in any reasonable position anywhere has talked nullification, because--and there would be a place where we get to a very bad spot for the simple reason that I am sworn to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and, of course, I can never abandon or refuse to carry out my own duty.

"But let us remember that the Supreme Court itself talked about emotionalism in this question, and it was for that reason that it said 'progress must be gradual.'"

Reminded that several state legislatures had expressly talked of nullification, Ike responded:

"Now this is what I say: there are adequate means of determining all of these factors. The Supreme Court has issued its own operational directives and delegated power to the district courts.

"I expect that we are going to make progress, and the Supreme Court itself said it does not expect revolutionary action suddenly executed.

"We will make progress, and I am not going to attempt to tell you how it is going to be done."

X

2. Lacking in moral leadership, Eisenhower also failed to act at critical junctures.

   (a) Mansfield, 1956: South learns defiance is possible

   (b) Clinton, 1956: South learns price of compliance is heavy: no aid frm. fed. gov't.

   (c) some argue was slight momentum up to fall of '56; point to leveling off thereafter (until Kennedy administration) and cite Mansfield-Clinton episodes as crucial.

E. Major achievement of Eisenhower years--only real advance in quest for school deseg: breaking the back of the massive resistance movement.

1. Moot question as to whether massive resistance was inevitable: arguments that it cd. have gone the other way, if ct. had not granted delay; if enforcement had been firmer. Clear, in any case, w/o cong or presidential leadership agnst it, massive resistance virtually inevitable.

2. Is clear, though, that m.r. broken, not by Eisenhower--dramatic though Little Rock was, was Sup Ct., not sending of troops, that turned the tide.

3. Court--cautious though it was--played a fairly consistent role in these early years.

   (a) generally accepted plans that showed token compliance--as in case of N.C.

   (b) did not accept plans--as in case of Va.--that refused any compliance at all.

   (c) thus: was striking down, in 1958 & 1959 of massive resistance legislation that ended one era and opened up another.

F. Tokenism and a national consensus: 1958-1964

1. Actual desegregation in new era largely symbolic

(a) not until 1963 that as many as 1% of blacks in deseg. schools

(b) not until 1964 that some measure of desegregation achieved in all southern states.

2. Imp. changes in attitudes did follow collapse of m.r.

(a) gradual forging of a national consensus for integration

(b) steady increase in South of acceptance of rightness, in principle, of desegregation

3. These changes came about because of

(a) awareness of futility of passive resistance

(b) increasing effectiveness of xxxx propaganda for equal treatment

(c) election of JFK: a president willing to

i. articulate the national consensus

ii. commit the executive branch to vigorous enforcement methods avoided by his predecessor -- withal slowly & only in response to pressures

(d) eventual congressional action--in form of Civil Rights Act of 1964--which Act was passed only as a consequence of the bestiality of Birmingham and the assassination of JFK.

4. Primary, overriding cause of change: the Negro Revolt

(a) nb: LDF all along had been major instrument for implementing the Supreme Court decision

(b) now--esp after 1 Feb 1960--Negro revolt (non-violent civil disobedience, directed at all phases of racism) led by SNCC and SCLC became the primary force in changing national thought & forcing executive action and congressional legislation.

i. demonstrations shattered racist myths and bared the full dimensions of the bedrock of racism of southern society

ii. violence of southern reaction, contrasted with steadfastness and idealism of Negro revolt (w. heroic qualities of courage and self-sacrifice), provided the traumatic shock treatment needed to

(a) jostle the national conscience
(b) stiffen the will of the President
(c) embarass the Congress into action

5. Summary, then: a decade in which there was a right without a remedy; such remedy as there was, was provided by a private agency; then, a broadened revolt whose major success lay in heightening the perception of the moral issues involved, and causing at least the beginning of a movement toward compliance. By 1964, however, the reality of school desegregation was a reality of overwhelming tokenism.

III: Violence & Intimidation: The Recalcitrance of the South

A. Failure of enforcement policies of federal gov't provide context w/in wh. must appraise meaning of resistance of South to deseg.

1. Common to say fed. policies cd. hardly have succeeded no matter what they were -- given determination of white South to resist.

(a) will not examine this proposition (it is, in any case, an "iffy" one not susceptible of proof)

(b) can say, tho, that there is evidence to suggest the contrary.

2. Look at matter differently: whatever results cd. or cd. not have been w. dif. policies facts are two:

(a) policies were not different

(b) enforcement was not obtained

3. Is genuine historical validity in starting from those two points: in order to examine consequence of those facts.

B. Southern resistance to deseg. seldom analyzed in its relationship to fed. policy -- too often the other way around. try this perspective.

1. Full story of the Southern resistance too large to summarize here (and many parts of it will be used in subsequent lectures, when talk about actual operation of deseg. in the schools)

(a) clear, tho, that virtually every conceivable means of resistance was tried: ~~illegal,illegal~~ legal & illegal; violent & nonviolent; ingenious & simple minded

(b) clear, too, that South missed a rare historic opportunity: the opportunity to prove that it had learned the lesson of its long history of living with ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ suffering and oppression: to show that the burden it had borne in the past--so dif. fm the n'nl experience--cd. be a source of wisdom and humanity that might enlighten the rest of the nation.

(c) Instead of seizing the moment, South turned the crisis into one of sorriest moments in its history -- a history filled with many sorry moments

(d) not just that leadership failed; or that money and energy used to fight deseg. set back educational progress; or that violence erupted & people were maimed and killed--these were bad enough. Perhaps worse, though, were these:

i. the delicate balance--historic--between hate & tolerance was totally skewed: South became a land of explicit hate and fear

ii. the hate and the fear had a heavy toll on whites & blacks alike, making it far more difficult to respond positively when the day of tokenism wd. be passed, when schools wd. in fact be desegregated.

iii. was this spiritual malaise, perhaps more than anything else, that poisened the quest for integration. (and will trace this out, along its several courses, in next two lectures)

2. At the time--esp in early 60's, at height of direct action phase of c.r. movement--the n'nl consensus for integration was built on a dual premise:

(a) the nobility of the Negro revolt, in contrast to

(b) the uniquely evil character of the white South

3. Was a false premise: true that, for that time, the manifestation of evil was uniquely a southern phenomenon. Was not true, though, that the responsibility for that manifestation was uniquely southern.

(a) here importance of lack of commitment of federal policy: that lack was a reflection of the weakness of a national will

i. Northern outrage, for most part, was directed at Southern resistance, not at absence of federal commitment

(b) thus, can argue that weakness of federal commitment and excess of southern resistance were part of a national pattern that traced back to the racism of the country as a whole

i. hence: decade of failure was much more complex than simply a story of the bad guys against the good guys -- was deeply embedded in the national experience itself. -- and that was what was so depressing about it.

C. Conclusion: how, then, do we judge the first decade?

1. At the end of the decade--1964--favorable judgments were common.

(a) die-hard southern resistance appeared to be broken: mass hysteria had receded.

(b) The Civil Rights Act of 1964 seemed to promise vigorous enforcement of school desegregation (although, as cynics noted, the North was left off the hook)

(c) the national consensus appeared safe. (LBJ "We Shall Overcome")

(d) truly remarkable surface changes had taken place in race relations: and the public accommodations and employment sections of the 1964CRA promised greater ones--with more substance--to come

(e) In short, to many, seemed that a decade of frustration marked by modest progress against overwhelming odds was about to give way to a new era of unprecedented progress.

2. Less favorable judgments - perhaps easier to see now ~~that~~ than they were in 1964. To many black Americans who had borne the brunt of the real fight (as well as to many young and idealistic whites who joined the movement) it seemed that

(a) ten years of saying "never" in the South cd. be equated with the "eventually, but not now" posture of the nation
"Some of you, but not all of you"

(b) the sense that the failure was a national one--not a uniquely southern one--wd. grow -- and its primary toll wd. be in undermining the commitment of the previously committed -- in engendering the sense of alienation from and disillusionment with ~~[illegible]~~ the nation as a whole --a sense of alienation and disillusionment that informed much of what was to happen in the coming years.

Tragedy of Tokenism

4:23

Introduction: Last night's lecture

Main point's of first lecture

1. Brown decision in 1954 declared seg. in pub. schools unconstitutional – but this "right" established – a right to an integrated education – was a right w/o a remedy

   (a) Court – w. "all deliberate speed" formula – proceeded cautiously: and had to, because it had no support from cong or pres.

   (b) Pres. failed to mold policy or assume moral leadership

   (c) Cong. failed to pass supportive legislation.

2. Results: worse than snail's like pace

   1963: first yr. in wh. as many as 1% b. in desegr sch.

   1964: first yr. in wh. desegr – in some measure – present in all sou. states.

3. Main point:

   This failure of enforcement not fault of south alone: —
   ~~as massive & bitter as S. resistance was – it was~~
   not ascribabable solely to the massive, bitter resistance of sou. segregationists.

   Instead: failure of fed. gov't to attempt vigorous policy of enforcement must be explained also as a function of a subtle, but pervasive racism that infected the nation as a whole.

4. Tonight – w. this bg in mind – I want to examine the nature & consequences of the fabric of tokenism that resulted from this national failure. — and I want to begin – want to make that examination after saying something about the pioneer students themselves – the young people who were the "tokens" in the era of tokenism.

recent opening for mobile & classm. Place p.5

THE TRAGEDY OF TOKENISM

I: The Pioneers

A. NAACE implemented the Brown decision; what of the children who went to the schools?

1. How do we evaluate the experience of the children, black (but white, too) in the first years of tokenism?

2. What were children like? What kinds of experiences did they have? What ~~xxxxxxxx~~ significance does their experience have for the future history of school desegregation?

3. Too often forget, in quarrels over desegregation, that schools are for children (or at least, they should be) and that the Negro demand for the end of school segregation was first of all a demand for the intellectual and spiritual liberation of the black children in the schools.

(a) Segregation, Justice Warren sd. in Brown, "generates a feeling of inferiority...that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

(b) did desegregation--has desegregation--done anything about this? (larger answer to this question in next lecture)

B. First: the pioneers, as Coles writes, fit "no set pattern." came from many different backgrounds; but did, as a group, play a unique role.

1. Modern history had no precedent for the part black children played in the movement for school desegregation--and in the larger civil rights movement: their direct involvement to change institutions & practices of an adult world

(a) were not "used" by adults (as many charged): e.g., ~~1~~ 1/2 of children who initiated Atlanta's token deseg. in 1961 had difficult time getting parental consent

(b) nor were they psychologically "disturbed"; on contrary, as studies of Coles & others have shown, the sense of purposefulness--the feeling that they could play a personal, significant part in tearing down an oppressive system & creating a liberating one greatly contributed to their healthy and creative psychological development

(c) many of them felt, because of the constraints on their parents, that they were their race's first truly independent spokesmen

(d) --and the students in the desegregated schools were influenced by, were part of, the ~~xxxxx~~ spirit that informed the larger civil rights movement in the South in those days.

John Lewis recently to PW:

> There was this very strong feeling we could change the hard-core segregationist attitudes and feelings. There were just a great many young people who believed in that hope--what we later came to calle the beloved community. It was a moral, religious-type movement. This came through in the mass meetings or preparing for a demonstration and in the demonstrations."

C. Some students & teadhers & experiences: case studies.

1. Some pioneers supported by elders--as in case of Sally, one of children who desegregated N.O. school system, who drew heavily on her grandmother's spirit when she met the hate & violence of the mobs. Grandmother was asked how they remained calm; why they didn't leave, go back to family in Miss.

   "If we run away, we'll fool ourselves; you can't run away from being a colored man. It don't make any difference where you go--you has the same problem, one way or another."

   Then asked if she thought those problems in any way comparable to those faced by white people., e.g., the whites who were resisting the mob's will, defying its boycott, keeping their children in school with Sally:

   "Yes," she replied firmly, "we is all the same under God, so we has the same problems; but colored folk has special ones, too. It's the same being colored as white, but it's different being colored, too." Then she repeated the words, nodding her agreement with them, "It's the same, but it's different."

2. One of the ways in which "it's different" made clear by a 15-yr-old black student named John Washington who was in first small group of blacks that desegregated Atlanta schools in 1961 (and only black in his school)

   Coles went with him to a basketball game where John was the only Negro in the audience. Afterwards they were threatened by a heckling crowd. Coles remarked, "I don't know how you can take that sort of treatment; I really don't." Washington replied: "You don't know how I can take it because you haven't ever <u>had</u> to take it."

   Then went on, and in remarks indicated something of how he saw his new role: "You see, when I grew up I had to learn to expect that kind of treatment; and I got it, so many times I hate to remember and count them. Well, now I'm getting it again, but it's sweet pain this time, because whatever they may say to me or however they try to hurt me, I know that just by sticking it out I'm going to help end the whole system of segregation; and that can make you go through anything."

   Day after he graduated, remarked: "That school glued me together; it made me stronger than I ever thought I could be, and so now I don't think I'll be able to forget what happened. I'll probably be different for the rest of my life."

3. John Washington one of many described by Coles who became something more than they had been before they became pioneers.

(a) case of youngster named Ruby, in N.O. who became, at first, frightened by a white woman who promised to ~~xxx~~ poison her--so frightened she completely changed her eating habits, wanting only processed foods, wh. cdn't be poisoned; but Ruby & her family eventually straightened problem out, and Ruby came to cope--and more--with her situation.

(b) Coles assesses the situation in general & the response of the pioneers & their parents:

"Whatever Ruby and her father may think about race and poverty, a series of historical changes eventually became for them a trial and a chance for personal effort and advance, or collapse and disaster. I have not shirked reporting Ruby's symptoms, or those of her race's older leaders. Yet it must be said that under grave stress she and they have somehow done more than persist, more than endure. They have prevailed in the way that Faulkner knew they would by summoning every bit of their humanity in the face of every effort made to deny any of it to them. In so doing they have become more than they were, more than they themselves thought they were, and perhaps more than anyone watching them can quite put to word: bearers and makers of tradition; children who in a moment--call it existential, call it historical, call it psychological--took what they had from the past, in their minds, out of their homes, and made of all those possessions something else: a change in the world, and in themselves, too."

~~xx~~

D. Experiences of these & other students--whole pioneer experience in the desegregated schools--had its effects on whites & on interracial relationships.

1. Negro girl, in early days, in a desegregated high school in a small town:

"If you get friendly with a poor white, really get acquainted, you find them more easy to be friends with than the rich whites. . . . A white girl at school got married and another white girl came up to me down town to talk about it, about her picture in the paper and all, and she introduced her mother to me after we had talked. Her mother had been listening and she could tell we were together about things, and she was all right. She was nice. I wish more children would introduce their parents. . . . I used to never smile at a white person. Now I can--and mean it."

2. Which raises question of relationship of education to prejudice:

   (a) standard doctrine among many intellectuals that prejudice declines in proportion to rise of education

   (b) one study--by Matthews & Brothro--purported to show a positve correlation, then concluded sadly that outlook was dim since fairly high levels of education in whites was required to get rid of prejudice substantially.

   (c) most southern historians know falsity of this proposition; and any good psychiatrist cd. puncture it.

   (d) one wonders, for example, how the social scientist wd. have interpreted this finding from an inquiry about attitudes in Atlanta toward integrated housing. A distinctly under educated white lady commented:

   "Sure . . . we got niggers all around. Niggers on this side, niggers on that side, niggers across the street and over yonder, niggers around the corner both ways. They taken over the place."

   Query: how was it working out?

   "Just fine! You couldn't ask for nicer neighbors. We don't have no trouble. They all nice people."

3. Which points up role & power of actual experience in influencing people--esp. people who don't deal in abstractions, but form judgments on basis of what they feel, touch, hear.

   (a) case of George Simmons, a reasonably bright, high school senior in Georgia, from a poor south-Georgia family. Professed to know the nigras, and have nothing against them.

   (b) His school newly desegregated; George filled with anger and confusion. Said he didn't blame the "few nigger kids who are going to come over to our schools, though I have no use for them because they're spies, paid by the NAACP."

   (c) George had sense of being victimized--his senior year being ruined. One of Negroes in his class--Louis--attractive, well dressed, bright. George watched her closely, and became increasingly perceptive about the hard time she was having--yet he joined his friends in tormenting & insuling her.

   (d) Two months after school started he learned she was planning to go to college. By Feb. he talked about how smart she was, without envy or bitterness. He saw her then as a victim of integration. By Easter was beginning to feel sorry about the way he & his friends had treated her. In April he picked up a notebook she had dropped, before he remembered not to.

(3) By the end of the year he & his friends were admitting that they felt sorry for Lois, were sitting beside her, & working with her in the lab. In crisis over ~~graduating~~ graduation ~~graduating~~ exercises George thought he would volunteer to sit beside her. When school year ended he summed up his feelings this way: "we still don't want nigras with us in school; but...I'll have them with me in college, right here in Georgia, so it's a fact of life I've got to live with. I don't like the other one /the other student/ but I'd walk beside Lois any day."

4. For the younger children, on whom the incubus of race prejudice had not had time to weigh so heavily as on George, the early days of desegregation produced stories like the one told by a nervous white couple:

their little 3rd grade son came home the second day from the integrated school to tell what a fine friend he had made in his class. Was the friend white or colored, they eventually asked him. "I don't know," the boy answered. "I forgot to ask him."

E. This was the promise of integration - as it was of the civil rights movement as a whole - in the late 'fifties, but esp. the first half of the 'sixties:

1. A promise of people reaching out to each other, forging common bonds, laying the basis for real education, coming close to dissolving the curse of separateness that damned the region.

2. But: it was only a promise - an indication of what might be - of what could be; not of what was in any general or characteristic sense.

3. What was clear was that thousands of people--most of them black and most of them young--had made the commitments and the sacrifices to try to enlighten and humanize the South and the nation

4. The tragedy ~~of the mid-sixties~~ was that the South and the Nation did not beyond in the measure deserved by the pioneers, but, instead, in the name of a national commitment to integration and under the guise of a program to end segregation came close to institutionalizing a double form of tokenism -- ~~xxxxxxxx~~ physical, or material, tokenism; and a tokenism of the spirit.

II: Token Compliance: Freedom of Choice.

A. What I have called "physical" tokenism--the policy of carefully limiting the number of black students in any "white" school--became the characteristic pattern of desegregation in the late fifties, in the wake of the collapse of massive resistance.

1. The widening arc & undiminished force of the civil rights movement--culminating in the Birmingham demonstrations (May '63)--forced the drafting x of a new & apparently far-reaching civil rights act.

2. Assassination of JFK in November helped materially--and that is a sad commentary on the Congress--in gaining passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

3. In terms of school desegregation law, was the most important event since the Brown decision, 10 years earlier.

B. Civil Rights Act of 1964: chief provision re school deseg.

1. Title IV: (a) authorized establishment of technical assistance centers (called only on request) and (b) authorized Atty Genl to file suits seeking to compel deseg.

2. Title VI--most imp: here committed exec. to positive adm. action.

(a) fund cut-off for schools not in compliance

(b) HEW now to establish "guidelines" for deseg.

3. Comment: potentially powerful device: courts now to be relieved of impossible burden, w. HEW overseeing deseg; statutory authty--for 1st time--backing Brown decision; NAACP no longer, if Act fully utilized, having to carry full burden of litigation.

(a) consternation in South--like, but not as durable, Brown reaction

C. Guidelines: effectivenss of new policy wd. depend on extent to wh HEW & Courts, working in concert, wd. insist on dismantling the dual system. Story complicated, but essential facts these:

1. Drew up guidelines in '65; revised in '66: (power now greater than had been in '64, w. passage of Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- wh. pumped huge sums into sou. schools)

2. Guidelines permitted, as one means of satisfying requirements, "freedom-of-choice" plans to eliminate deseg; this was its fatal flaw.

(a) freedom-of-choice plans adopted overwhelmingly - all dists. in Ala., Miss., & S.C. had them; 83% in Ga. -- also, most of court-ordered districts had them -- ct. not yet ready to diasllow them.

(b) freedom-of-choice, in fact, was another sham: Com. On Civil Rights came down hard on it, and on HEW permitting it, in 1967 report.

(c) sometimes didn't work: McMillan story

3. Why freedom-of-choice produced so little deseg & what was wrong with it

   (a) intimidation of blacks: thru violence &/or ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ econ. coercion

   (b) harassment by white students

   (c) obstruction by school officials

   (d) did not eliminate "racial identity" of schools: placed entire burden of transfer on black students and parents, rather than on public officials -- these, in essence, were its cheif deficiencies.

4. Statistical results, given this timid beginning, hardly surprising. Pace did quicken, but in 1968--4 yrs. after passage of act--overwhelming majty of black students in all-black schools.

   (a) 1964 = 2.25%
   (b) 1965 = 6.1
   (c) 1966 =16.9
   (d) 1967
   (e) 1968 =32.0

D. The war against tokenism: finally began in earnest in late 1966, with assaults both from the Supreme Court & H.E.W. — detail right line

1. Successive court decisions (at Circuit Level), beginning w. U.S. v. Jefferson County (Ala), Dec, 1966; "...the law imposes an absolute duty to..disestablish segregation. And an absolute duty to integrate. . . . Racial mixing of students is a high priority educational goal...."

2. Meanwhile, HEW began to act vigorously, witholding funds, making stern demands:

   (a) early in '68 set September 1969 as absolute deadline for total disestablishment of dual school system

   (b) except for majority-black districts, which had until 1970

3. Movement capped by Supreme Court decision: Green v. New Kent County, Va. (May 27, 1968)

   (a) "...delays are no longer tolerable"

   (b) "The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now."

   (c) unitary school systems must be established "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools."

4. Summary: By end of '68--on eve of Richard Nixon's assumption of power--the feds appeared on the verge of bringing about, in the next school year, a near-end to the dual system.

   (a) had policy continued, wd. have been great problems--many of which we now have--still remaining

   (b) but outlook was ~~good~~ reasonably good, esp. since both HEW & Justice had committed civil rights people at work in them (Ruby in D.C. at OOR; Rilling in Atlanta.)

   (c) tragedy, though, was that Nixon adm., in part as price for southern support, spoiled the commitment with a blatant retreat in '69 (wh. we will look at in last lecture.)

III: Spiritual Tokenism.

A. Token admission of blacks to "white" schools had inevitable & tragic impact on spirit of integration movement; and was part of much larger pattern that profoundly altered course of old civil rights movement in last half of '60's.

   1. At root of souring ~~[illegible]~~ of old movement: black conviction--conviction of many blacks, as Carmichael put in in '66: integration as defined by white liberals an instrument for maintaining both power & values of white community

   2. Reverse side of which was lack of power & loss of identity of bl. community

B. Carmichael analysis of c.r. mvmnt bared defects of essential part (not whole of) c.r. mvmnt.

   1. Goal of mvnt: destruction of overt symbols of white superiority & the imposed limitations on the black community.

   2. Method of mvmnt: a liason between a powerful white community and a dependent black one

   3. Strategy of mvmnt: an approached that played on conscience of powerful white community, followed up w. formation of liberal coalitions designed to infuluence n'nl legis. & n'nl social patterns.

   4. This model/ a/c Carmichael, riddled w. defects:

      (a) existing structure perpetuated by siphoning off "acceptable" Negroes into surrounding middle-class white community: the process of tokenism

      (b) only a small, select group of Negroes affected by fruits of movement.

      (c) Negroes in movement dependent on financial support of white groups: hence vulnerable to their influence & domination

      (d) basic to all: this form of tokenism & integration based on assumption nothing of intrinsic value in Negro community.

5. Urged, then, new departure (wh. was often misunderstood by emotional reaction to slogan "black power") - wh. new departure did not so much reject integration as an ultimate goal, as redefine its meaning; or, better: given it a clear, ~~m~~ valid definition.

   (a) integration - to be worthy of pursuit - had to be integration of the black community as a community into n'nl life & economy.

   (b) to make this a possibility, blacks had first to develop collective community power & elevate black leadership responsible "not to the white press and power structure, but to the /black/ community."

6. In sum: Charmiachical, as he called for new departure in '66 & '67:

   (a) rejected individualized integration because it was not an antidote to institutionalized racism.

   (b) offered in its place a program that focused on building, independent of white influence & control, sources of collective black pride & black strength.

C. Implications for issue of school integration clear enough:

1. Tokenism comes to be seen not just as a consequence of overt, explicit racism of southern white segregationists.

2. Seen as woven into design of liberal white proponents of integration, in and out of gov't, as well as in Sup. Ct. decrees.

   (a) only "selected" blacks admitted to "white" schools

   (b) students ~~in~~ so "integrated" then to assume customs, ideas, modes of behavior of dominant "white" school

   (c) carried to logical conclusion such a program wd. end in obliteration of black identity.

3. But was an alternative possibility for schoolintegration mvmnt.

   (a) integration wd. be valid goal when became 2-way integration: when blacks cd. go to school w. whites w/o sacrificing something of themselves; when whites wd. go to school w. blacks w/o sense that they were making a sacrifice.

   out (b) in real sense what was being sd, tho w. wider implications & perhaps deeper understanding, was something like what. Sup Ct itself wd. come to say in May of '68 in Kent case: there shd. be no white schools, no Negro schools, just schools.

D. The larger ramifications of B.P. movement:

1. Its dynamics tended to undercut & confuse the n'nl consensus for integration

2. W/in civil rights movement itself, bitterness surfaced & quarrels ensued ~~&xxxxxxx~~ & falling outs were inevitable.

(a) John Lewis, SNCC chairman defeated by Carmichael: "It's no longer my movement," he said during the Meredith Mardh, and he left SNCC soon thereafter. "They had forced all the whites to leave," he remarked later. "And most of the blacks just couldn't stay. I tried to stay--but just couldn't. The things they espoused---"

i. but remained in movmnt on own terms -SRC - VEP, etc. real b, now flowering

(b) Kenneth B. Clark, bl. psychiatrist whose scholarship had played imp. role in Brown decision & in mvmnt - an authy on school integration, reacted early. Sd. in '68:

"..the black-power movement is essentially a racist movement which basically rejects the goals of integration and somehow attempts to seek racial justice through an intensification of racial ~~xxxx~~ segregation."

this he lamented because, as he wrote, "the present level of criminal inefficiency of the public schools is absolutely intolerable and must be remedied." Such remedying "is an integral part of an effective and serious program of public school desegregation. This is a job for all concerned and committed Americans."

(c) MLK: on horns of a dilemma: had, more than any other black leader, personified the integration movement.

(a) moved fairly rapidly to his own style of accommodation of new spirit: programs for strengthening black & poor; expressing agreement w. many parts of doctrine.

(b) in essence, accepting much of underlying concern of b.p. mvmnt - and, on other hand, trying to infuse into it his unshakable faith in ~~xxxxxxx~~ nonviolence and the creative force of love.

(c) Julius Lester, among many others, understood this. "All the whites wanted to know was if Black Power was anti-white and if it meant killing white folks," he remarked. "Dr. King, a good and honest man, did not condemn Black Power outright, but sought to temper it with love."

3. Among whites--b.p. mvmnt produced disarray, confusion, and retreat (wh. will touch on next time, only mention here)

(a) many liberals--w. wounded sensibilities--feal under attack, become petulant or inactive

(b) many student radicals--once great supporters of movement--shelve integration issue for others they consider more imp.--the total restructuring ofAm. society.

~~E. Some consequences & the aftermath in the South:~~

~~1. B.P. analysis of dynamics of tokenism--and of racism implicit in that tokenism--went brilliantly to heart of matter. But what it~~

E. Some consequences: and the aftermath in the South.

1. B.P. analysis of dynamics of tokenism--and of racism implicity in that tokenism--went brilliantly to heart of things. But what it never really grappled w - and MLK was struggling w. at death - was this:

   (a) how to keep alive & vivid the sense of commonness of humanity, along w. separate identities

   (b) tragedy of tokenism was that it made this the number one problem for advocates of school integration in the South in the late '60s and the 70's.

2. In ~~South~~ South, while quarrels ~~of~~ over b.p. (w/in black community as well as between blacks and whites) modified profoundly the character of the school integration movement they seemed, on balance, to have strengthened, rather than weakened it

   (a) South--of all regions of country--thus seemed perhaps more likely, in 70's--to achieve, or approximate, the dual aims symbolized by the programs of Carmichael & King. ~~than~~

   (b) relatively few ~~influential~~ blacks, compared w. rest of nation, went the route of doctrinaire separation: militancy, yes; and much harsher indictments of whites, yes--including their old friends in the movement: but issue of "separation" never became a ~~real one.~~ dominant one.

   (c) relatively fewer white veterans of c.r. mvmnt were alienated or scared off; relativelyfewer of them retreated

   (d) and: most imp. of all to this subject: the goal of school integration, almost more than any of the other goals of the earlier c.r. mvmnt, remained, into the 70's, a top priority for black militants as well as southern liberals.

3. Tokenism had taken a heavy toll; and its insidious influence might yet spoil the dream of the young pioneers who had sacrificed so much to tear down the twin burdens of separateness and ~~of~~ oppression. But, the hope remained, at the beginning of the new decade, that it ~~might~~ could be otherwise. Will assess the prospects in final lecture.

#

III: The Retreat from Equality

SUMMARY:

First lecture: analyzed the record of failure of the first 10 yrs after the B. decision & ascribed that failure to a pervasive racism that was characteristic of all of America, north as well as South

Second lecture: ~~surveyed some of the consequences~~ began w. a review of the commitment, character, and sacrifices of the young blacks who led the struggle for desseg — and then commented on the ~~inverted~~ tragedy of tokenism that was the nation's response to their commitment and their sacrifice.

Tonight:

describe & offer some interpretation of the trends of school desseg. hist. in South of the last few yrs. & offer some thoughts on the ~~future~~ prospects of that history in the future.

Begin by describing the way in which the great majority of the schools of the South finally became desegregated — how the era of "physical tokenism" finally began to be phased out

then — ~~as~~ describe the way in which the new "unitary" system is operating — and assess the prospects for the achievement of genuine integration.

2

THE RETREAT FROM EQUALITY

I. The Nixon' Administration's Dilemma & Retreat

A. Administrative policy & court position, reviewed last time, reasonably firm & reasonably clear when Nixon took office: he was saddled with court decisions & HEW announced policies ~~approximat~~ opposite to those of his political commitments.

1. Court (Green): disestablish dual system: no white schools, no negro schools, just schools.

2. HEW--vigorously cutting off funds & applying pressure: deadline set--Sep '69 final date for all save majty-black districts; Sep '70 for those.

3. Nixon's appeal in South in campaign: clear hope that he wd. somehow be able to reverse this momentum

(a) South only region that gave him a majty: his con. stance on race & schools central to this

(b) once in office, his so-called "southern strategy" designed to (i) build up Rep party in South; (ii) undercut strength of Wallace forces: this required retreat from fullcommitment to school deseg. Strom Thurmond influence strong

B. The Retreat Begins: 1969.

1. Adm. policy statement: 7/3/69: issued jointly by HEW Secy & Atty Genl. blurred w. calculated ambiguities:

(a) tried to avoid saying Sep '69 deadline being extended

(b) knowledeable reading, however, led to conclusion deseg. effort was to be relaxed: future events proved correctness of this reading.

(c) strategy, as unfolded in summer of '69, in statements, suits brought, and HEW policy announcements: relaxation of federal pressure; abandonment of HEW fund cutoffs; and return to case-by-case litigation as major weapon for enforcing compliance.

2. Showdown came in Mississippi: Alexander v. Holmes County

(a) 8/28/69 5th Circuit Court, in case deal w. several Miss. dists., permitted delay beyond Sep. for disestablishing dual system: Adm. joined Miss. in requesting the delay

(b) pol. repurcussions keen: revolt among Justice Dept. lawers aganst Atty Genl Mitchell--charging retreat fm. goals of Brown.--resignations & memo of protest

(c) civil rights advocates--tho hardened to setbacks, esp. outraged by developments

(d) on other side, pressures on Pres. intense: Sen John Stennis (D-Miss) chmn Armed Forces Comm, threatened to drop adm's precariously poised Defense Appropriation

Feb.	20	S	
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	22	M	
	23	Tu	
	24	W	
	25	Th	
	26	F	DAVE SHANNON
	27	S	
	28	S	
Mar.	1	M	
	2	Tu	
	3	W	
	4	Th	
	5	F	
	6	S	
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	28	S	
	29	M	
	30	Tu	
	31	W	
April	1	Th	
	2	F	
	3	S	
	4	S.	Blaise due in Barlow
	5	M.	
6-7-	8	M-	Clellan Lectures

bill, halfway to passage, unless the "heat" was taken off Mississippi.

3. LDF immediately asked for appeal to Sup. Ct., wh. heard arguments on 10/23/69.

(a) Jerris Leonard, Asst. Atty Genl for Civil Rights, appeared for gov't & became first spokesman of justice dept. ever to ask for postponement of compliance w. Brown decision.

(b) less than 4 weeks before the argument, ~~Nixon~~ on Sep 26, Nixon sd. at a press conference: "It seems to me that there are two extreme groups. There are those who want instant integration and those who want segregation forever. I believe that we need to have a middle course between these two extremes. That is the course on which we are embarked. I think it is correct."

(c) Court ruled on 10/29/69: reversed decision of 5th Circuit; remanded case w. order for desegregation forthwith.

i. key part of ~~xxx~~ decision had wide ramifications--most imp. decision, perhaps, since Brown.
Justice Burger--Nixon's appointee to succeed Warren & to bring more conservative balance to court--wrote for a unamimous court that "all deliberate speed...is no longer constitutionally permissible. . . . The obligation of every school district is to terminate dual systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools." -- became known as the "integrate now, litigate later" decision

ii. ramifications of decision critical: much hung in balance. if had retreated in Miss., demands for delay wd. have poured in frm. elsewhere; on other hand, decision for prompt compliance -- and esp. explicit reversal of all deliberate speed doctrine -- wd. now form basis for all school deseg. litigation in south.

(d) and the President? had sd. on Sep. 26 that those who want "instant integration" were extremist. ~~Less than~~ A month later, by his own definition, "every member of the Supreme Court was an extremist, including the new Chief Justice whom the President had just appointed presumably in part because of his conservative attitudes on race relations. . . ."(Bardolph)

4. Judgments of Administration:

(a) Civil Rights Commission: Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation

(b) SRC: The Federal Retreat

5. Problem of 1970 -

Fed. Retreat joined by weakening civil consensus.

MONDAY

6:30 - 7:30 : Coffee, Paper, Bkfst
7:30 - 8:15 : Reading
8:15 - 8:45 : Gareth to School
8:45 - 4:15 : Write (home)
4:15 - 5:10 : Swim
5:10 - 5:40 : Supper
5:40 - 7:15 : Whip Lesson
7:15 - 9:45 : Write

TUESDAY

6:30 - 7:30 Coffee, Paper, Bkfst
7:30 - 8:15 Reading
8:15 - 8:45 To School & Work
8:45 - 4:30 office
4:30 - 5:00 Drive home & to Pool
5:00 - 6:00 Swim
6:00 - 10:00 Supper, PTA

WEDNESDAY

6:30 - 7:30 Coffee, Paper, Bkfst
7:30 - 8:15 Reading
8:15 - 8:45 To School & Work
8:45 - 4:35 office
4:35 - 5:00 To Held's & Pool
5:00 - 6:00 Swim
6:00 - 10:00 TBA

THURSDAY

6:30 - 7:30 : Coffee, Paper, Bkfst
7:30 - 8:15 : Reading
8:15 - 8:45 : To School & Work
8:45 - 4:45 : office
4:45 - 5:05 To Pool
5:05 - 5:55 Swim
5:55 - 6:40 Supper
6:40 - 10:15 Reading Lesson

FRIDAY

7:30 - 8:00 Dress, Bkfst
8:00 - 8:45 Reading
8:45 - 9:00 To Work
9:00 - 3:15 office
3:15 - 3:45 To Pool
3:45 - 4:30 Swim
4:30 - 6:00 Work/Reading
6:00 — TBA

SATURDAY

C. The Retreat in 1970: Dilemmas posed by the Alexander decision

1. School deseg in Miss & other places in wake of Alexander--second semester

2. Pressure for more extensive "disestablishment": focus on Charlotte & ~~xxxxx~~ issue of busing

3. President's policy statement: March. In essence: ~~xgxxx~~ for full commitment to desegregation; agnst principal means of bringing it about. Sanctity of neighborhood school; opposition to busing.

4. HEW & Justice operate w/in restricted bounds spring & summer '70.

5. October cases:

(a) uniqueness of Charlotte & Athens: administration's opposition

(b) Mobile -- decisions pending in all 3.

D. School opening: extent of deseg: result of earlier momentum & cts.

1. Adm. misleading re. districts: 97% dists. desegregated; 90.5% students in deseg. districts

2. Actual extent of deseg: Jan. 1971 figures--estimates.

II. The "Unitary" system: How Desegregation operates today w/ for first time, majty of students in desegregated situations.

A. First: ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ have reached a new stage in history of school deseg. In sense, phase one is now on verge of being completed--phase of bringing about physical deseg of schools:

1. Many basic civil rights--assignment--problems remain: enough to keep legions of monitors & activists busy for long time

2. Many issues as yet unresolved--esp. degree to wh. busing may be used; degree to wh. "segregated" schools will be permitted in "desegregated" districts. (Groschelle interview)

3. Still: main focus of future must be on what some now call "quality integrated education"

B. Problems are formidable--as can see fm. brief inventory of the kinds of abuses that have attended the spread of desegregation.

1. Classroom segregation: 273/467 districts

2. Closing down/downgrading black schools. controversy reflection of racism. but not always done.

3. Demotion & dismissal of black principals & teachers

4. In-School Discrimination: organizations, homecoming courts, symbols and songs (Rebel-Dixie). ~~Butler High - Ayres editorial~~

C. Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of confrontations & violence -- and has been much more than n'n is aware

1. Dixie issue as example: Butler High; schoolmen's attitudes / Ayres.

13 2. Earle, Ark: ~~example~~ prototype of the worst

3. Other examples of repression & violence:

(a) Coffeville, Miss.

(b) East Tallahatchie, Miss.

(c) Bogalusa, La.

(d) Jacksonville, Fla.

(e) South Iredell/South Rowan

(f) Wilmington, N.C.

(g) Vance/Warren County, N.C.

4. SRC warning in March

Positive Side: Recent history does give hope

(1) whites in south accept deseg. as fact of life: that, is major social change.

(2) blacks in South - in gr. majority - continue to believe in deseg — & are working more effectively for it than ever before.

(3) Deseg. - in scores of places - is working; real integration a genuine reality or possibility. "whatever is, can be."

Need to review a few instances in which it is working: we learn from good as well as bad.

INSERT P. 5

Integration "sou. style" — what does it mean? does it have a chance? Prospects reasonable for school society in wh. "quality integrated education" can be a reality.

<1> Role of students: SDB: need to tap them. — they are fresh to the situation — have fewer hang ups — optimism among many

<2> Role of grass-roots community groups: hard-nose by experience — yet optimistic because sense — for first time — a measure of power coming to them. — And concept of "community control" as understood by sou. c.a. people means of quality integrated ed.

Retreat - 5

good examples

1. If violence has been present in many, peace has been characteristic of most
2. If exclusion has been characteristic of many, acceptance & a measure of mutual respect has been characteristic of most.

(19) 3. Southern Nash perhaps typical of a characteristic pattern. — (read fm. sch. report)

(INSERT)

What is the meaning of integration "southern style"?

The South, historically, has been a foil and a counterpoint for national moods and national images. Throughout most of our history ~~it has been~~ the South ~~that~~ has borne the burden of shaming the national claim of a republic of equals, embarassing the boast that we are a land of opportunity, and giving the lie to that pledge which says we are "one nation .... indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

In recent years — especially since the escalation of the war in Vietnam — the old and comforting myths of American innocence and virtue ~~has~~ has crumbled under

the weight of harsh realities and the nation today seems to have lost a sense of destiny, seems ~~riddled~~ consumed with a sense of frustration, defeat, poverty and injustice — those very qualities that once were believed to be ~~uniquely~~ curses unique to the South. ~~unique curses of Southern phenomena the South~~.

It would be one of the ~~greatest~~ crowning ironies of American history if — in the 1970's — the South's historic role as foil and counterpoint to national mood and images should be to show that black and white people — the children of the South — might truly begin a common history of understanding and mutual respect; might, out of the terrible realities that have both bound and separated them, find the wisdom and the ~~humanity to prevail over~~ courage to let their humanity prevail.

In the spring of 1971 no responsible person can offer assurances that the South will play this role. All one can do is recognize ~~the possibility~~ its genuine ~~possibility and make a commitment to honor the sacrifices~~ and the vision ~~of the pioneers who fought for it gave dearly for it by a commitment to make it the reality it has the chance to be.~~

possibility and honor the sacrifices and the vision of the pioneers who gave dearly for it by ~~making~~ embracing a commitment to make it the reality it has a chance to be.

[for Mobile and Clemson]

possibility

The Union Postal Clerk & Postal Transport Journal

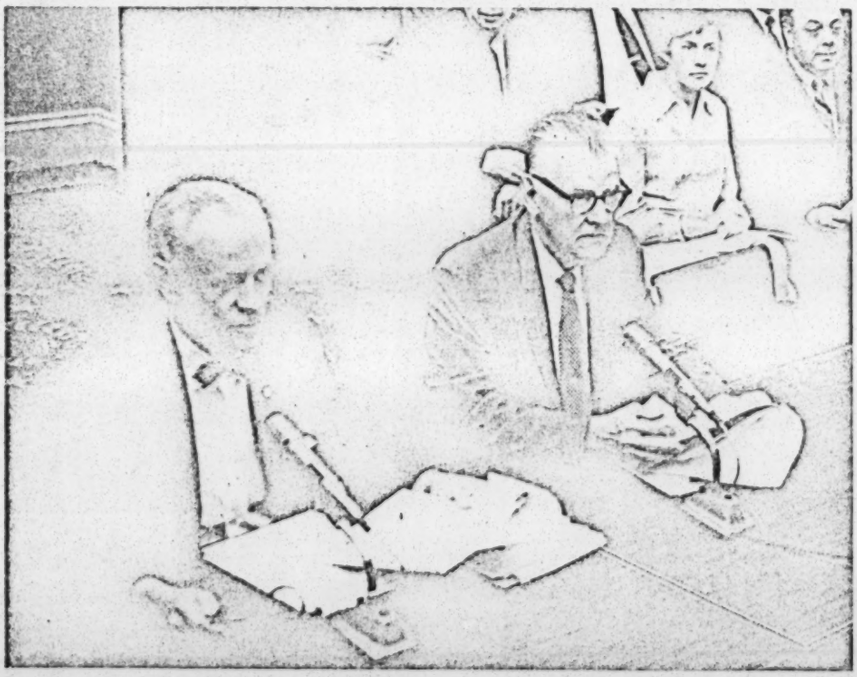
AUGUST, 1969

Postal Corporation Myths Exploded

Charge that Postal Corporation is Anti-Labor Gimmick Leveled In Congressional Testimony by UFPC

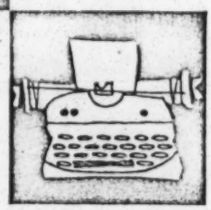
Chairman Dulski hears Corporation testimony.

Meany, Filbey and Nilan present authoritative labor view.



FRANCIS S. FILBEY,
Editor

PATRICK J. NILAN,
Associate Editor



EDITORIALS

BUCKET OF WORMS

The Administration's bill, H.R. 11750, to convert the Post Office Department into a self-sustaining corporation is turning out to be a real bucket of worms.

On the basis of the devastating testimony last month by President Filbey and Legislative Director Nilan exposing hitherto obscure provisions of the legislation it's hard to pinpoint which section is the crawliest.

* * *

For openers, how about Section 805?

It's entitled: "Policy on Compensation and Benefits." Supposedly, it's designed to "protect" the comparability principle.

Under existing Federal policy established by the Salary Reform Act of 1962 postal and Federal wages are to be raised to and maintained at levels comparable with rates for the same kind of work in **private enterprise.**

H.R. 11750 says, however, that postal wages and benefits shall be comparable to the same kind of work **"in the non-Federal sectors of the economy."**

If ever there was a "sleeper" tucked away in a seemingly favorable provision this is it!

By changing "private enterprise" to the "non-Federal sector" the bill automatically brings into the comparability picture some **nine million** state and local governmental employes who—in Pat Nilan's words—are themselves struggling to achieve enough pay to raise them above subsistence or to make their jobs worthwhile.

The selective addition of such jobs to the existing "mix" for purposes of computation could only further depress the wage averages on which comparability is based.

It's not enough that the process has already been distored, misinterpreted and misapplied. Now someone wants to grind down the wage structure even more. Who? Why?

Perhaps the Administration has seen a vision of that "slow sort of country" described by the Red Queen for Alice In Wonderland where "it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place—if you want to get somewhere else you must run twice as fast as that!"

* * *

Or take the TVA concept itself—that cherished illusion through which the postal service could suddenly deliver the mail as cheaply as TVA makes power.

Where are the precedents? How do you compare a pushbutton mechanism based on nearly $3 billions worth of dams, generators and steam plants with an organism like the Post Office where the bulk of the work has to be achieved by human labor? As the UFPC pointed out to Congress, such comparisons are neither realistic nor relevant. It's like comparing apples and oranges.

Or take the whole myth of corporate know-how. Is it really all that infallible? Among the 500 largest corporations in America 133 lost money last year and 237 were losers the year before.

* * *

And why, suddenly, must postal unions be made subject to the punitive provisions of such anti-labor laws as the Taft-Hartley Act or the reporting and disclosure provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act?

Those laws were created to cope with abuses by free unions in the private sector of the economy—abuses which have never been charged to postal unions or to any Federal unions, so far as we know.

There is absolutely no historical justification in the postal service for this sort of sneaky, meanspirited Big Business bias.

But even that is not the main objection. The whole concept of these punitive laws is rooted in the availability of the strike as a last resort mechanism for labor in equalizing the balance of power with management. They presuppose the right to strike.

Where is that right in H.R. 11750?

* * *

There is more—much more. We are asked, for example, to renounce our civil service status while remaining chained by the Hatch Act in second class citizenship. President Filbey calls that provision as obnoxious to him as the inability to strike.

There's really only one answer to this blunderbuss bill. And that's H.R. 4 which would in fact reform the postal service, provide real collective bargaining by law, and truly serve the needs of the public and their postal employes without engineering the most gigantic giveaway of taxpayers' assets in the history of the U.S.

Let YOUR congressmen know it!

Postal Corporation Hit As Anti-Labor Gimmick

UFPC Explodes Big Business Myths

THE MYTH that a postal corporation can solve all the problems of the Post Office Department was exploded last month on Capitol Hill by the United Federation of Postal Clerks.

In the process National Legislative Director Patrick J. Nilan and President Francis S. Filbey also laid bare, one by one, a whole series of repressive anti-labor provisions hidden away in the proposed legislation.

The two Fed leaders spent the morning of July 29 before the full House Post Office and Civil Service Committee delivering the most devastating attack thus far mounted against H.R. 11750.

They destroyed the heretofore unchallenged claim that a postal corporation could be run like TVA, asserting that it was like trying to compare apples and oranges. They revealed provisions which, by devaluing the basis for figuring comparability, would severely erode postal pay and benefits.

They attacked efforts to bring postal employes under existing punitive anti-union laws without equalizing the bargaining power of labor with management. They pinpointed how the bill stacks the cards against unions by limiting labor's right to demand binding arbitration.

They decried the failure of the legislation to extend full political action rights to employes even while removing them from the civil service. They attacked propaganda efforts within the Post Office Department itself to falsely create the impression that a union shop would automatically result from passage of the bill.

In short, the UFPC stripped away the flesh from the bones of H.R. 11750 and revealed it for what it is: an effort by Big Business to bamboozle the public into sacrificing the fundamental concept of public service for a speculative gimmick that no one is really sure will work.

At the same time, the UFPC came out foursquare for postal reform within the existing structure of the Department through H.R. 4 sponsored by the Chairman of the Post Office Committee, Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D-N.Y.).

Here is the complete text of the 12,000-word presentation by Mr. Nilan and President Filbey:

The Other Side Of the Coin...

We are publishing here the complete text of the testimony prepared by National Legislative Director Patrick J. Nilan in opposition to the proposed postal corporation bill, H.R. 11750.

Although it runs to more than 12,000 words, the full testimony is being printed as a service to the members so they may be provided with all the reasons why the UFPC is unalterably opposed to the corporation in the form proposed by the Administration.

The wealth of detail thus provided can be used in whole or in part by officers of Locals and Auxiliaries and by State officers to help combat on their home grounds the flood of pro-corporation propaganda being cranked out by the Post Office Department and its Big Business ally, the well-heeled "Citizens Committee for Postal Reform, Inc.," in Washington.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

For the record, I am Patrick J. Nilan, National Legislative Director of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO. I am very pleased to appear before this Committee with our National President Francis S. Filbey in regard to "Postal Reform" legislation presently pending before this Committee. We speak in behalf of the nation's 304,000 postal clerks for whom we are the Exclusive national representative for labor-management relations with the Post Office Department.

We will also discuss H.R. 4 introduced by the distinguished Chairman of this Committee, the Honorable Thaddeus J. Dulski, which we endorse with several amendments which we will propose and also to express our opposition to the so-called "Postal Corporation" bill, H.R. 11750.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, in recent weeks we have been hearing rumors with increased regularity—and believe me, that's exactly what they are, rumors—that the postal employe unions were becoming more friendly and amenable to the postal corporation concept as proposed in the legislation, H.R. 11750, submitted to the 91st Congress by President Richard M. Nixon and Postmaster General Winton M. Blount.

To the best of our knowledge, Mr. Chairman, nothing could be further from the truth. We understand every postal employe organization has publicly, and most of them before this Committee, stated emphatic opposition to the postal corporation and H.R. 11750.

Certainly President Filbey and

I can state without fear of any contradiction that the United Federation of Postal Clerks is unalterably opposed to H.R. 11750 and endorses H.R. 4 with amendment. In our considered judgment, most of the major provisions of H.R. 11750 and the postal corporation can be, and basically are, provided for in the "Postal Reform Act of 1969" sponsored by Chairman Dulski as H.R. 4.

No postal employe union could, in good conscience (nor would it be worthy of its basic mission and responsibility to protect the best interests of its members and their families) permit itself to be stripped naked of legislative and organizational strength by possible enactment of the postal corporation bill, H.R. 11750. In this statement, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we will document our opposition to H.R. 11750 and our endorsement of H.R. 4.

First, we want to commend the Chairman and this Committee for the patience and perserverance you have demonstrated during the past two months of hearings on this most important, and yet controversial, subject. Certainly your intense desire to seek out the truth concerning this question, as well as determining where the best interests of the American public, the postal service and postal workers lie, is indicative of your dedication, not only as elected Representatives of your own constituents but all of our citizens throughout the 50 states.

We make this statement, Mr. Chairman, to all Members of this Committee regardless of whether they support the postal reform approach of H.R. 4 or are proponents of the H.R. 11750 postal corporation concept. No one can ever accuse any Member of this Committee of not making every effort to objectively and responsibly weigh the pluses and minuses of the two paths which lie ahead in your sincere efforts to correct the problems which plague the postal service and its dedicated postal workers.

In preparing this statement we have made every effort to avoid being repetitious or overlapping the testimony of previous witnesses in expressing our support of H.R. 4 and opposition to H.R. 11750. Rather, we will try to address ourselves more specifically to those aspects of this general subject of "Postal Reform" which we believe have been underplayed in testimony of other witnesses and which we believe are of considerably more significance than alluded to previously before this Committee.

President "Stu" Filbey (left) and Legislative Director Pat Nilan flank Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (D-N.J.) moments before the corporation hearing began for a chat about labor-management by law which Mr. Daniels is sponsoring through H.R. 4803.

TVA CHALLENGED

We begin by challenging those who would have you believe that the proposed postal corporation could be structured as "another TVA" and be equally or more successful in providing an improved postal service to the entire American public than even TVA is in providing its commodity to only a segment—and really a comparatively small segment—of the American public.

From the very beginning of the advancement and promotion of the government corporation as a structural form for the postal service, the phrase **"like TVA"** has been commonplace. It has been repeated regularly. Its use has been apparently to denote unqualified sanction. It has become almost a sacred cow.

However, is this a valid comparison? Is the analogy appropriate, realistic? We think not. And it's about time, we think, that the air be cleared on this point. That the real and basic differences between TVA and the proposed postal corporation be pointed out; that the lack of similarities be made clear. It's like comparing apples and oranges.

Descriptively, what two kinds of economic units are we considering? One is a sprawling giant, employing three-quarters of a million people, offering a variety of services to the public throughout the entire United States. The other is a geographically concentrated unit, employing less than 20,000 people, using tremendous amounts of capital equipment to serve a limited area without dealing at all with the American public and selling only one thing for money—electric power.

TVA IS CAPITAL INTENSIVE. Its 19,600 employes work in conjunction with fixed assets valued at $2,886,942,000. This is a ratio of $147,000 of fixed assets per employe.

THE POSTAL SERVICE IS LABOR INTENSIVE. Its 725,000 employes work in conjunction with fixed assets valued at $1,178,522,000. This is a ratio of $1,620 of fixed assets per employe. In TVA the value of steam production plants alone is $1,499,000,000.

TVA employes in the Tennessee Valley, where they are dwarfed by giant dams, hydroelectric generators and steam-electric plants, never have

to even see the public. Many of them are administrators, engineers and other kinds of technicians. Only 5,000 of them start at a salary of less than $6,800, according to **The Budget of the United States Government, FY 1968.**

In the postal service, 540,000 employes start at a salary considerably less than $6800. Many of them, like postal clerks, are skilled technicians of a different kind. All of them deal with the public, many of them directly. Their employer, the postal service, deals with the public all the time.

Productivity comparisons between TVA and the postal service today are not realistic or relevant. This is always the case when a "capital-intensive" unit is compared with a "labor-intensive" one. Additional units of output can easily be produced by capital equipment and other fixed assets of the type used by TVA. The increased output on a per-man-hour or per-man-year basis will tend to be very great. In a labor-intensive unit, especially of the service type, output increases without increased employment are much more difficult to achieve. Relatively low productivity increases are the rule, not the exception.

In the case of TVA, it has large, modern generating transmission and distribution facilities of the most efficient design. Additional power can be easily generated using the installed capacity. The same holds true for the transmission and distribution of power.

Productivity in the postal service will be considered later in this statement. Suffice it to say for now that Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., in its report to the President's Commission on Postal Organization (the "Kappel Commission Report", Volume I, Appendix C, p.115) relates, "Compared with the productivity performance of the total economy or the manufacturing sector, the post office has not done well, but with respect to more comparable sectors—trade, finance, and services—**the performance of the post office is favorable."** (emphasis added)

We believe we have demonstrated that TVA is very much unlike what a government postal corporation would be like, and that includes very specifically in terms of the kinds of problems its management would be called upon to manage and solve.

However, why not use some other government corporations as examples? Admittedly, they are not as exciting or effective in projecting a pervasive structure of efficiency which would extend itself over time. TVA was apparently chosen as a reflection of what a government postal service corporation would be like because of its world-recognized success and a degree of glamour its imposing structures effuse in marked contrast to the raging rivers and desolate valleys it enriched.

Other government corporations are just as successful, we maintain, even though their missions are less stirring. **However,** they are almost entirely financial-like institutions: Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Export-Import Bank of the United States, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, Banks for Cooperatives, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. Additional United States Government Corporations are the Panama Canal Company, United States Housing Authority and Federal Prison Industries.

NO PRECEDENTS EXIST.

NOT ONE of the Government-owned corporations is like the proposed postal service corporation, in terms of its mission, activities, jurisdiction or type of management structure. **There is . . . nothing . . . like . . . it . . . as . . . a . . . precedent!**

A Government postal service corporation would be new, untried, and experimental. There is no valid analogy for it. And what works for TVA, or even General Motors (with its decentralization of management in divisions) may very well **NOT** work for the postal service with its long history of **SERVICE** to the American people as a priority performed within a Federal department structure controlled by the Congress.

Many of the government-owned corporations receive direct Federal subsidy, and in most cases benefit from various forms of other subsidies.

TVA itself has not been economically self-sufficient. It has benefitted from appropriation and subsidy. "TVA's varied programs have been financed with Congressional appropriations, revenues from the sale of power and fertilizer, and proceeds from the sale of bonds. Some property, principally Wilson Dam and the fertilizer works at Muscle Shoals, was transferred to TVA from other Federal agencies." These quotes come from **Facts About TVA Operations** published by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

It goes on, "The power program finances its operating expense from power revenues and its construction costs from revenues and proceeds from the sale of bonds. However, until the mid-1950s most of the money to finance construction of dams and steam plants came from appropriations. . . . The fertilizer, agricultural, and munitions program has used revenues from the sale of fertilizer and chemical products to meet a part of its operating expense but **has required appropriations** for both operating expense and construction costs. Other TVA programs, including navigation, flood control, forestry and tributary watershed projects **have depended almost entirely upon appropriations both for operations and construction."** (emphasis added)

The Federal appropriation for TVA in the years 1966 to 1968 ranged from $59 million to $61 million. The Federal Government's investment in the Muscle Shoals properties, subsequently transferred to TVA, was $100,000,000 up to 1918.

Let us consider TVA at the time of its origin, in 1933. It was not created out of Government agency, as the proposed postal service corporation would be. It came from the other end of the spectrum. TVA "came in" where private enterprise with its corporate structure, working in conjunction with state and local governments, could not do the job, in many attempts going back a hundred years. So, after the produce-for-profit corporation approach failed, the Federal Government came to the rescue.

A typical Government agency was

not created to administer it; a less drastic change to a government-owned corporation was a feasible transition. However, "those who drafted the TVA Act visualized that agency as something approaching a Federal department of natural resources for the Tennessee Valley." (Encyclopedia Britannica)

An important fact to note is that TVA **BEGAN** as a Government corporation. It did not have a long history of working relationships and personal service to the American public to abandon. It did not have employes, or a management, or prior guidance from Congress. Everything began anew.

In the postal service it is different, as there has been a long history of working relationships, as well as providing the most personal service to the American public which we can think of during the entire history of our great nation. Labor and management have both looked to Congress when they needed help; and Congress has always been responsive to both, **while at the same time giving priority to the mission of the Department in serving the American people.** Surely, the mechanism has not worked perfectly. Problems have arisen and some of them persist. That's why some reform, particularly that proposed by H.R. 4, by Chairman Dulski, is needed today. But we most respectfully suggest to this Committee and to the Congress, "Let's not throw out the baby with the bath water."

As Kappel Commission member George Meany, distinguished president of the AFL-CIO, was quoted in the Commission's report, after recognizing the need for modernizing the postal system and improving the working conditions and job opportunities. "However, the status of the Post Office as a Cabinet Department has a positive value that should not be discarded lightly." **And we certainly agree!**

SUCCESS NOT GUARANTEED

There appears to be among the proponents of the postal service corporation a clear and definite presumption that it would succeed. This is not necessarily so. If the mission of the Department is to give the public the kinds of service it has been given in the past at reasonable rates, the corporation could succeed in economic profit-and-loss terms and still fail the American public. However, even if the corporation could fulfill a generally accepted concept of its mission, it could still fail economically. There is absolutely no guarantee of success. No such undertaking of this nature, size and scope has been attempted before.

And it is most important to remember that if a postal corporation should be established, it would be extremely difficult, if not totally impossible, to retreat back to the Post Office Department's structure and postal service, as we know it today.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we have only to look at U. S. industry's "top 500" to learn that typically good aggressive management does not always succeed. As revealed in *Fortune,* May 1969, among the nation's top 500 industrial firms ranked in terms of dollar sales from General Motors and AT&T on down, there were thirteen industrial giants which actually lost money. Included in this group were Allis-Chalmers, Swift, Falstaff Brewing, Celanese, Fairchild Hiller and American Machine and Foundry.

One hundred and thirty-three firms showed decline in profits as did 237 the year before. And we can be sure that these "losers" and "decliners" were managed by some of the top managerial talent in the country for whom some complex variables turned awry. Certainly among them were many who received salaries of at least $60,000 a year, the salary suggested for the hired manager of the proposed postal service corporation, and probably even two or three times this $60,000 figure. Perhaps among them is a future manager of the postal service corporation? ?

Certainly such a manager would inherit a traditional loser. Saying is easier than doing when it comes to making a postal service a profitable corporation which would completely rid itself of so-called "deficits." So it may be that such a manager would face an insurmountable task. The Post Office could be a continuing profit-and-loss statement loser; **historically, in terms of service to the American people, we believe it has been a success!** All the postal service really needs are some of the reforms such as are embodied in H.R. 4, to help it do a better job for the American public, and also provide postal employes and their unions with an equitable and responsible system of collective bargaining.

REASONING EXAMINED

Let us examine the reasoning of the Kappel Commission whose recommendations form the basis of H.R. 11750. The Commission's recommendation that the Post Office Department be removed from the President's Cabinet and reorganized as a non-profit, government-owned corporation was a businessman's recommendation which would have natural appeal to the pres-

Legislative Director Pat Nilan goes over the 12,000-word text of his anti-corporation testimony with President "Stu" Filbey at the witness table in front of the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee.

ent Administration, and a very special appeal to the newly-appointed Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, formerly president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, as Richard J. Willey related in his article in the Spring 1969 issue of *Public Interest.*

It also had appeal to Congressmen and Senators who interpreted it as a "rational" solution to the postal problems that have been plaguing them and the Congress for years, we add. We are not suggesting they are trying to "get out from under." But, we know it simply will not operate in the dream-like way they think it will.

For example, we say that the claim, made by some members of this Committee and other proponents of H.R. 11750, in speaking to the unions and employes, that "You can't lose—you'll keep what you have and go upward from there" is medicine we simply cannot swallow. It's sugar-coated, even though it can be explained so logically and sincerely. It's simply bait on the hook, just waiting for us to bite, and we'll tell you why.

First, "You are assured of retaining what you have," as has been stated by Postmaster General Blount, members of his staff who testified before you, and also members of this Committee, is not compatible with "would be determined by collective bargaining."

As the collective bargaining representative for the nation's 304,000 postal clerks, I suppose it could be possible (although not probable) we may want to trade away something we already have. **However**, what is most important, is that we may be forced into a position where we have to give up something we already have acquired for the benefit of our members. We must not be naive about something as important as the bargaining relationship which would exist within the postal service corporation concept. We could very easily be forced into a dilemma of deciding between the lesser of two evils. Postal Management has already told us that it will be very "hard-nosed" at the bargaining table.

Now, please don't misunderstand; we are not saying here and now that we would mind this—**IF** there would be equality at the bargaining table. And we think, very definitely, that **there would not be!**

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT

The first official announcement of the position of the United Federation of Postal Clerks on the subject of the Postal Service Corporation was enunciated by our union's national president, Francis S. Filbey, on May 28 of this year, when he stated:

"Nobody, not the President, not the Postmaster General, nor the postal unions, can guarantee that the 'total postal reform' proposed by H.R. 11750 will really achieve all the rosy results predicted.

"As far as postal clerks are concerned, we are not impressed with the Postmaster General's promise that the proposed new law will give us extensive bargaining rights and binding arbitration of deadlocked negotiations—**but not the right to strike!** At first blush it sounds persuasive; but we don't fancy the prospect of bargaining for wage increases that will be paid out of postal rate increases while an embittered public watches over our shoulders. We don't fancy the idea of sitting naked at the bargaining table without the ultimate right to withhold our labor!

"We don't fancy the idea of being semi-private employes without the right to participate politically in the life of our country. In fact, the continuation of our 'second-class' political status would be as bothersome to me as would the inability to strike.

"The United Federation of Postal Clerks wants better service for the public as much or more than the public wants it. We certainly want capital improvements even more than the public wants them. And we certainly want better working conditions and better wages at least the equal of similar jobs in private industry.

"We think it is possible to achieve these goals through legislative reform within the existing framework and without violence to the concept of public service. But if the Congress in its wisdom should decree otherwise, it must face the certainty that postal employes will demand the right to strike and the right to political freedom as a birthright and as a matter of fundamental labor-management equity!"

President Filbey's May 28 statement on the proposed postal corporation was a reflection of the United Federation of Postal Clerks' resolution adopted at our last national convention in August 1968. This resolution expresses the official position of our union as ordered by 1500 delegates at our 1968 convention. The text of the resolving clauses of this resolution is included in this part of our statement for the information of this Committee.

RESOLVED: That this convention of the UFPC go on record as opposing and directing its officers to oppose any transfer of the Post Office Department to a postal corporation, unless

1. **The necessary tools, including the right to strike, available to employes in the private sector, be provided for postal employes in the corporation.**
2. **Guarantees of binding third-party arbitration be included in the labor-management procedures established for the corporation.**
3. **Legislative guarantees be given to the general public of the United States that the present quality and extent of Postal Service will not only be maintained but improved, regardless of whether or not such service would be a profitable operation, such requirement be predicated on the first purpose of the Post Office, whether administered under a Cabinet Officer or corporation, is to provide for service to all of the citizens of the United States without regard to their geographic location, their accessibility to postal plant operation, or the economic status of the patrons served.**

And Mr. Chairman and Members of this distinguished Committee, we have also added a 4th prerequisite to any possible consideration of the Postal Corporation concept by the United Federation of Postal Clerks, namely; insistence that postal clerks

and other postal employes be restored to "First-Class" citizenship and be given complete unrestricted political freedom. WE WANT TO BE "UN-HATCHED" FROM THE HATCH POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ACT OF AUGUST 2, 1939.

Our major objection to H.R. 11750 must be in relation to portions of "Chapter 8—PERSONNEL." The provisions of this Chapter are totally unacceptable to the United Federation of Postal Clerks, and certainly are in marked contrast to Chapter 47 of Title VII in the Postal Reform legislation H.R. 4, sponsored by Chairman Dulski. The collective bargaining proposed by Chairman Dulski in H.R. 4 for postal employe unions is much more realistic and responsive to the collective bargaining needs of postal employe unions, particularly with an amendment substituting the provisions of H.R. 4803 for all of Title VII. An amended Title VII provides true union recognition in Mr. Dulski's legislation. However, we will discuss collective bargaining under H.R. 4 later in this statement.

PUNITIVE LAWS

Sections 807-808, inclusive, of H.R. 11750, propose to bring postal employes and their unions under the provisions of the (Taft-Hartley) Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended in Section 807. We will also be included under the (Landrum-Griffin) Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, "to the extent not inconsistent with the provisions of this Title," for governing labor-management relations in a new postal service proposed by H.R. 11750.

Section 808 provides procedures including a totally inadequate and unacceptable form of binding arbitration for adjusting disputes between labor and management in the Postal Service, including such matters as questions of interpretation or application of collective bargaining agreements, and the settlement of impasses in negotiations between the parties.

Section 809 establishes a "Postal Disputes Panel" composed of nine members, three of whom are to be appointed by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director, three by the American Arbitration Association and three by the other six. Also included in section 9 (h) of the bill is the provision amending the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to exclude the new postal service from the exemption for Government Corporations which is presently contained in that Act.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, when we were engaged in drafting legislation to provide an effective system of collective bargaining and labor-management relations in the postal service, we gave consideration to utilizing the framework of the National Labor Relations Act for this purpose. We determined, however, that the collective bargaining framework sanctioned and fostered under the Act was very different from the system of collective negotiations that presently prevail in the Federal and Postal Service. To strengthen the existing system, we decided to draft legislation specifically appropriate for the Postal Service, rather than try to utilize the system provided for under the National Labor Relations Act.

We were very gratified when Chairman Dulski included our proposals for labor-management relations and collective bargaining in the postal service within the structure of H.R. 4, as Chapter 47. We also appreciated Congressman Dominick V. Daniels, a member of this Committee introducing H.R. 4803, differing only slightly from provisions in Chapter 47 of H.R. 4. I am sure it will interest the Committee to know that almost 100 members of the 91st Congress are cosponsoring postal employe labor-management relations legislation similar to H.R. 4803 and the provisions in Chapter 47 of H.R. 4.

INAPPROPRIATE THRUST

Referring again to the main thrust of sections 807-809 of H.R. 11750, it appears to us that the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts are mechanisms to deal with problems and disputes in labor-management relations in the private sector and really are inappropriate to deal with such problems and disputes in the postal service as indicated by most provisions of these Acts.

The Taft-Hartley Act, for example, provides for unit determinations that could be very disruptive of the pattern of organization and collective bargaining that has developed over the years in the Postal Service, and that has been giving strong impetus by Executive Order 10988. Regardless of the many difficulties and deficiencies that exist in connection with the administration of that Order, there is no question that the Order itself has undoubtedly given strong and effective support to such organization and collective bargaining in the postal service. The postal labor-management and collective bargaining recognition provided in H.R. 4, are basically concerned with extensions of Executive Order 10988, and this is a most important reason why we support the H.R. 4 legislation.

Similar observations appear to be appropriate with respect to the applicability of unfair labor practice provisions and the provisions applicable to selection of bargaining representatives contained in the Taft-Hartley Act. These provisions either have no application to, or do not deal with, situations that arise in government or quasi-government employment such as would exist in the new postal service.

Also, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, in the absence of evidence of any abuses, for example, in the internal management of government unions, or in the election of officers of such unions, or the administration of trusteeships over local units of such unions, there likewise appears to be little justification for subjecting our unions to all of the detailed requirements and prohibitions contained in the Landrum-Griffin Act.

However, in our opinion, the principal difficulty in applying the provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts to labor-management relations in a governmental or quasi-governmental agency, such as the new postal service, lies in the fact that these Acts PRE-SUPPOSE THE AVAILABILITY OF THE STRIKE AS THE LAST RESORT MECHANISM FOR EQUALIZING THE BARGAINING POWER OF LABOR WITH THAT OF MANAGEMENT.

This mechanism, of course, simply does not exist in government service, and undoubtedly would not exist in quasi-governmental instrumentality

that would have charge of administering the postal service, notwithstanding the ambiguity surrounding this question growing out of the language contained in section 209 of H.R. 11750. There is a possibility, of course, that selective provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts could appropriately be made applicable to the new postal service. However, this would require most careful and detailed study and analysis. In my opinion, however, Mr. Chairman, the blunderbuss way in which H.R. 11750 proposes to bring postal employes under these Acts simply will not work and could work great injustices upon our postal employes, as well as their respective postal unions.

L-M HODGE-PODGE

In my judgment, analysis of the labor-management relations provisions of H.R. 11750 makes clear that the Act provides a veritable hodge-podge of rights and duties, benefits and liabilities and informal and ritualistic procedures to govern labor-management relations in the so-called new Postal Service. That this should be the case is particularly striking, in view of the fact that there are in existence other government-owned instrumentalities, such as the TVA and The Bonneville Administration which provide somewhat more meaningful patterns for labor-management relations in government corporations which could have been used for the new Postal Service.

The important thing we see, in regard to H.R. 11750, is that neither in the bill itself, nor in the analysis of the bill, nor the message of the President submitting the legislation to Congress is there any explanation given as to why needed reforms in operation of the Post Office Department could not be achieved within the existing framework of that Department. Various proposals for such changes which are clearly preferable to those proposed in H.R. 11750 are pending before this Committee in H.R. 4, which would provide for modernization of the existing postal establishment, to provide for efficient and economical postal service, and to improve employe-management relations in the postal service.

Without compulsory arbitration and the right to strike, in addition to the many other obvious failings of the proposed employe and union sections in Chapter 8, of H.R. 11750, is it any wonder we endorse and support H.R. 4 with the postal employe labor-management relations provisions of H.R. 4803 substituted for Title VII?

Is it any wonder, we prefer the Congress of the United States to continue legislating in the areas of wages and fringe benefits rather than the postal worker and his union being left naked at the bargaining table as proposed by the "Postal Service Act." H.R. 11750, which would:

(1) Take postal employes out from under the protection of the Civil Service System and establish a different and questionable new system of postal service employment.

(2) PLACE wages, annual and sick leave, life insurance and health benefit programs, as well as all other "bread and butter" issues on a collective bargaining table at which postal workers and their unions would not (and never could) sit down at as an "equal" with management and most important, without ANY of the accepted bargaining weapons such as the right to withhold its labor and compulsory arbitration.

The disputes settlement procedure of H.R. 11750, as spelled out in Section 808, does not and will not provide satisfactory resolution of disputes, as far as the United Federation of Postal Clerks is concerned. The disputes settlement procedure would permit either party in the case of a collective bargaining impasse to request that the matter be referred to a permanent nine-member "Postal Disputes Panel." However, the Panel may "refrain from action pending further negotiation." As a result, the parties would have to go back to the bargaining table.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, we are totally in favor of bargaining to finality, of course; so, in good faith, with the issue at impasse remaining unchanged, we would bargain to finality again, and again. But there must come a time when the impasse must be recognized as such. Frankly, we have been deadlocked with the Post Office Department on many, many occasions in the past, and I assume will continue to be in the future, without any final resolution. And I can assure you that this is a most fruitless, exasperating, discouraging and unrewarding experience.

According to Section 808, the Panel can "take action" by prescribing: (1) mediation of "any or all of the issues" by itself or by a designated mediation panel; (2) factfinding of any or all of the issues by itself or a designated factfinding panel, or (3) recommendations on any or all of the issues by itself or a designated panel.

WHAT PANEL?

We have some most serious and disturbing questions about how these functional panels would be chosen and what in fact is meant by "the Panel", because Section 809 explains that with respect to each dispute there will be designated a 3-member panel which shall act in the name of "Postal Disputes Panel." The members of the three-member panel are to be "chosen in such manner as to preclude advanced knowledge of its membership by either the postal service or the bargaining agent."

We ask, would the chairman choose them? Would they be chosen by ballot? Or by telephone conference, as the Panel members would probably be geographically scattered, serving part-time because the Panel's jurisdiction would apply to "disputes or impasses arising in the negotiation of a collective bargaining agreement" (Section 808 c), which negotiation would take place at most once a year, and probably every two years.

Also, the chairman of the Panel would play a critical role in the handling of each dispute, especially if he chooses the three-member panel "which shall act with respect to each dispute." Would the three-member panel have the dispute referred to it at the very beginning, before even the decision is made to take action or refrain from action. Probably so, we think. Or would the nine-member Panel assemble, to dismiss six of its number?

We cannot help but conclude that the Panel would definitely be a part of the management power structure. Former Postmaster General John A. Gronouski shared our conclusion in his statement to this Committee on

Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski (D-N.Y.) of the House Post Office Committee (right) checks a point in the UFPC's anti-corporation testimony offered by President Filbey and Legislative Director Nilan.

July 22, when he said he could not support H.R. 11750 because of Section 808, "for the simple reason that however impartially the disputes panel is chosen, the postal workers and their leaders will probably regard it as a part of management."

Surely the persons named to the Panel would be erudite, just and honorable men. But all such men do have orientations and philosophies. Former United Nations Ambassador, Justice of the Supreme Court, and Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, as well as University of Chicago Economics Professor Milton Friedman, are erudite, just and honorable men; however their orientation and philosophies, which would guide their actions were they designated as members of the Panel, are considerably different.

To consider further the disputes handling procedure as prescribed in Section 808, the Panel, having already taken action which could have been critical in solving the dispute through mediation, factfinding or recommendation, if the impasse still exists "shall notify the parties whether it will take jurisdiction over any or all of the issues in dispute." It seems to us that considerable jurisdiction **has already been taken!**

Another serious question is concerned with the failure of the Panel to take jurisdiction which means a continuation of the status quo, which is defined to mean "a continuation of the relevant practice." We suggest, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that this would be another tremendous and continuing victory for management! If there was ever a history of relevant practices developed over time, under a government management rights doctrine — **practices that need changing**—it is in the Post Office Department!

STATUS QUO PROTECTED

If the Panel takes jurisdiction it "may recommend to the parties ways and means by which the parties may seek agreement." The Panel already did this through **specific** ways and means—mediation, factfinding or recommendations. Would these ways and means be in the form of strong suggestions or subtle ultimatums. The composition and operation of the Panel, both highly uncertain variables, would determine this.

If the parties continue to fail to reach agreement, the Panel has another opportunity to "relinquish jurisdiction." The status quo, which has built into it only what management has agreed to in the past, would prevail.

Another alternative available to the Panel is to refer the matter to arbitration, and, at the same time, "frame the language of the issue or issues to be arbitrated." The postal employe union cannot call upon arbitration as a matter of right; that is, the judgment of a third party as a solution to a bargaining impasse. Arbitration may finally be permitted as a last attempt, but this would be dependent on the grace and good judgment of the three-member Panel **ONLY,** after a long, frustrating and repetitive process of bargaining to finality.

As former Postmaster General Gronouski said in his statement before you, "The procedure established through the Disputes Panel clearly denies the postal worker and his union the right to demand binding arbitration as a matter of right. In short, the worker is denied an ultimate weapon in those cases when collective bargaining, mediation and factfinding fail to provide an answer to dispute."

Binding arbitration should be available at the request of either party. Certainly, the parties should bargain long and hard. But, having done this, what else is there to do in the face of continuing impasse but call upon a mutually acceptable third party to decide the matter. We accept this procedure, Mr. Chairman, in the labor-management and collective bargaining procedures provided in Title VII, Chapter 47 of H.R. 4, and we sincerely believe that either party, labor or management, should be able to independently introduce arbitration as the means of final settlement. However, and obviously, H.R. 11750 does not provide this basic and absolute need to accomplish true and equitable collective bargaining.

A REAL SLEEPER

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we also have very strong and serious disagreement with the language in Section 805 of H.R. 11750, entitled, "Policy on Compensation and Benefits." In fact, the language contained therein would appear to open the door to the subversion of the entire salary and benefits "package" which Congress has developed over the years for postal employes. Paragraph 805, states, "It shall be the policy of the postal service to maintain compensation and benefits for all employes on a standard of comparability to the compensation and benefits paid for comparable levels of work in the non-Federal sectors of the economy." The change from current policy is so obvious it is not really proper to even call it a "sleeper," but if there is one it is the word "non-Federal." Quite frankly, we are surprised that no one has yet, in the extensive hearings which have

already been held, directed attention and discussion to this reference which appears to us as an attempted far-reaching change in policy.

According to current policy, prescribed by the "Salary Reform Act of 1962," postal employes, as well as other Federal employes are to achieve and maintain salary comparability "with **private enterprise** salary rates for the same levels of work."

Making postal employe salaries and benefits comparable to those attached to comparable levels of work in the **non-Federal sectors** could certainly lead to severe erosion and deterioration of those salaries and benefits. The point I am making, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, is that "non-Federal" could bring onto the comparability scene **nine million state and local government employes.** Unfortunately, many of the state and local government employes are themselves struggling to achieve a compensation and benefits package enticing enough to keep them in their jobs, or if they do not have job mobility, remunerative enough to keep them above subsistence.

Using their salaries and benefits in the computation of "comparability" in our opinion would be a severe backward step. Certainly such a policy would retard upward movement and serve as a drag to the postal employe. The tendency would be for state and local government salaries and benefits to lead; although much more properly the Federal Government should demonstrate leadership, not only to state and local governments but to private industry as well.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we shudder to think of what this would do to the already distorted, misinterpreted and misapplied comparability process. Obviously, additional jobs, from the state and local government portions of the non-Federal sectors, would have to be selected and added to the "mix." Some person or persons instrumental in the original drafting of the bill certainly must attach considerable significance to this language and policy change, and we consider this the real "sleeper" within Section 805 of H.R. 11750.

In its implementation there had to be a belief that its effect, when the state and local jobs are properly "weighted," will not be great enough to make the result intolerable. The change in language obviously was deliberate and certainly must reflect some reasoning or intent. It is our sincere hope that any need for such a change will be made academic with the passage of H.R. 4, in preference to H.R. 11750.

UNION SHOP DISTORTION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we would like to touch briefly on another item that has been receiving considerable recognition in the public press, as well as by this Committee in its discussions with Postmaster General Blount and members of his staff during the hearings and this is the question of the "Union Shop" under the proposed Postal Service Act. We believe it is important, in this regard, to sharply differentiate between what would be possible under a Postal Service Act and what would be permitted, insofar as the "Union Shop" is concerned. It is one thing to say that such an item would be subject to the collective bargaining process under H.R. 11750, but quite another to say that it would have even a prayer of being negotiated through the collective bargaining process under the Postal Service Corporation.

Certainly, the July-August 1969 edition of Postal Life, the company organ of the Post Office Department which is mailed to each and every one of the 750,000 postal employes, deliberatelly distorted the possibility of negotiating a union shop under the proposed corporation act.

On page 11 of the Department's publication, the question was asked, "Will the union shop be permitted?" The answer was—"Yes." Once again, it is up to the collective bargaining process, but, of course, it will be subject to state laws governing such matters. This type of propaganda, now directed to the captive audience of 750,000 postal employes, would lead the average postal worker to believe that the proposed Postal Service Act would automatically provide the "Union Shop."

Of course, nothing is further from the truth, and the answer really should have started off by stating, **NO,** and then gone on to say, "unless your union, which does not have the compulsory arbitration weapon let alone the right to strike, can negotiate it through the collective bargaining process." This is a typical example of what we mean when we say that "We would be naked at the bargaining table" without the right to strike, and certainly without even the right of compulsory arbitration on the main questions with which our union is concerned.

If we need anything further to convince us that, at least the present Administration in proposing the Postal Corporation Act would never agree to the union shop for employe unions within the Postal Service, all we have to do is refer to the recent statement by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Counselor to President Richard M. Nixon, who responded to a complaint by the National Right-to-Work Committee that the Administration might agree to a union shop in the expected, but often delayed, labor-management Executive Order of the President. Dr. Burns reassured the National Right-to-Work Committee, on behalf of President Richard M. Nixon, that, "Certainly, each employe of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government must have the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join, and assist the labor organization **or refrain from any such activity."** (emphasis ours)

We respectfully suggest that with the background of Postmaster General Winton M. Blount as the immediate past president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, which has historically and aggressively opposed the "union shop" in private industry and supported the so-called "Right-to-Work" statutes in some states of this great country, that certainly and realistically postal employe unions could have no expectation or hope that a "union shop" would be negotiated under a Postal Service Corporation which has been proposed by this Administration.

In the course of these hearings on Postal Reform, increased mechanization in a new structure has been advanced as an answer to what is thought to be a relatively low productivity rate of postal service. Needed mechaniza-

tion can as well be introduced and utilized within the "Postal Reform" framework which would be established by H.R. 4.

The Kappel Commission Report reveals (Vol. 1, Appendix C, p. 115) that there is great difficulty in measuring productivity in the Postal Service. It states that of the two productivity indexes used, one differs by more than 100 per cent from the other, to "highlight the problems of measuring productivity in the post office." Quality-of-service changes cannot be identified and excluded. "It is sufficient to say that we have **indications** of productivity performance in the post office, but no more."

MACHINES NO PANACEA

The Report relates further that productivity can be improved through mechanization and through leveling the peak load. "We should like to emphasize, however, that there is a strong consensus that **mechanization is not a panacea for the postal productivity problem** (emphasis ours). It should be only one facet of a multi-pronged effort, another element of which would be improvement in management and management techniques." (Vol. 1, p. 138.)

We remind you that productivity increases are relatively difficult to achieve in a **labor-intensive industry.** Further, in comparison with the trade, finance and service sectors of the economy, "the performance of the post office is favorable." Using one of the two indexes considered by the Kappel Commission, post office productivity is greater than that of both the finance and service sectors of the economy.

As examples of kinds of mechanization in the post office which fall short of expectations and of common but naive conceptions we consider briefly the letter-sorting machine and the optical scanner, the former of which utilizes 12 keyboard operators and the latter of which replaces the operators. The standard literature states that the letter-sorting machine can sort at speeds up to 36,000 letters per hour. **HOWEVER,** when allowances are made for down time, unemployed time, and machine cleanout, and output is divided by a full complement of workers required to utilize the machine, the machine distribution rate is approximately 25 pieces per minute per employe.

We are convinced, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that our postal clerks distributing mail manually can do as well—and do without this $125,000 piece of equipment.

The optical scanner, or the optical character reader, as it is officially called, is designed to scan the envelope, find the address block, single out and extract the relevant information which is sent to a directory, which in turn sends it to a central electronic logic unit which identifies the proper distribution bin to which the letter is directed by the letter-sorting machine to which the scanner is attached. All this is to be done at the machine's speed of 36,000 pieces per hour, using no operators, only supervisory and auxiliary personnel.

However, the scanner can "read" only machine-printed mail so there MUST be a pre-sort. Then, its reading ability is limited by degraded print, unusual address block formats, misplaced inserts, patterned and colored backgrounds, and erroneous and nonstandard spellings and abbreviations. We have been advised that the net result is that only approximately 25 per cent of the machine printed pre-sorted mail is machine readable! As a matter of fact, a total of **ONLY** ten optical scanners have been declared to be operational in eight installations by the Post Office Department.

PROBLEMS INHERENT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, in further challenge to H.R. 11750, and the Postal Corporation concept, let us examine the reasoning of the Kappel Commission, which concluded that the Postal Service should be run more like a business. In fact, it concluded that piece-meal changes in the present structure would not be effective enough to do the reform job thought necessary. The Commission concluded that the existing problems and their causes were **inherent in the postal service's departmental structure,** that a wholesale change, a complete reorganization, was necessary.

Think for a moment of the subtle psychology applied here. Postal problems are being attributed to the organization form; no blame has to be placed on postal officials or employes, or even the Congress. The structure is to blame, not the people who guide it or work in it.

We point out, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, that in the business-versus-government-department controversy, the criteria of each should be examined. The businessman is concerned with efficiency, economy and productivity, as is the current Post Office Deparment, but the businessman must always place them first and foremost. "Service" can be expressed only in terms of dollars, a profit. According to the businessman's rule of thumb, a service will be offered only as long as it covers its marginal or incremental cost:

And this is a very important point which second and third class mailers recognize, we feel sure. It can be stated that the Postal Service has a vast structure primarily for the purpose of delivering first class mail. Beyond this mission, the fixed assets and organizational structure—the institution—can be used to handle other classes of mail on an incremental cost coverage basis. In other words, as long as incremental or marginal cost is covered by incremental or marginal revenue, the service is considered to be "paid for." This is the businessman's approach, the "economic man" concept. Its application in the postal service, in typical businessman style, will extend the subsidization of second and third class mailers by permitting the first class mail users to pay for the Postal Service's fixed or institutional costs. **SOUND BUSINESS?—WE THINK NOT!**

BIG BOYS CAN'T LOSE

Further, to the degree that second and third class rates would be increased, the smaller, the less efficient, the marginal firm would be driven out of business. So, the large mailers can't lose. They can continue to benefit greatly from rates which do not make them pay for the fixed, or even all the variable costs related to servicing of their mail; or, they can watch their competition wither away under the financial strain of increased mailing rates.

We are not attempting to propose a

solution, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. We do not believe it is our responsibility to do so. Someone else is caught on the horns of this dilemma. **It has been the Congress, and we sincerely and respectfully believe it should continue to be the Congress.**

Within the Department and agency structure, decisions are made in Congress and the Executive Branch by persons who must consider economic as well as political criteria. Primary consideration necessarily must, and rightly so, be given to the welfare of the country as a whole, even though the economic cost may be great. In a democracy, varied and differing interests of groups and individuals must be collectively represented, many times with very inefficient results from an economic or businessman's point of view.

One need only look at the loopholes of tax legislation and the considerable controversy plaguing the Congress, the Administration, as well as the citizens of this great country for stark recognition of this fact. As Mr. Richard J. Willey relates in his previously mentioned article (and it's his comment) that because partisan loyalty is often at least as important as expertise in the administration of public policy, many department and agency appointments remain in the political realm. In summary, a department cannot be administered like a business because, in true democratic tradition, national, group and partisan interests often take realistic and practical precedence over questions of economy and expertise.

The critical question is: **Should** the Postal Service be run as a business? The Kappel Commission thinks so, but its composition, mostly businessmen, would have a built-in disposition to so conclude. Some witnesses appearing in these hearings think so, but they applied mainly economic criteria.

If they are mistaken and the Post Office **does not** perform essentially a business function, then a department structure is the proper one, despite inherent deficiencies. It is true that many presumed deficiencies appear to be something else when seen from a non-businessman's point of view. For example, fantastic billion dollar "deficits" are accepted features of Departments and agencies within Government. Yet the so-called "deficit" is approximately 1 billion dollars within the Post Office Department, approximately half of which is considered not as a deficit item but rather as a public service item. We suggest by comparsion that the Post Office Department provides good service to the American public at a minimum or nominal cost.

SERVICE REAFFIRMED

The United Federation of Postal Clerks as a service organization sincerely and honestly believes that the Postal Service **should not** be run as a profit-making or even as a break-even business. Historically the Congress has reaffirmed the **service** nature of the Post Office Department's mission. Witness after witness parading to this table to appear before you has recognized this constitutionally provided service role for the Post Office Department. Yet there were some who subordinated it to a calculating businessman's judgment.

We maintain that with a corporate-type businessman at the helm, there would not be adequate guarantees established or implemented that traditional and needed service would be maintained at all in some cases, or at reasonable cost in others. The phrases in H.R. 11750 relative to service such as "as it may deem appropriate" (Section 202), "as nearly as practicable" (Section 401, a.), and "consistent with reasonable economies of postal operations" would give a businessman, flanked by his cost-and-revenue curve economists, far too much latitude.

Some people would be hurt. The public would be hurt. And we believe that the public and the American people, in general, who always let you know when their Postal Service is impaired, restrained, or withdrawn, should be the prime concern in this matter.

Much has been written about dissatisfaction with the Postal Service—by mailers who have much at stake, we must add. How much dissatisfaction there really is we don't know. We are not suggesting the "Big Lie" technique is being applied—that is, tell people something often enough and they will begin to believe it—but we do believe that most citizens would not be preoccupied, or even think about, Postal Service problems. As one distinguished Member of your Committee related, constituents in his district are writing to him, asking him what Postal Service problems are being referred to in the newspaper and magazine articles.

Basically, the citizens of this country want their rights and interests in postal matters protected. In something as important as this, in something as important to the commercial, financial and personal interests of all the people, we ask you now—who is the best guardian of these interests, the Congress, with its traditional responsibilities—or a business corporation, with its necessary and well-known motivations?

LACK OF CONFIDENCE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we must indicate considerable concern regarding those who would have us accept the postal corporation on the premise that we would be able to improve the economic, financial and "fringe benefit" lot of our Postal Clerk membership. Certainly the events of the past few months when spokesmen for this Administration have testified on numerous occasions before this Committee as well as subcommittees of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service concerning employe legislation, leave us completely void of any confidence that if the present postal administrators were a part of the Postal Corporation Board of Directors or Disputes Panel that we would be able to improve these areas of economic status for our membership and their families.

Spokesmen for this Administration, which has proposed the Postal Corporation Act, H.R. 11750, testified vigorously and aggressively in April before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Operations in complete and total opposition to H.R. 4803 and the establishment of Postal Employe Labor-Management Relations by law. Subsequently, spokesmen for the Administration have testified in opposition to the nominal employe benefits provided in H.R. 9825, the retirement legislation which last week was approved by the House of Representatives.

Spokesmen and top officials for this Administration have testified before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the other body

in opposition to any increase in the Government's contribution to the Federal employe health benefit plans.

Certainly the testimony by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, and that of Civil Service Commissioner Robert E. Hampton as well as Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget Phillip L. Hughes before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Compensation on June 16-17, confirmed our complete lack of confidence in this Administration, including the Postal Administration, to equitably and currently adjust Postal Clerks' and other postal workers' salaries consistent with demonstrated need and equity.

I am sure some Members of this Committee will recall Postmaster General Blount opposed any salary increase for postal workers until at least July, 1970; opposed any increase in the 10 percent night differential payment for postal employes even though the 10 percent differential was enacted in 1928, more than 40 years ago; opposed shortening of the period of service necessary to reach the highest pay step in the postal workers' salary levels as well as any additional salary recognition for longevity purposes.

REASONS EXAMINED

Mr. Chairman, in our opinion, there can be only one of two reasons why this Postal Administration as well as the Nixon Administration, generally, have opposed all beneficial employe legislation during this First Session of the 91st Congress. This very Administration which is so aggressively seeking the enactment of H.R. 11750 and promising postal employes considerable improvements in wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions through such a corporation could be vigorously opposing Congressional action on pending employe benefit legislation as a club over our heads to force through the Postal Corporation concept. If this actually is the case, we can only assure this Administration and officials of the Post Office Department that they certainly do not understand or want to understand the thinking of either our 304,000 postal clerks throughout the country or that of the leadership of the United Federation of Postal Clerks representing the largest group of postal employes within the postal establishment.

However, if this is not the reason why the present Administration is so vigorously opposing any and all employes' salary or fringe benefit legislation, then the only other possible answer is, that this Administration does not believe there is any need to improve the wages or fringe benefits or even working conditions of postal employes. Therefore, this is the real reason why spokesmen for the Administration have been vigorously and continuing opposing the enactment of any and all employe legislation by this Congress.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, obviously and realistically, the United Federation of Postal Clerks cannot and will not accept either of these reasons for not improving the collective well-being of the postal clerk and all other postal workers. If there is any way to solidify our ranks in opposition to the postal corporation concept—if any such solidification is necessary—all the Post Office Department and the Nixon Administration have to do is to continue doing everything possible to oppose beneficial employe legislation pending before this Congress.

Let there be no mistake, if Administration pressures should continue or accelerate in opposition to our legislative program in the 91st Congress, they certainly may be assured our opposition will equally accelerate and become more aggressive in our efforts to defeat the postal corporation recommendation as proposed in H.R. 11750 by President Richard M. Nixon and Postmaster General Winton M. Blount.

NO ARBITRARY DECISION

The United Federation of Postal Clerks, Mr. Chairman, was the last postal employe organization to officially announce its opposition to the postal corporation concept as proposed in H.R. 11750. Our union did not take this position until June 19, as we refrained from arbitrarily opposing the postal corporation concept in order that we might do the following things: (1) Carefully examine the legislative proposal. (2) Consider testimony by the Post Office Department before this distinguished Committee as well as Subcommittees of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. (3) Afford the Post Office Department officials and other proponents of the postal corporation concept an opportunity to meet with us and explain their proposition in detail as well as permit us an opportunity to discuss alternate proposals. (4) Observe and analyze the reaction of the Post Office Department to our own legislative program in the area of salary adjustments for postal clerks.

It was only after each of these endeavors was accomplished as well as discussing the legislation with our legal counsel, did we conclude that we must actively oppose enactment of H.R. 11750.

Our union opposes the postal corporation concept as outlined in H.R. 11750 for the following reasons: (1) It does not meet the criteria established by our National Convention in August, 1968—in that it does not propose that postal employes be granted the right to strike. (2) It does not grant the United Federation of Postal Clerks the right to binding arbitration on our own initiative. (3) It does not propose that we be given true comparability both in the area of wages and fringe benefits with employes in the private sector **prior** to becoming employes of the postal corporation.

We are also opposed to H.R. 11750 because it would definitely link pay increases to postal rate increases, thus making postal employes the only large group of Federal employes whose wages and fringe benefits would depend upon the ability of the corporation to pay from receipts or force the American public to pay increased fees for mail service. Also contributing to our decision to oppose H.R. 11750 was the failure of the Postmaster General to give any consideration to the fact that even after the proposed meager 4.1% pay increase which postal clerks received as of July 12, 1969, that we are still more than $800 behind our counterparts in the private sector as of 13 months earlier in June of 1968, to say nothing of the astronomical skyrocketing in the cost of living which has occurred since June, 1968, 5.5 percent according to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index for June, 1969, released July 23.

For all of these reasons, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, and after due and careful consideration of H.R. 11750 as well as H.R. 4, the United Federation of Postal Clerks reaffirms its endorsement of H.R. 4 with several amendments which we will offer at this point and emphatically and categorically opposes the enactment of H.R. 11750 or any similar postal corporation act.

H.R. 4 SUPPORTED

As I am sure you have noted, the main thrust of our testimony has been in opposition to the postal corporation as outlined in H.R. 11750; although, we consistently refer to our support of Chairman Dulski's bill, H.R. 4, as we move through our statement. We support and endorse H.R. 4, and honestly believe that any and all "postal reform" necessary can be accomplished within the legislation sponsored by Chairman Dulski and entitled, "Postal Reform Act of 1969."

However, Mr. Chairman, we offer two suggested amendments to H.R. 4 and respectfully request this Committee to include the necessary language changes in H.R. 4 to accomplish these amendments.

First, we suggest that Title II, concerned with appointment of postmasters, be amended with the language from H.R. 6959, also sponsored by Chairman Dulski, which is necessary to establish the eligibility and appointment criteria provided on page 2 of H.R. 6959 from lines 3 through 14. It is possible that Title II of H.R. 4 intends to accomplish the same purposes as this language in H.R. 6959. However, we suggest that it would be more appropriate to specifically define the selection and eligibility requirements related to competitive examinations as well as the appointment procedures in Subsection 2 (as extensions of the language in Title II).

We also suggest a further amendment in Title II, Section 3311, "Method of Appointment," to provide that appointment method 1, as provided in H.R. 6959, would read as follows: "(1) By selection of the best qualified career regular employe with not less than five years of continuous career postal service in the installation where the vacancy occurs and in accordance with provisions of Title V, governing appointments in the competitive service, of qualified employes serving under career appointments in the Postal Field Service."

We urge this Committee to accomplish these language changes in order that the best qualified career employe in a post office where the vacancy exists will at least have the opportunity for appointment to a postmaster vacancy. We would like to believe this is the intent of Chairman Dulski and hopefully will be the intent of this Committee when final language of this legislation is considered by the Committee.

EARLIER VIEWS CITED

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, on April 23, 1969, the United Federation of Postal Clerks testified before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Operations under the chairmanship of the honorable Robert N. C. Nix in support of H.R. 4803 to establish postal employe labor-management relations by law. Chairman Nix held extensive hearings over a period of 2 months concerning postal employe labor-management legislation, including H.R. 4803, and then concluded the hearings the latter part of June. H.R. 4803 is practically identical with Chapter 47 of Title VII of H.R. 4 and proposes to establish postal employe labor-management relations and collective bargaining by law.

We suggest, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that you consult with our good friend, Congressman Nix, and request Mr. Nix as Chairman of the Postal Operations Subcommittee and Members of his Committee to make the hearing record available to the full Committee in support of enactment of Title VII of H.R. 4 with an amendment to substitute all provisions presently provided in Title VII of H.R. 4.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we cannot urge too strongly that union recognition, labor-management relations and collective bargaining for postal employes and their unions be included as an integral part of H.R. 4 and any final legislative draft proposing to establish "Postal Reform" within the postal establishment. Labor-management by law is an absolute must for postal employes during the First Session of the 91st Congress. We are confident our testimony on April 23, 1969, will convince you of the necessity to enact this legislation into law at the earliest possible date.

We shall be very happy to provide all Members of this Committee with copies of our statement presented on April 23, to the Postal Operations Subcommittee in support of H.R. 4803.

We believe and hope you also are convinced that Postal Reform even as provided in H.R. 4 would be meaningless and totally unrealistic if it does not recognize the absolute need for postal employes and their unions to have recognition, collective bargaining, and meaningful labor-management relations with the Post Office Department through Federal statute. We shall certainly cooperate with this Committee and the very capable Members of the staff concerning the labor-management proposals presently in H.R. 4, and our request to substitute the total provisions of H.R. 4803 by amending the existing Title VII.

FINAL THOUGHT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, before we conclude our testimony, we believe it is appropriate to state for the record that it has not been our intention in presenting this statement in opposition to H.R. 11750 and the postal corporation this morning to in any way question the sincerity, dedication or genuine concern of all sponsors of the proposed "Postal Service Act," particularly Postmaster General Winton M. Blount and his staff.

While we would have preferred consultation with Postmaster General Blount concerning the "Postal Service Act" during the period it was being drafted, rather than after it was introduced in this Congress as H.R. 11750 —we have appreciated the numerous briefing and discussion sessions which Mr. Blount and his staff have participated in with officers of the United Federation of Postal Clerks concerning "Postal Reform" legislation.

These meeting have been informative and helpful as have been other meetings between Postmaster Blount and our National leadership on different questions of considerable impor-

(Continued on page 20)

EXHIBIT A

GOVERNMENT-OWNED CORPORATIONS*

Federal Intermediate Credit Banks (established 1923): Formerly entirely Government-owned, these are now owned in part by production credit associations and other financing institutions. The twelve banks comprising the system make loans to, and discount agricultural paper for, production credit associations. State and national banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock loan companies, and similar lending groups.

Banks for Cooperatives (1933): Establish to provide a permanent source of credit on a sound business basis to farmer cooperatives, twelve district banks lend to cooperatives. These presently own all capital stock in six of the banks and are purchasing stock in others. As their investment grows, Government-owned capital will be repaid.

Commodity Credit Corporation (1933): Capitalized at $100 million, CCC finances price support and production stabilization programs. To encourage production adjustments and maintain farm income, payments are made for diverting cropland from production of stipulated commodities to conserving uses. Commodities acquired under price support programs are disposed of through domestic and export sales, transfers to other Government agencies, and donations for domestic and foreign welfare use (including the Food For Peace Program).

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (1933): Designed to insure the deposits of all banks eligible to become insured under the law, FDIC functions to prevent loss to depositors of insured banks, up to the insured limit, and to prevent the development or continuance of unsafe or unsound bank practices or violations of law.

Tennessee Valley Authority (1933): TVA built and operates a series of dams on the Tennessee River and its larger tributaries which are harnessed to produce electricity which is sold wholesale to some 160 local electric systems. It also maintains a continuous 9-foot draft channel for navigation for the 650-mile length of the Tennessee River main stream, and provides services and facilities for outdoor recreation areas.

Federal Prison Industries (1934): Established to provide employment for all physically fit inmates of Federal penal institutions.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (1934): Established to insure the safety of savings up to $15,000 for each investor's account in Federal savings and loan associations and State-chartered associations and cooperative banks which apply and are approved.

Export-Import Bank of the United States (1935): Operates to aid in financing and facilitating exports and imports and the exchange of commodities between the U.S. and any foreign country or its nationals or agencies.

United States Housing Authority (1937): A complex of individual Federal housing corporations created "to assist States in remedying unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low incomes."

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (1938): Charging variable premium rates in various parts of the country to participating farmers, the Corporation provides indemnity against losses due to crop failures (from weather, insects, disease, etc.) up to 75 per cent of the average yield.

Federal National Mortgage Association (1948): Performs, through the medium of two corporate structures, the following program functions for the Department of HUD: provision of supplementary assistance to the secondary market for insured and guaranteed mortgages, provision of special assistance in financing eligible types of federally underwritten mortgages, and management and liquidation of the portfolio of mortgages held by FNMA under the enabling act, including management of the Government Mortgage Liquidation Trust, Small Business Obligations Trust, Federal Assets Liquidation Trust, and Federal Assets Financing Trust.

Panama Canal Company (1948): The Panama Canal Company, known as the Panama Railroad Company prior to July 1, 1951, was reincorporated by the act of June 29, 1948, as an agency and instrumentality of the United States, for the purpose of maintaining and operating the Panama Canal and of conducting business operations incident to such activities and incident to the civil government of the Canal Zone. The company now maintains and operates the Panama Canal and facilities related to the Canal, including a railroad; the cargo docks and piers and harbor terminal facilities; an oil handling plant; commissary stores, including cold storage plants; electric power, water, and telephone systems; procurement and storehouse facilities; motor transportation service; a printing plant; restaurants, theaters, bowling alleys, and miscellaneous merchandising activities; marine and general repair shops; and an empolyes' housing system.

Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1954): Established to consummate arrangements with its Canadian counterpart relative to construction and operation of the Seaway, to finance the U.S. share of the Seaway cost on a self-liquidating basis, to negotiate with Canada for an agreement on tolls, and to encourage the development of traffic maximum utilization of the Seaway.

***CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST;** *Washington, D. C.; March 1969*

UNION SAYS: NO CUTS IN RURAL POSTAL SERVICES

7 1969

THE POST

NEWSPAPER OF THE UNION OF POST OFFICE WORKERS; London

VOLUME 73 No. 15 OCTOBER 11, 1969

THE BIRTH of a baby is usually a matter for celebration, with the proud parents indulging in the time-honoured custom of "wetting the baby's head". But from what one can gather the Viscount Hall took his parental responsibilities rather differently when, last week, he attended at the birth of the new Post Office Corporation.

Dispensing with the traditional formalities the noble Dad launched his new baby with a new technique. He substituted "wetting the baby's head" with "patting the baby's head". – The only trouble was that he patted the baby Post Office straight between the eyes with a sixteen-pound sledge-hammer. Not once, but twice!

First wallop – the threat to "do a Beeching" on the postal service and cut services to Britain's rural communities.

Second wallop – his reported statement (*The Times* of October 3), "Letters are on the way out".

It is hard to believe that the Chairman has not yet realised that he has taken over a public service. If, however, in his Brave New World euphoria it has escaped his notice we will repeat it:

"The Post Office is a public service."

In this context the Union of Post Office Workers interprets the word "public" as meaning the whole of the British community, not just those who live in towns and cities. In the matter of public service we do not believe that the service we produce should be made available to the public we serve purely on the basis of where they happen to live.

Will resist

Britain's rural communities are as an essential part of our nation as the urban ones, and to suggest that their ability to send and receive letters may depend upon their geographical location is to completely misunderstand what is meant by public service.

The Union of Post Office Workers will resist any attempt to cut Post Office rural services.

We are prepared to co-operate to the utmost to make the new Corporation an efficient and profitable enterprise.

In our view, and we have stated this before, the postal service can best be made more efficient and profitable by the utilisation of new methods and techniques in the fields of mechanisation and automation. But in this regard the Post Office's performance has been woefully inadequate.

More than a decade ago the mechanisation/automation of the postal service was fanfared as the new age. Letters, untouched by human hands, were to flow into and out of machine-filled sorting offices at unheard of rates –At least that's what the fancy brochures said.

That's practically all we got – the brochures. More than ten years later not one fully mechanised sorting office is in production. There's been too much talk about the postal tomorrow, and not enough action about the postal today.

A pity

It is capital for the development of the new methods and techniques the postal business needs, not the cutting back of its service to its rural customers. That is the philosophy of defeat and despair – and it's done nothing for the morale of postal employees that the first reported public utterance of the Chairman of the new *dynamic* Corporation seems to ally him with the negativists.

It is a pity too that Lord Hall chose to confide in everyone else about his bright new tomorrow without even mentioning a word of it to those thousands of men and women who have invested their lives in making, and maintaining, the British Postal Service the best in the world.

He did, however, speak to Post Office staff – in a reported £30,000 worth of advertisement in the national press. (The new-look Post Office Circular?) In a declaration writ large he said:

"Close concern for our customers will be our first priority as we meet the future with speed and efficiency."

Which customers? The ones who live in towns and cities, or the ones who live in rural communities? Our rural customers need the "close concern" of a Postal Beeching like they need a hole in the head. And to tell them that their [illegible] in which the they may be rendered incommunicado hardly seems to be consonant with speed and efficiency.

Whilst we are on the subject of the future if "Letters are on the way out", what substitute is proposed for the 11,000,000,000 letters which the British Post Office handles annually? – Every home (except rural ones of course), shop or office hooked up to a vast communications computer complex?

It may be true that, in what is called the communications explosion, the rapidly evolving techniques of data transmission will enable computer to communicate with computer, and so build up a national network for the transmission of information. But a lot more Chairmen will come and go before an acceptable technology is developed, (both in terms of practicality and economics), which will invalidate those 11,000 million letters.

Public servants

In the meantime, whilst not wishing to carp at visions of the future, the facts of the present are that postal mechanisation is years in arrears and at least 79,000 people are still waiting to get a telephone exchange connection in their homes, shops, or offices – let alone a computer connection. And when they have done so, after a five-year and £2,000 million spending programme, only one person in 7 of the population will be "on the telephone".

Point taken?

The Union of Post Office Workers has long since promised its support and co-operation in the introduction of new methods of working, mechanised or automatised, aimed at improving the efficiency and profitability of the Post Office.

That support and co-operation does not extend to the denial of Post Office services to our rural communities, and, we repeat, we will resist any such move.

Our members may have ceased to be Civil Servants. They have not ceased to be public servants, and that means to the whole of the British public – urban and rural alike.

H.B.

FRANCIS S. FILBEY,
Editor

PATRICK J. NILAN,
Associate Editor

EDITORIALS

POSTAL REFORM

The form in which Postal Reform will take shape is of paramount importance to every postal employe. Over and above its effects upon employes, however, is also the impact it will have on the various segments of the American public.

We know the "bugs" that are in H.R. 11750, the Postal Corporation Concept being so assiduously pressed by the Department and the Nixon Administration, but we wonder if the general public knows about the "bugs" in the proposal that could adversely affect them. We rather suspect that too many of them have swallowed the story handed out by the Department, the Chamber of Commerce and far too many segments of the news media.

* * *

Every means has been used to sell the idea that the Corporation Concept is the panacea for all the ills that allegedly exist in the Postal Service.

We say allegedly exist because we are closer to the actual conditions than are any of the proponents of the Corporation Concept.

We know that there are many ways in which the Postal Service can be improved, but we do not subscribe to the scare stories that are being circulated.

Recently the President of the United States was alleged to have said that the Postal Service was collapsing. Even while this alleged allegation was being made our Postal Service handled better than two-hundred million pieces of mail on the day before, the same day, and on each succeeding day. This seems to us to be a far cry from collapse.

Even while these allegations were being given the full treatment by the press and other means of mass media, little attention was being given by these same people to what was happening to the telephone service of this country. Lately, however, we have seen some segments of the press begin to point out the failures which are occurring in the telephone system.

Some of the same dailies that would have us believe that all the ills of the Postal Service will be cured by the Corporation Concept are now pointing out the failures of an existing corporation, also in the field of communications.

It should also be noted that the distinguished chairman of the Kappel Commission was at one time President of the corporation whose shortcomings are now beginning to be publicized.

* * *

Possibly the Congress should be considering making a government department of the private corporation, rather than considering making a public corporation of the Postal Service.

If a private corporation operating on the profit making concept is failing to provide good service, what makes people believe that a government corporation operating on the break-even concept will do any better?

In a business whose costs are better than 80% for labor alone, how is the break-even point to be reached unless the public is charged greater fees for the services or the employees are to continue to be paid sub-standard wages? We will match the efficiency of the postal clerk against the efficiency of his counterpart in the private sector and continue to hope that some day his wages will match those paid to his counterpart.

Let us pray that the people's representatives, the Congress, will give us Postal Reform in a form free of the "bugs" and in the best interest of good postal service at a reasonable cost, and performed by civil service postal employees.

We, the United Federation of Postal Clerks, share with you the approval of Postmaster General Blount's efforts to remove politics from promotions in the postal service, most particularly from the appointment of postmasters. For far too long we have watched political hacks receive appointments as postmasters solely on the basis of who they knew rather than on what they know about operating a post office. Depending on the size of the post office, dedicated, long-time, career employes—yes, even post office clerks—have not only been denied the promotion but additionally have been forced to train the political hack. Complete elimination of politics from postmaster appointments is meaningless unless it is coupled with a mandate that first consideration shall be given to postal employes already on the rolls.

The only difficulty we encounter in the new program is its failure to provide some avenue of review for the employes in a post office where the decision is made that none of them are qualified for the appointment. We have the same problem in promotions below the level of postmaster, in that passed-over employes are not permitted to have a higher authority review the relative qualifications. It does us little good to remove partisan politics if we still leave personal preference as the guide line. Additional advancement opportunities can also be created by more frequent and more realistic reevaluation of existing positions. This is necessary to keep current with the changes brought about by the increased use of mechanization.

So, in summation we would say that while additional promotional opportunities are extremely desirable and, in fact, necessary if we are to retain our long-time employes, it is equally necessary that these same employes be assured of complete impartiality in the promotional system.

Concluding, I would only add that all of the foregoing can be accomplished in the present framework of the Department and we should move ahead even while the matter of the form of Postal Reform is being debated and ultimately decided by the Congress.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

I recently had a letter sent me Air Mail, Special Delivery from Brooklyn, N. Y., to Miami, Fla., where I was vacationing.

The letter was mailed Wednesday afternoon from Brooklyn at about 3:00 P.M. It reached the Miami post office at 6:00 A.M., Thursday the next day and was delivered to my hotel at 8:00 A.M., the same day. You can't ask for better service than this and you won't get it, not even from a certain telegraph service which is a private corporation. Believe me, I've tried.

Now, let me tell you something about that Special Delivery letter that arrived at my hotel at 8:00 A.M. It took that room clerk 6 hours to get that single piece of mail (which, of course, included a $1.00 tip) to my room which was 60 feet away. He candidly admitted it was laying in the office since 8:00 A.M., that morning. If that is the best that private industry can do with one piece of mail, let alone 80 billion pieces, I want no part of a private corporation or whatever name it goes by, with its systematic system of gratuities and handouts for important pieces of mail.

Anyone who says postal service is poor is nothing but a contemptible liar. I have nothing but praise for it, along with millions of our citizens.

David Rosen
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Postal Corporation Loses First Round

The UFPC and its supporters have won the opening round in the great legislative struggle to achieve postal reform within the existing framework of the Post Office Department.

In executive session on September 23 the full House Post Office & Civil Service Committee voted to start "marking up" reform legislation.

As their vehicle, they chose H.R. 4, sponsored by the Committee Chairman Thaddeus Dulski (D-N.Y.) over H.R. 11750, the Administration's postal corporation bill.

It must be quickly added, however, that the decision was only a technicality still subject to either complete reversal or to some form of compromise by which the corporation concept can be substituted.

In fact a move for such a substitution was pressed by Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) which was ruled out of order although a parliamentary appeal could still be taken since the committee immediately adjourned thereafter.

As Legislative Director Patrick J. Nilan points out, the issue is still "wide open and anything can happen." More than ever, he said, letters from our members to their congressmen are needed.

Nonetheless, even if only temporary, it was a victory. As Congressman Dulski said: "I am grateful for the support of the committee in voting to take up my bill as the vehicle on which we can work towards developing meaningful postal reform. It is important to emphasize at this point, however, that today's actions were fundamentally procedural. We have a long way to go before we will work out all the details and many members, including myself, will have important amendments to offer . . ."

Nilan predicted that backers of the postal corporation scheme will now re-double their efforts. Hence, he said, supporting letters to the members of the committee in favor of H.R. 4 are still urgently needed.

United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO

FEDERATION BUILDING, 817 14TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

STATEMENT OF
PATRICK J. NILAN, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS, AFL-CIO
ON POSTAL MODERNIZATION
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NOVEMBER 25, 1969

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

For the record, I am Patrick J. Nilan, National Legislative Director of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO. I am very pleased to appear before this Committee with our National President Francis S. Filbey in regard to modernization of the postal establishment.

We speak in behalf of the nation's 304,000 postal clerks for whom we are the Exclusive national representative for labor-management relations with the Post Office Department. Our membership in the postal clerk craft is employed in post offices in 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and Guam.

We understand the hearings by this distinguished Committee are basically concerned with the development of legislation to improve and modernize the postal service—and NOT specific legislation proposing to convert the postal establishment to a public corporation as such—is presently before the Committee.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, our postal clerk union has long been on record in appearances before this Committee and other Committees of the Congress in pursuit of these very same goals. We commend Chairman Gale McGee and the Committee for the continuing and objective analysis of postal service operations and related problems, including the well-being of all postal employees.

Mr. Chairman, since there is no specific bill being considered by this Committee, and since there are two different kinds of postal reform bills pending before the other body, namely a postal modernization and reform bill, H.R. 4, and legislation proposing to convert the present postal establishment to a public corporation, H.R. 11750, we will refer to these bills in our testimony as we develop our support for the postal reform H.R. 4, approach and explain our reasons for total opposition to the postal corporation H.R. 11750 concept.

The legislation, H.R.4, would modernize and improve the postal system within the present framework of the postal establishment and includes important and essential postal employee labor-management provisions similar to S. 309, sponsored in the 91st Congress by Senator Ralph Yarborough, a distinguished Member of this Committee. H.R. 11750 proposes the new and controversial postal corporation concept of President Richard M. Nixon and Postmaster General Winton M. Blount with totally unacceptable labor-management provisions for postal workers and their unions.

President Filbey and I can state that the United Federation of Postal Clerks is unalterably opposed to the H.R. 11750

corporation plan and endorses the H.R. 4 approach, with some amendments. In our considered judgment, most of the major provisions of H.R. 11750 and the postal corporation can be, and basically are, provided for in the "Postal Reform Act of 1969" known as H.R. 4.

No postal employee union could, in good conscience (nor would it be worthy of its basic mission and responsibility to protect the best interests of its members and their families) permit itself to be stripped naked of legislative and organizational strength by possible enactment of the postal corporation bill, H.R. 11750. In this statement, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we will document our opposition to the corporation concept and our endorsement of modernizing and improving the postal service within its present basic structure.

We begin, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, by challenging those who would have you believe that the proposed postal corporation could be structured as "another TVA" and be equally or more successful in providing an improved postal service to the entire American public than even TVA is in providing its commodity to only a segment—and really a comparatively small segment—of the American public.

From the very beginning of the advancement and promotion of the government corporation as a structural form for the postal service, the phrase "like TVA" has been commonplace. It has been repeated regularly. Its use has been apparently to denote unqualified sanction. It has been almost a sacred cow.

However, is this a valid comparison? Is the analogy appropriate, realistic ? We think not. And its about time, we think, that the air be cleared on this point. That the real and basic differences between TVA and the proposed postal corporation be pointed out; that the lack of similarities be made clear.

Descriptively, what two kinds of economic units are we considering ? One is a sprawling giant, employing three-quarters of a million people, offering a variety of services to the public throughout the entire United States. The other is a geographically concentrated unit, employing less than 20,000 people, using tremendous amounts of capital equipment to serve a limited area without dealing at all with the American public and selling only one thing for money—electric power.

TVA IS CAPITAL-INTENSIVE. Its 19,600 employees work in conjunction with fixed assets valued at $2,886,942,000. This is a ratio of $147,000 of fixed assets per employee.

THE POSTAL SERVICE IS LABOR-INTENSIVE. Its 725,000 employees work in conjunction with fixed assets valued at $1,178,522,000. This is a ratio of $1620 of fixed assets per employee. In TVA the value of steam production plants alone is $1,499,000,000.

TVA employees in the Tennessee Valley, where they are dwarfed by giant dams, hydroelectric generators and steam-electric plants, never have to even see the public. Many of them are administrators, engineers and other kinds of technicians. Only 5,000 of them start

at a salary of less than $6800, according to The Budget of the United States Government, FY 1968.

In the postal service, 540,000 employees start at a salary considerably less than $6800. Many of them, like postal clerks, are skilled technicians of a different kind. All of them deal with the public, many of them directly. Their employer, the postal service, deals with the public all the time.

Productivity comparisons between TVA and the postal service today are not realistic or relevant. This is always the case when a "capital-intensive" unit is compared with a "labor-intensive" one. Additional units of output can easily be produced by capital equipment and other fixed assets of the typed used by TVA. The increased output on a per-man-hour or per-man-year basis will tend to be very great. In a labor-intensive unit, especially of the service type, output increases without increased employment are much more difficult to achieve. Relatively low productivity increases are the rule, not the exception.

In the case of TVA, it has large, modern generating, transmission and distribution facilities of the most efficient design. Additional power can be easily generated using the installed capacity. The same holds true for the transmission and distribution of power.

Productivity in the postal service will be considered later in this statement. Suffice it to say for now that Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., in its report to the President's Commission on Postal Organization (the "Kappel Commission Report", Volume I, Appendix C, p.115) relates, "Compared with the productivity performance of the total economy or the manufacturing sector, the post office has not done well, but with respect to more comparable sectors—trade,

finance, and services—the performance of the post office is favorable." (emphasis added)

We believe we have demonstrated that TVA is very much unlike what a government postal corporation would be like, and that includes very specifically in terms of the kinds of problems its management would be called upon to manage and solve.

However, why not use some other government corporations as examples? Admittedly, they are not as exciting or effective in projecting a pervasive structure of efficiency which would extend itself over time. TVA was apprently chosen as a reflection of what a government postal service corporation would be like because of its world-recognized success and a degree of glamour its imposing structures effuse in marked contrast to the raging rivers and desolate valleys it enriched.

Other government corporations are just as successful, we maintain, even though their missions are less stirring. However, they are almost entirely financial-like institutions: Commodity Credit Corporation, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Export—Import Bank of the United States, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, Banks for Cooperatives, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. Additional United States Government Corporations are the Panama Canal Company, United States Housing Authority and Federal Prison Industries.

A summary of the nature of Government-owned corporations is provided as Exhibit A at the conclusion of this statement.

NOT ONE of the Government-owned corporations is like the proposed postal service corporation, in terms of its mission, activities, jurisdiction or type of management structure. There is....nothing....like....it....as....a....precedent !

A Government postal service corporation would be new, untried, and experimental. There is no valid analogy for it. And what works for TVA, or even General Motors (with its decentralization of management in divisions) may very well NOT work for the postal service with its long history of SERVICE to the American people as a priority performed within a Federal department structure controlled by the Congress.

Many of the government-owned corporations receive direct Federal subsidy, and in most cases benefit from various forms of other subsidies.

TVA itself has not been economically self-sufficient. It has benefitted from appropriation and subsidy. "TVA's varied programs have been financed with Congressional appropriations, revenues from the sale of power and fertilizer, and proceeds from the sale of bonds. Some property, principally Wilson Dam and the fertilizer works at Muscle Shoals, was transferred to TVA from other Federal agencies." These quotes come from Facts About TVA Operations published by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

It goes on, "The power program finances its operating expense from power revenues and its construction costs from revenues and proceeds from the sale of bonds. However, until the mid-1950s most of the money to finance construction of dams and steam plants came from appropriations . . . The fertilizer, agricultural, and munitions program has used revenues from the sale of fertilizer and

chemical products to meet a part of its operating expense but has required appropriations for both operating expense and construction costs. Other TVA programs, including navigation, flood control, forestry and tributary watershed projects have depended almost entirely upon appropriations both for operations and construction." (emphasis added)

The Federal appropriation for TVA in the years 1966 to 1968 ranged from $59 million to $61 million. The Federal Government's investment in the Muscle Shoal properties, subsequently transferred to TVA, was $100,000,000 up to 1918.

Let us consider TVA at the time of its origin, in 1933. It was not created out of Government agency, as the proposed postal service corporation would be. It came from the other end of the spectrum. TVA "came in" where private enterprise with its corporate structure, working in conjunction with state and local governments, could not do the job, in many attempts going back a hundred years. So, after the produce-for-profit corporation approach failed, the Federal Government came to the rescue.

A typical Government agency was not created to administer it; a less drastic change to a government-owned corporation was a feasible transition. However, "those who drafted the TVA Act visualized that agency as something approaching a Federal department of natural resources for the Tennessee Valley." (Encyclopedia Britannica)

An important fact to note is that TVA BEGAN as a Government corporation. It did not have a long history of working relationships and personal service to the American public to abandon. It did not have employees,or a management, or prior guidance from

Congress. Everything began anew.

In the postal service it is different, as there has been a long history of working relationships, as well as providing the most personal service to the American public which we can think of during the entire history of our great nation. Labor and management have both looked to Congress when they needed help; and Congress has always been responsive to both, while at the same time giving priority to the mission of the Department in serving the American people. Surely, the mechanism has not worked perfectly. Problems have arisen and some of them persist. That's why reform and improved modernization is needed in the postal service today. But we most respectfully suggest to this Committee and to the Congress, "Let's not throw out the baby with the bath water."

As Kappel Commission member George Meany, distinguished president of the AFL-CIO, was quoted in the Commission's report, after recognizing a need for modernizing the postal system and improving the working conditions and job opportunities, "However, the status of the Post Office as a Cabinet Department has a positive value that should not be discarded lightly." And we certain agree !

There appears to be among the proponents of the postal service corporation a clear and definite presumption that it would succeed. This is not necessarily so. If the mission of the Department is to give the public the kinds of service it has been given in the past at reasonable rates, the corporation could succeed in economic profit-and-loss terms and still fail the American public. However, even if the corporation could fulfill a generally accepted

concept of its mission, it could still fail economically. There is absolutely no guarantee of success. No such undertaking of this nature, size and scope has been attempted before. And it is most important to remember that if a postal corporation should be established, it would be extremely difficult, if not totally impossible, to retreat back to the Post Office Department's structure and postal service, as we know it today.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we have only to look at U. S. industry's "top 500" to learn that typically good aggressive management does not always succeed. As revealed in Fortune, May 1969, among the nation's top 500 industrial firms ranked in terms of dollar sales from General Motors and AT&T on down, were thirteen industrial giants which actually lost money. Included in this group were Allis-Chalmers, Swift, Falstaff Brewing, Celanese, Fairchild Hiller and American Machine and Foundry.

One hundred and thirty-three firms showed decline in profits as did 237 the year before. And we can be sure that these "losers" and "decliners" were managed by some of the top managerial talent in the country for whom some complex variables turned awry. Certainly among them were many who received salaries of at least $60,000 a year, the salary suggested for the hired manager of the proposed postal service corporation, and probably even two or three times this $60,000 figure. Perhaps among them is a future manager of the postal service corporation ? ?

Certainly such a manager would inherit a traditional loser. Saying is easier than doing when it comes to making a postal service

a profitable corporation which would completely rid itself of so-called "deficits". So it may be that such a manager would face an insurmountable task. The Post Office could be a continuing profit-and-loss statement loser; historically, in terms of service to the American people, we believe it has been a success ! All the postal service really needs are some of the reforms such as are embodied in H.R.4, to help it do a better job for the American public, and also provide postal employees and their unions with an equitable and responsible system of collective bargaining.

Let us examine the reasoning of the Kappel Commission whose recommendations form the basis of H.R.11750. The Commission's recommendation that the Post Office Department be removed from the President's Cabinet and reorganized as a non-profit, government-owned corporation was a businessman's recommendation which would have natural appeal to the present Administration, and a very special appeal to the newly-appointed Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, formerly president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, as Richard J. Willey related in his article in the Spring 1969 issue of Public Interest.

It also had appeal to Congressmen and Senators who interpreted it as a "rational" solution to the postal problems that have been plaguing them and the Congress for years, we add. We are not suggesting they are trying to "get out from under." But, we know it simply will not operate in the dream-like way they think it will.

For example, we say that the claim, made by sponsors of the postal corporation and other proponents of H.R.11750, in speaking to the unions and employees, that "You can't lose—you'll keep what you have and go upward from there" is medicine we simply cannot swallow.

It's sugar-coated, even though it can be explained so logically and sincerely. It's simply bait on the hook, just waiting for us to bite, and we'll tell you why.

First, "You are assured of retaining what you have," as has been stated by Postmaster General Blount, members of his staff and others who have spoken in favor of the postal corporation is not compatible with "would be determined by collective bargaining."

As the collective bargaining representative for the nation's 304,000 postal clerks, I suppose it could be possible (although not probable) we may want to trade away something we already have. However, what is most important, is that we may be forced into a position where we have to give up something we already have acquired for the benefit of our members. We must not be naive about something as important as the bargaining relationship which would exist within the postal service corporation concept. We could very easily be forced into a dilemma of deciding between the lesser of two evils. Postal Management has already told us that it will be very "hard-nosed" at the bargaining table.

Now, please don't misunderstand; we are not saying here and now that we would mind this—IF there would be equality at the bargaining table. And we think, very definitely, that there would not be !

The first official announcement of the position of the United Federation of Postal Clerks on the subject of the Postal Service Corporation was enunciated by our union's national president, Francis S. Filbey, on May 28 of this year, when he stated:

> "Nobody, not the President, not the Postmaster General, nor the postal unions, can guarantee that the 'total postal reform' proposed by H.R.11750 will really achieve

all the rosy results predicted.

"As far as postal clerks are concerned, we are not impressed with the Postmaster General's promise that the proposed new law will give us extensive bargaining rights and binding arbitration of deadlocked negotiations—but not the right to strike ! At first blush it sounds persuasive; but we don't fancy the prospect of bargaining for wage increases that will be paid out of postal rate increases while an embittered public watches over our shoulders. We don't fancy the idea of sitting naked at the bargaining table without the ultimate right to withhold our labor !

"We don't fancy the idea of being semi-private employees without the right to participate politically in the life of our country. In fact, the continuation of our 'second-class' political status would be as bothersome to me as would the inability to strike.

"The United Federation of Postal Clerks wants better service for the public as much or more than the public wants it. We certainly want capital improvements even more than the public wants them. And we certainly want better working conditions and better wages at least the equal of similar jobs in private industry.

"We think it is possible to achieve these goals through legislative reform within the existing framework and without violence to the concept of public service. But if the Congress in its wisdom should decree otherwise, it must face the certainty that postal employees will demand the right to strike and the right to

political freedom as a birthright and as a matter of fundamental labor-management equity !"

President Filbey's May 28 statement on the proposed postal corporation was a reflection of the United Federation of Postal Clerks' resolution adopted at our last national convention in August 1968. This resolution expresses the official position of our union as ordered by 1500 delegates at our 1968 convention. The text of this resolution is included in this part of our statement for the information of this Committee.

RESOLUTION APPROVED BY
NATIONAL CONVENTION
UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS (AFL-CIO)
AUGUST 15, 1968--MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

WHEREAS: The President's Commission on Postal Organization has recognized in its report that the United States Post Office facesa crisis, that each year it slips further behind the rest of the economy in service, in efficiency and meeting its responsibility as an employer, and

WHEREAS: It is noted that the Commission has included some laudable objectives, all of which, including the improved service desires, are possible within the existing organization structure of the Post Office Department, and

WHEREAS: there is no assurance that the history of establishing a rate structure for services by corporations in the private sector will not be repeated as the corporation approaches the rate establishing procedure contemplated and, therefore, there is justifiable apprehension that in the language of the report postal rates might be contingent upon cost of service and value to those served, and

WHEREAS: the Commission's recommendation with regard to the employe-management regulations and the limited negotiating opportunities suggests, but does not guarantee, binding third-party arbitration, and

WHEREAS: the President's Commission has seen fit to recommend that postal employes be subject to bargaining for wages and working conditions similar to those in the private sector, it has not seen fit to provide for postal employes the weapons to secure those benefits at the bargaining table, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this convention of the UFPC go on record as opposing and directing its officers to oppose any transfer of the Post Office Department to a postal corporation, unless

1. The necessary tools, including the right to strike, available to employes in the private sector, be provided for postal employes in the corporation.

2. Guarantees of binding third-party arbitration be included in the labor-management procedures established for the corporation.

3. Legislative guarantees be given to the general public of the United States that the present quality and extent of Postal Service will not only be maintained but improved, regardless of whether or not such service would be a profitable operation, such requirement be predicated on the concept that the first purpose of the Post Office, whether administered under a Cabinet Officer or corporation, is to provide for service to all of the citizens of the United States without regard to their geographic location, their accessibility to postal plant operation, or the economic status of the patrons served.

And Mr. Chairman and Members of this distinguished Committee, we have also added a 4th prerequisite to any possible consideration of the Postal Corporation concept by the United Federation of Postal Clerks, namely; insistence that postal clerks and other postal employees be restored to "First-Class" citizenship and be given complete unrestricted political freedom. We want to be "unhatched" from the Hatch Political Activities Act of August 2, 1939.

Our major objection to H.R.11750 must be in relation to portions of "Chapter 8—PERSONNEL". The provisions of this Chapter are totally unacceptable to the United Federation of Postal Clerks, and certainly are in marked contrast to Chapter 47 of Title VII in the Postal Reform legislation, H.R.4, and S.309 sponsored by Senator Ralph Yarborough. The collective bargaining proposed in H.R. 4 and S. 309 for postal employee unions is much more realistic and responsive to the collective bargaining needs of postal employee unions than provisions of the H.R. 11750 corporation proposal.

Sections 807-808, inclusive, of H.R.11750, propose to bring postal employees and their unions under the provisions of the (Taft-Hartley) Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended in Section 807. We will also be included under the (Landrum-Griffin) Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, "to the extent not inconsistent with the provisions of this Title," for governing labor-management relations in a new postal service proposed by H.R.11750.

Section 808 provides procedures including a totally inadequate and unacceptable form of binding arbitration for adjusting disputes between labor and management in the Postal Service, including such matters as questions of interpretation or application of collective bargaining agreements, and the settlement of impasses in negotiations between the parties.

Section 809 establishes a "Postal Disputes Panel" composed of nine members, three of whom are to be appointed by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director, three by the American Arbitration Association and three by the other six. Also included in section 9 (h) of the bill is the provision amending the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to exclude the new postal service from the exemption for Government Corporations which is presently contained in that Act.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, when we were engaged in drafting legislation to provide an effective system of collective bargaining and labor-management relations in the postal service, we gave consideration to utilizing the framework of the

National Labor Relations Act for this purpose. We determined, however, that the collective bargaining framework sanctioned and fostered under the Act was very different from the system of collective negotiations that presently prevail in the Federal and Postal Service. To strengthen the existing system, we decided to draft legislation specifically appropriate for the Postal Service, rather than try to utilize the system provided for under the National Labor Relations Act.

Senator Ralph Yarborough introduced S.309 earlier this year which reflects the Federation's proposals for labor-management relations and collective bargaining in the postal service. Since that time eight other United States Senators have joined with Senator Yarborough in sponsoring S.309, including Senators Fred Harris, William W. Proxmire, Frank E. Moss, James B. Allen, Gaylord Nelson, Hugh Scott, Richard S. Schweiker, and Frank Church. I am sure it will interest the Committee to know that almost 100 members of the Senate and House so far in the 91st Congress have co-sponsored postal employee labor-management relations legislation similar to S.309 and companion bill H.R.4803 in the House. The provisions in Chapter 47 of H.R. 4, the postal reform bill in the House of Representatives, are similar to S. 309 and H.R. 4803.

Referring again to the main thrust of sections 807-809 of H.R.11750, it appears to us that the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts are mechanisms to deal with problems and disputes in labor-management relations in the private sector and really are inappropriate to deal with such problems and disputes in the postal service as indicated by most provisions of these Acts.

The Taft-Hartley Act, for example, provides for unit determinations that could be very disruptive of the pattern of organization

and collective bargaining that has developed over the years in the Postal Service, and that had been given strong impetus by Executive Order 10988. Regardless of the many difficulties and deficiences that exist in connection with the administration of that Order, there is no question that the Order itself has undoubtedly given strong and effective bargaining in the Postal Service. The postal labor-management and collective bargaining recognition provided in S.309, are basically concerned with extensions of Executive Order 10988, and this is a most important reason why we support postal reform legislation.

Similar observations appear to be appropriate with respect to the applicability of unfair labor practice provisions and the provisions applicable to selection of bargaining representatives contained in the Taft-Hartley Act. These provisions either have no application to, or do not deal with, situations that arise in government or quasi-government employment such as would exist in the new postal service.

Also, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, in the absence of evidence of any abuses, for example, in the internal management of government unions, or in the election of officers of such unions, or the administration of trusteeships over local units of such unions, there likewise appears to be little justification for subjecting our unions to all of the detailed requirements and prohibitions contained in the Landrum-Griffin Act.

However, in our opinion, the principal difficulty in applying the provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts to labor-management relations in a governmental or quasi-governmental agency, such as the new postal service, lies in the fact that these Acts pre-suppose the availability of the strike as the last-resort mechanism for equalizing the bargaining power of labor with that of management.

This mechanism, of course, simply does not exist in government service, and undoubtedly would not exist in quasi-governmental instrumentality that would have charge of administering the postal service, notwithstanding the ambiguity surrounding this question growing out of the language contained in section 209 of H.R.11750. There is a possibility, of course, that selective provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts could appropriately be made applicable to the new postal service. However, this would require most careful and detailed study and analysis. In my opinion, however, Mr. Chairman, the blunderbuss way in which H.R.11750 proposes to bring postal employees under these Acts simply will not work and could work great injustices upon our postal employees, as well as their respective postal unions.

In my judgment, analysis of the labor-management relations provisions of H.R.11750 makes clear that the Act provides a veritable hodge-podge of rights and duties, benefits and liabilities and informal and ritualistic procedures to govern labor-management relations in the so-called new Postal Service. That this should be the case is particularly striking, in view of the fact that there are in existence other government-owned instrumentalities, such as the TVA and The Bonneville Administration which provide somewhat more meaningful patterns for labor-management relations in government corporations which could have been used for the new Postal Service.

The important thing we see, in regard to H.R.11750, is that neither in the bill itself, nor in the analysis of the bill, nor the message of the President submitting the legislation to Congress is there any explanation given as to why needed reforms in operation of the Post Office Department could not be achieved within the

existing framework of that Department. Various proposals for such changes which are clearly preferable to those proposed in the corporation bill, H.R. 11750, are included in the reform bill, H.R.4, and would provide for modernization of the existing postal establishment, to provide for efficient and economical postal service, and to improve employee-management relations in the postal service.

Without compulsory arbitration and the right to strike, in addition to the many other obvious failings of the proposed employee and union sections in Chapter 8, of H.R. 11750, is it any wonder we endorse, in lieu of the corporation labor-management provisions, legislation such as S. 309 to provide postal workers and their unions with true collective bargaining and recognition?

Is it any wonder, we prefer the Congress of the United States to continue legislating in the areas of wages and fringe benefits rather than the postal worker and his union being left naked at the bargaining table as proposed by the "Postal Service Act," H.R.11750, which would:

(1) Take postal employees out from under the protection of the Civil Service System and establish a different and questionable new system of postal service employment.

(2) Place wages, annual and sick leave, life insurance and health benefit programs, as well as all other "bread and butter" issues on a collective bargaining table at which postal workers and their unions would not (and never could) set down at as an "equal" with management and most important, without ANY of the accepted bargaining weapons such as the right to withhold its labor and compulsory arbitration.

The disputes settlement procedure of H.R.11750, as spelled out in Section 808, does not and will not provide satisfactory resolution of disputes, as far as the United Federation of Postal Clerks is concerned. The disputes settlement procedure would permit either party in the case of a collective bargaining impasse to request that the matter be referred to a permanent nine-member "Postal Disputes Panel." However, the Panel may "refrain from action pending further negotiation." As a result, the parties would have to go back to the bargaining table.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, we are totally in favor of bargaining to finality, of course; so, in good faith, with the issue at impasse remaining unchanged, we would bargain to finality again, and again. But there must come a time when the impasse must be recognized as such. Frankly, we have been deadlocked with the Post Office Department on many, many occasions in the past, and I assume will continue to be in the future, without any final resolution. And I can assure you that this is a most fruitless, exasperating, discouraging and unrewarding experience.

According to Section 808, the Panel can "take action" by prescribing: (1) mediation of "any or all of the issues" by itself or by a designated mediation panel; (2) factfinding of any or all of the issues by itself or a designated factfinding panel, or (3) recommendations on any or all of the issues by itself or a designated panel.

We have some most serious and disturbing questions about how these functional panels would be chosen and what in fact is meant by "the Panel", because Section 809 explains that with respect to each dispute there will be designated a 3-member panel

which shall act in the name of "Postal Disputes Panel." The members of the three-member panel are to be "chosen in such manner as to preclude advanced knowledge of its membership by either the postal service or the bargaining agent."

We ask, would the chairman choose them ? Would they be chosen by ballot ? Or by telephone conference, as the Panel members would probably be geographically scattered, serving part-time because the Panel's jurisdiction would apply to "disputes or impasses arising in the negotiation of a collective bargaining agreement" (Section 808 c), which negotiation would take place at most once a year, and probably every two years.

Also, the chairman of the Panel would play a critical role in the handling of each dispute, especially if he chooses the three-member panel "which shall act with respect to each dispute." Would the three-member panel have the dispute referred to it at the very beginning, before even the decision is made to take action or refrain from action. Probably so, we think. Or would the nine-member Panel assemble, to dismiss six of its number ?

We cannot help but conclude that the Panel would definitely be a part of the management power structure. Former Postmaster General John A. Gronouski shared our conclusion on this point in a statement to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on July 22, 1969, when he said that with Section 808 remaining as it is he could not support H.R.11750 "for the simple reason that however impartially the disputes panel is chosen, the postal workers and their leaders will probably regard it as a part of management."

Surely the persons named to the Panel would be erudite, just and honorable men. But such men do have orientations and philosophies. Former United Nations Ambassador, Justice of the Supreme Court, and Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg, as

well as University of Chicago Economics Professor Milton Friedman, are erudite, just and honorable men; however their orientation and philosophies, which would guide their actions were they designated as members of the Panel, are considerably different.

To consider further the disputes handling procedure as prescribed in Section 808, the Panel, having already taken action which could have been critical in solving the dispute through mediation, factfinding or recommendation, if the impasse still exists "shall notify the parties whether it will take jurisdiction over any or all of the issues in dispute." It seems to us that considerable jurisdiction has already been taken !

Another serious question is concerned with the failure of the Panel to take jurisdiction which means a continuation of the status quo, which is defined to mean "a continuation of the relevant practice." We suggest, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that this would be another tremendous and continuing victory for management ! If there was ever a history of relevant practices developed over time, under a government management rights doctrine —practices that need changing—it is in the Post Office Department !

If the Panel takes jurisdiction it "may recommend to the parties ways and means by which the parties may seek agreement." The Panel already did this through specific ways and means—mediation, factfinding or recommendations. Would these ways and means be in the form of strong suggestions or subtle ultimatums. The composition and operation of the Panel, both highly uncertain variables, would determine this.

If the parties continue to fail to reach agreement, the Panel has another opportunity to "relinquish jurisdiction."

The status quo, which has built into it only what management has agreed to in the past, would prevail.

Another alternative available to the Panel is to refer the matter to arbitration, and, at the same time, "frame the language of the issue or issues to be arbitrated." The postal employee union cannot call upon arbitration as a matter of right; that is, the judgment of a third party as a solution to a bargaining impasse. Arbitration may finally be permitted as a last attempt, but this would be dependent on the grace and good judgment of the three-member Panel ONLY, after a long, frustrating and repetitive process of bargaining to finality.

As former Postmaster General Gronouski said in his statement before you, "The procedure established through the Disputes Panel clearly denies the postal worker and his union the right to demand binding arbitration as a matter of right. In short, the worker is denied an ultimate weapon in those cases when collective bargaining, mediation and factfinding fail to provide an answer to dispute."

Binding arbitration should be available at the request of either party. Certainly, the parties should bargain long and hard. But, having done this, what else is there to do in the face of continuing impasse but call upon a mutually acceptable third party to decide the matter. We accept this procedure, Mr. Chairman, in the labor-management and collective bargaining procedures provided in S. 309 and the postal reform bill, H.R.4, and we sincerely believe that either party, labor or management, should be able to independently introduce arbitration as the means of final settlement. However, and obviously, H.R. 11750 does not provide this basic and absolute need to accomplish true and equitable collective bargaining.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we also have very strong and serious disagreement with the language in Section 805 of H.R.11750, entitled, "Policy on Compensation and Benefits." In fact, the language contained therein would appear to open the door to the subversion of the entire salary and benefits "package" which Congress has developed over the years for postal employees. Paragraph 805, states,"It shall be the policy of the postal service to maintain compensation and benefits for all employees on a standard of comparability to the compensation and benefits paid for comparable levels of work in the non-Federal sectors of the economy." The change from current policy is so obvious it is not really proper to even call it a "sleeper," but if there is one it is the word "non-Federal." Quite frankly, we are surprised that no one has yet, in the extensive hearings which have already been held, directed attention and discussion to this reference which appears to us as an attempted far-reaching change in policy.

According to current policy, prescribed by the "Salary Reform Act of 1962," postal employees, as well as other Federal employees are to achieve and maintain salary comparability "with private enterprise salary rates for the same levels of work."

Making postal employee salaries and benefits comparable to those attached to comparable levels of work in the <u>non-Federal</u> sectors could certainly lead to severe erosion and deterioration of those salaries and benefits. The point I am making, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, is that "non-Federal" could bring onto the comparability scene <u>nine million state and local government employees.</u> Unfortunately, many of the state and local government employees are themselves struggling to achieve a compensation

and benefits package enticing enough to keep them in their jobs, or if they do not have job mobility, remunerative enough to keep them above subsistence.

Using their salaries and benefits in the computation of "comparability" in our opinion would be a severe backward step. Certainly such a policy would retard upward movement and serve as a drag to the postal employee. The tendency would be for state and local government salaries and benefits to lead; although much more properly the Federal Government should demonstrate leadership, not only to state and local governments but to private industry as well.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we shudder to think of what this would do to the already distorted, misinterpreted and misapplied comparability process. Obviously, additional jobs, from the state and local government portions of the non-Federal sectors, would have to be selected and added to the "mix". Some person or persons instrumental in the original drafting of the bill certainly must attach considerable significance to this language and policy change, and we consider this the real "sleeper" within Section 805 of H.R.11750.

In its implementation there had to be a belief that its effect, when the state and local jobs are properly "weighted", will not be great enough to make the result intolerable. The change in language obviously was deliberate and certainly must reflect some reasoning or intent. It is our sincere hope that any need for such a change will be made academic with the passage of H.R.4, in preference to H.R.11750.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we would like to touch briefly on another item that has been receiving considerable recognition in the public press, as well as by Postmaster General Blount

and other persons speaking in favor of the Postal Corporation during recent hearings and this the question of the "Union Shop" under the proposed Postal Service Act. We believe it is important, in this regard, to sharply differentiate between what would be possible under a Postal Service Act and what would be permitted, insofar as the "Union Shop" is concerned. It is one thing to say that such an item would be subject to the collective bargaining process under H.R.11750, but quite another to say that it would have even a prayer of being negotiated through the collective bargaining process under the Postal Service Corporation.

Certainly, the July-August 1969 edition of Postal Life, the company organ of the Post Office Department which is mailed to each and every one of the 750,000 postal employees, deliberately distorted the possibility of negotiating a union shop under the proposed corporation act.

On page 11 of the Department's publication, the question was asked, "Will the union shop be permitted?" The answer was--"Yes." Once again, it is up to the collective bargaining process, but, of course, it will be subject to state laws governing such matters." This type of propaganda, now directed to the captive audience of 750,000 postal employees, would lead the average postal worker to believe that the proposed Postal Service Act would automatically provide the "Union Shop".

Of course, nothing is further from the truth, and the answer really should have started off by stating, NO, and then gone on to say, "unless your union, which does not have the compulsory arbitration weapon let alone the right to strike, can negotiate it through the collective bargaining process." This is a typical example of

what we mean when we say that "We would be naked at the bargaining table" without the right to strike, and certainly without even the right of compulsory arbitration on the main questions with which our union is concerned.

If we need anything further to convince us that, at least the present Administration which is proposing the Postal Corporation Act would never agree to the union shop for employee unions within the Postal Service, all we have to do is refer to the statement by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Counselor to President Richard M. Nixon, who responded to a complaint by the National Right-to-Work Committee that the Administration might agree to a union shop in the expected, but often delayed, labor-management Executive Order of the President. Dr. Burns reassured the National Right-to-Work Committee, on behalf of President Richard M. Nixon, that, "Certainly, each employee of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government must have the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join, and assist the labor organization <u>or refrain from any such activity."</u> (emphasis ours)

We respectfully suggest that with the background of Postmaster General Winton M. Blount as the immediate past president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, which has historically and agressively opposed the "union shop" in private industry and supported the so-called "Right-to-Work" statutes in some states of this great country, that certainly and realistically postal employee unions could have no expectation or hope that a "union shop" would be negotiated under a Postal Service Corporation which has been proposed by this Administration.

In the course of these hearings on Postal Reform, increased

mechanization in a new structure has been advanced as an answer to what is thought to be a relatively low productivity rate of postal service. We maintain that mechanization is not only answerable through a postal corporation, as the Kappel Commission Report suggests, but needed mechanization can as well be introduced and utilized within the "Postal Reform" framework which would be established by legislation similar to H.R. 4, with amendments.

The Kappel Commission Report reveals (Vol.1, Appendix C, p.115) that there is great difficulty in measuring productivity in the Postal Service. It states that of the two productivity indexes used, one differs by more than 100 per cent from the other, to "highlight the problems of measuring productivity in the post office." Quality-of-service changes cannot be identified and excluded. "It is sufficient to say that we have indications of productivity performance in the post office, but no more."

The Report relates further that productivity can be improved through mechanization and through leveling the peak load. "We should like to emphasize, however, that there is a strong concensus that mechanization is not a panacea for the postal productivity problem. (emphasis ours) It should be only one facet of a multi-pronged effort, another element of which would be improvement in management and management technicques." (Vol.1, p.138)

We remind you that productivity increases are relatively difficult to achieve in a labor-intensive industry. Further, in comparison with the trade, finance and service sectors of the economy, "the performance of the post office is favorable." Using one of the two indexes considered by the Kappel Commission, post office productivity is greater than that of both the finance and service sectors of the economy.

As examples of kinds of mechanization in the post office which fall short of expectations and of common but naive conceptions we consider briefly the letter-sorting machine and the optical scanner, the former of which utilizes 12 keyboard operators and the latter of which replaces the operators. The standard literature states that the letter-sorting machine can sort at speeds up to 36,000 letters per hour. HOWEVER, when allowances are made for down time, unemployed time, and machine cleanout, and output is divided by a full complement of workers required to utilize the machine, the machine distribution rate is approximately 25 pieces per minute per employee. We are convinced, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that our postal clerks distributing mail manually can do as well—and do without this $125,000 piece of equipment.

The optical scanner, or the optical character reader, as it is officially called, is designed to scan the envelope, find the address block, single out and extract the relevant information which is sent to a directory, which in turn sends it to a central electronic logic unit which identifies the proper distribution bin to which the letter is directed by the letter-sorting machine to which the scanner is attached. All this is to be done at the machine's speed of 36,000 pieces per hour, using no operators, only supervisory and auxiliary personnel.

However, the scanner can "read" only machine-printed mail so there MUST be a pre-sort. Then, its reading ability is limited by degraded print, unusual address block formats, misplaced inserts, patterned and colored backgrounds, and erroneous and non-standard spellings and abbreviations. We have been advised that the net result is that only approximately 25 per cent of the machine printed

pre-sorted mail is machine readable ! As a matter of fact, a total of ONLY ten optical scanners have been declared to be operational in eight installations by the Post Office Department.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, in further challenge to H.R.11750, and the Postal Corporation concept, let us examine the reasoning of the Kappel Commission, which concluded that the Postal Service should be run more like a business. In fact, it concluded that piece-meal changes in the present structure would not be effective enough to do the reform job thought necessary. The Commission concluded that the existing problems and their causes were inherent in the postal service's departmental structure, that a wholesale change, a complete reorganization, was necessary.

Think for a moment of the subtle psychology applied here. Postal problems are being attributed to the organization form; no blame has to be placed on postal officials or employees, or even the Congress. The structure is to blame, not the people who guide it or work in it.

We point out, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, that in the business-versus-government-department controversy, the criteria of each should be examined. The businessman is concerned with efficiency, economy and productivity, as is the current Post Office Department, but the businessman must always place them first and foremost. "Service" can be expressed only in terms of dollars, a profit. According to the businessman's rule of thumb, a service will be offered only as long as it covers its marginal or incremental cost.

And this is a very important point which second and third class mailers recognize, we feel sure. It can be stated that the Postal Service has a vast structure primarily for the purpose of delivering first class mail. Beyond this mission, the fixed assets and organizational structure—the institution—can be used to handle other classes of mail on an incremental cost coverage basis. In other words, as long as incremental or marginal cost is covered by incremental or marginal revenue, the service is considered to be "paid for." This is the businessman's approach, the "economic man" concept. Its application in the postal service, in typical businessman style, will extend the subsidization of second and third class mailers by permitting the first class mail users to pay for the Postal Service's fixed or institutional costs. SOUND BUSINESS?—WE THINK NOT!

Further, to the degree that second and third class rates would be increased, the smaller, the less efficient, the marginal firm would be driven out of business. So, the large mailers can't lose. They can continue to benefit greatly from rates which do not make them pay for the fixed, or even all the variable costs related to servicing of their mail; or, they can watch their competition wither away under the financial strain of increased mailing rates.

We are not attempting to propose a solution, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. We do not believe it is our responsiblity to do so. Someone else is caught on the horns of this dilemma. It has been the Congress, and we sincerely and respectfully believe it should continue to be the Congress.

Within the Department and agency structure, decisions are made in Congress and the Executive Branch by persons who must consider

economic as well as political criteria. Primary consideration necessarily must, and rightly so, be given to the welfare of the country as a whole, even though the economic cost may be great. In a democracy, varied and differing interests of groups and individuals must be collectively represented, many times with very inefficient results from an economic or businessman's point of view.

One need only look at the loopholes of tax legislation and the considerable controversy plaguing the Congress, the Administration, as well as the citizens of this great country for stark recognition of this fact. As Mr. Richard J. Willey relates in his previously mentioned article (and its his comment) that because partisan loyalty is often at least as important as expertise in the administration of public policy, many department and agency appointments remain in the political realm. In summary, a department cannot be administered like a business because, in true democratic tradition, national, group and partisan interests often take realistic and practical precedence over questions of economy and expertise.

The critical question is: Should the Postal Service be run as a business? The Kappel Commission thinks so, but its composition, mostly businessmen, would have a built-in disposition to so conclude. Some witnesses appearing in these hearings think so, but they applied mainly economic criteria.

If they are mistaken and the Post Office does not perform essentially a business function, then a department structure is the proper one, despite inherent deficiencies. It is true that many presumed deficiencies appear to be something else when seen from a non-businessman's point of view. For example, fantastic billion dollar "deficits" are accepted features of Departments and agencies within

Government. Yet the so-called "deficit" is approximately 1 billion dollars within the Post Office Department, approximately half of which is considered not as a deficit item but rather as a public service item. We suggest by comparsion that the Post Office Department provides good service to the American public at a minimum or nominal cost.

The United Federation of Postal Clerks as a service organization sincerely and honestly believes that the Postal Service should not be run as a profit-making or even as a break-even business. Historically the Congress has reaffirmed the service nature of the Post Office Department's mission. Witness after witness parading to this table to appear before you has recognized this constitutionally provided service role for the Post Office Department. Yet there were some who subordinated it to a calculating businessman's judgment.

We maintain that with a corporate-type businessman at the helm, there would not be adequate guarantees established or implemented that traditional and needed service would be maintained at all in some cases, or at reasonable cost in others. The phrases in H.R. 11750 relative to service such as "as it may deem appropriate" (Section 202), "as nearly as practicable" (Section 401,a.), and "consistent with reasonable economies of postal operations" would give a businessman, flanked by his cost-and-revenue curve economists, far too much latitude.

Some people would be hurt. The public would be hurt. And we believe that the public and the American people, in general, who always let you know when their Postal Service is impaired, restrained, or withdrawn, should be the prime concern in this matter.

Much has been written about dissatisfaction with the Postal Service—by mailers who have much at stake, we must add. How much dissatisfaction there really is we don't know. We are not suggesting the "Big Lie" technique is being applied—that is, tell people something often enough and they will begin to believe it—but we do believe that most citizens would not be preoccupied, or even think about, Postal Service problems. As one distinguished Member of your Committee related, constituents in his district are writing to him, asking him what Postal Service problems are being referred to in the newspaper and magazine articles.

Basically, the citizens of this country want their rights and interests in postal matters protected. In something as important as this, in something as important to the commercial, financial and personal interests of all the people, we ask you now—who is the best guardian of these interests, the Congress, with its traditional responsibilities—or a business corporation, with its necessary and well-known motivations?

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we believe it is also important to note that the Kappel Commission specifically recognized three general areas which opponents of the transfer of postal management to Government corporation might base their opposition on. We believe these three points are important enough to be included in our statement at this point, and to make certain they are brought directly to the attention of all Members of this distinguished Committee. These references are taken from the Kappel Commission Report (Vol. 1, pages 201-202).

(1) Reduced Congressional Control. The Goverment Corporation would by design and objective be economically self-sufficient. It would be free to make independent decisions concerning facilities, appointments, details of service, and use of expenditures. In the hands of a strong manager and Policy Board, the Government Corporation could act and exercise its power with very little Congressional restraint. The ultimate Congressional power to change the charter or to abolish the Corporation would be extremely difficult to employ, especially in the face of the power and influence that the Corporation might enjoy.

(2) Reluctance to Accept Economic Influence. The corporate form implies the view that economic criteria should weigh heavily in operation of the postal service in the public interest. Even though provision could be made for subsidy and special services for certain classes of users, and though provision could be made by policy for maintaining "uneconomic" services, economic criteria would weigh more heavily than at present in designing services and rates and committing resources. It would be very difficult to continue to pay a large part of the cost of Postal Service from general revenues as is done at present. Opponents might argue that the Postal Service is a Government service that should not be governed as strongly by economic standards.

(3) Risk to Individual Interests. Formation of a Government Corporation to run the postal system under only general Congressional review could mean that the links of major users to Congress would be less direct, that employee organizations would relinquish their strong bonds with Congress, and that members of Congress would give up strong influence over local postal matters. These changes would mean risks; the changes would entail the possibility of personal losses to some parties in the system; the offsetting advantages to these parties might be less clear and certain. Thus, these parties might be inclined to resist change to the corporate form.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we must also indicate considerable concern regarding those who would have us accept the postal corporation on the premise that we would be able to improve the economic, financial and "fringe benefit" lot of our Postal Clerk membership. Certainly the events of the past few months when spokesmen for this Administration have testified on numerous ocassions before this Committee as well as subcommittees of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service concerning employee legislation, leave us completely void of any confidence that if the present postal administers were a part of the Postal Corporation Board of Directors or Disputes Panel that we would be able to improve these areas of economic status for our membership and their families.

Spokesmen for this Administration, which has proposed the Postal Corporation Act, H.R. 11750, testified vigorously and aggressively in April before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Operations in complete and total opposition to H.R. 4803 and the establishment of Postal Employee Labor-Management Relations by law. Subsequently, spokesmen for the Administration have testified in opposition to the nominal employee benefits provided in H.R. 9825, the retirement legislation which last week was approved by the House of Representatives.

Spokesmen and top officials for this Administration have testified before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the other body in opposition to <u>any</u> increase in the Government's contribution to the Federal employee health benefit plans.

Certainly the testimony by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, and that of Civil Service Commissioner Robert E. Hampton as well as

Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget Phillip L. Hughes before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Compensation on June 16-17, confirmed our complete lack of confidence in this Administration, including the Postal Administration, to equitably and currently adjust Postal Clerks' and other postal workers' salaries consistent with demonistrated need and equity. I am sure some Members of this Committee are aware Postmaster General Blount opposed any salary increase for postal workers until at least July, 1970; opposed any increase in the 10 percent night differential payment for postal employees even though the 10 percent differential was enacted in 1928, more than 40 years ago; opposed shortening of the period of service necessary to reach the highest pay step in the postal workers' salary levels as well as any additional salary recognition for longevity purposes.

Mr. Chairman, in our opinion, there can be only one of two reasons why this Postal Administration as well as the Nixon Administration, generally, have opposed all beneficial employee legislation during this First Session of the 91st Congress. This very Administration which is so aggressively seeking the enactment of H.R. 11750 and promising postal employees considerable improvements in wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions through such a corporation could be vigorously opposing Congressional action on pending employee benefit legislation as a club over our heads to force through the Postal Corporation concept. If this actually is the case, we can only assure this Administration and officials of the Post Office Department that they certainly do not understand or want to understand the thinking of either our 304,000 postal clerks throughout the

country or that of the leadership of the United Federation of Postal Clerks representing the largest group of postal employees within the postal establishment.

However, if this is not the reason why the present Administration is so vigorously opposing any and all employees' salary or fringe benefit legislation, then the only other possible answer is, that this Administration does not believe there is any need to improve the wages or fringe benefits or even working conditions of postal employees. Therefore, this is the real reason why spokesmen for the Administration have been vigorously and continuing opposing the enactment of any and all employee legislation by this Congress.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, obviously and realistically, the United Federation of Postal Clerks cannot and will not accept either of these reasons for not improving the collective well-being of the postal clerk and all other postal workers. If there is any way to solidify our ranks in opposition to the postal corporation concept—if any such solidification is necessary—all the Post Office Department and the Nixon Administration have to do is to continue doing everything possible to oppose beneficial employee legislation pending before this Congress. Let there be no mistake, if Administration pressures should continue or accelerate in opposition to our legislative program in the 91st Congress, they certainly may be assured our opposition will equally accelerate and become more aggressive in our efforts to defeat the postal corporation recommendation as proposed by President Richard M. Nixon and Postmaster General Winton M. Blount.

The United Federation of Postal Clerks, Mr. Chairman, was the last postal employee organization to officially announce its opposition to the postal corporation concept as proposed in early May. Our union did not take this position until June 19, as we refrained from arbitrarily opposing the postal corporation concept in order that we might do the following things: (1) Carefully examine the legislative proposal. (2) Consider testimony by the Post Office Department before this distinguished Committee as well as Subcommittees of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. (3) Afford the Post Office Department officials and other proponents of the postal corporation concept an opportunity to meet with us and explain their proposition in detail as well as permit us an opportunity to discuss alternate proposals. (4) Observe and analyze the reaction of the Post Office Department to our own legislative program in the area of salary adjustments for postal clerks.

It was only after each of these endeavors was accomplished as well as discussing the legislation with our legal counsel, did we conclude that we must actively oppose enactment of H.R. 11750.

Our union opposes the postal corporation concept as outlined in H.R. 11750 for the following reasons: (1) It does not meet the criteria established by our National Convention in August, 1968— in that it does not propose that postal employees be grant the right to strike. (2) It does not grant the United Federation of Postal Clerks the right to binding arbitration on our own initiative. (3) It does not propose that we be given true comparability both in the area of wages and fringe benefits with employees in the private sector <u>prior</u> to becoming employees of the postal corporation.

We are also opposed to H.R. 11750 because it would definitely link pay increases to postal rate increases, thus making postal employees the only large group of Federal employees whose wages and fringe benefits would depend upon the ability of the corporation to pay from receipts or force the American public to pay increased fees for mail service. Also contributing to our decision to oppose H.R. 11750 was the failure of the Postmaster General to give any consideration to the fact that even after the proposed meager 4.1% pay increase which postal clerks received as of July 12, 1969, that we are still more than $800 behind our counterparts in the private sector as of 13 months earlier in June of 1968, to say nothing of the astronomical skyrocketing in the cost of living which has occurred since June, 1968, 7.0 percent according to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index for September 1969.

For all of these reasons, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, and after due and careful consideration of H.R. 11750, as well as H.R.4, the United Federation of Postal Clerks reaffirms its endorsement of postal reform legislation similar to H.R. 4, with amendments, and emphatically and categorically opposes the enactment of H.R.11750 or any similar postal corporation act.

As I am sure you have noted, the main thrust of our testimony has been in opposition to the postal corporation as outlined in H.R.11750; although we do refer to our support of the postal modernization and reform legislation similar to H.R.4, as we move through our statement. We honestly believe that any and all "postal reform" necessary can be accomplished within the existing Post Office Department structure and appropriate Congressional action on related legislation.

Mr. Chairman, as we conclude this statement, we must propose that this Committee, in drafting postal modernization and reform legislation, insist that appropriate language be included requiring the Postmaster General in making appointments to vacant postmaster and rural letter carrier positions to give first precedence for such appointments to career employees within the post office where such vacancies occur.

We hope this Committee will recognize that approximately 97 per cent of all postal clerks start and finish their employment (after 30 or 40 years) in the same pay level. There are comparatively few opportunities to aspire to more responsible and better paying positions within the postal service, and therefore clerks and other qualified career postal employees should be given the first opportunity for appointment to vacant postmaster and rural letter carrier positions within their respective post offices.

We believe, and hope you do also, that postal reform and modernization within the postal service would be meaningless and totally unrealistic if it does not provide for postal employees and their unions to have recognition, collective bargaining and productive labor-management relations with postal management through Federal statute. It is our sincere hope this Committee will include the provisions of S. 309 in legislation resulting from these hearings and the Senate and Congress will subsequently enact postal modernization and reform within the existing post office Department structure.

We regret it has been necessary to acquaint the Members of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service with our

firm opposition to the postal corporation scheme by referring to H.R.11750, and our support of postal modernization and reform as proposed in H.R. 4, with substantive amendments—both pieces of legislation being introduced in the other body. However, we believe this was the best possible approach under the circumstances, with no specific legislation proposing similar postal reorganization plans pending before this distinguished Committee.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, the United Federation of Postal Clerks is particularly appreciative that NO postal corporation bill similar to H.R.11750 has been sponsored in the United States Senate by a Member of this Committee, and I don't believe by any other Member of the United States Senate either. It is our sincere hope that NO such postal corporation bill will be proposed by this Committee, but rather total modernization and reform within the existing Department establishment will result from the tremendous hearings and labor of this respected Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, for your patience and most kind consideration of our detailed and comprehensive statement. President Filbey and I will be very happy to respond to any and all questions which the Committee may desire to ask us concerning our statement. If we can be helpful in any other way concerning this most important legislation, we shall be happy to cooperate to the best of our ability.

Again, thank you.

EXHIBIT A

GOVERNMENT-OWNED CORPORATIONS*

Federal Intermediate Credit Banks (established 1923): Formerly entirely Government-owned, these are now owned in part by production credit associations and other financing institutions. The twelve banks comprising the system make loans to, and discount agricultural paper for, production credit associations, State and national banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock loan companies, and similar lending groups.

Banks for Cooperatives (1933): Established to provide a permanent source of credit on a sound business basis to farmer cooperatives, twelve district banks lend to cooperatives. These presently own all capital stock in six of the banks and are purchasing stock in others. As their investment grows, Government-owned capital will be repaid.

Commodity Credit Corporation (1933): Capitalized at $100 million, CCC finances price support and production stabilization programs. To encourage production adjustments and maintain farm income, payments are made for diverting cropland from production of stipulated commodities to conserving uses. Commodities acquired under price support programs are disposed of through domestic and export sales, transfers to other Government agencies, and donations for domestic and foreign welfare use (including the Food For Peace Program).

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (1933): Designed to insure the deposits of all banks eligible to become insured under the law, FDIC functions to prevent loss to depositors of insured banks, up to the insured limit, and to prevent the development or continuance of unsafe or unsound bank practices or violations of law.

Tennessee Valley Authority (1933): TVA built and operates a series of dams on the Tennessee River and its larger tributaries which are harnessed to produce electricity which is sold wholesale to some 160 local electric systems. It also maintains a continuous 9-foot draft channel for navigation for the 650-mile length of the Tennessee River main stream, and provides services and facilities for outdoor recreation areas.

Federal Prison Industries (1934): Established to provide employment for all physically fit inmates of Federal penal institutions.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (1934): Established to insure the safety of savings up to $15,000 for each investor's account in Federal savings and loan associations and State-chartered associations and cooperative banks which apply and are approved.

Export-Import Bank of the United States (1935): Operates to aid in financing and facilitating exports and imports and the exchange of commodities between the U. S. and any foreign country or its nationals or agencies.

United States Housing Authority (1937): A complex of individual Federal housing corporations created "to assist States in remedying unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low incomes."

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (1938): Charging variable premium rates in various parts of the country to participating farmers, the Corporation provides indemnity against losses due to crop failures (from weather, insects, disease, etc.) up to 75 per cent of the average yield.

Federal National Mortgage Association (1948): Performs, through the medium of two corporate structures, the following program functions for the Department of HUD: provision of supplementary assistance to the secondary market for insured and guaranteed mortgages, provision of special assistance in financing eligible types of federally underwritten mortgages, and management and liquidation of the portfolio of mortgages held by FNMA under the enabling act, including management of the Government Mortgage Liquidation Trust, Small Business Obligations Trust, Federal Assets Liquidation Trust, and Federal Assets Financing Trust.

Panama Canal Company (1948): The Panama Canal Company, known as the Panama Railroad Company prior to July 1, 1951, was reincorporated by the act of June 29, 1948, as an agency and instrumentality of the United States, for the purpose of maintaining and operating the Panama Canal and of conducting business operations incident to such activities and incident to the civil government of the Canal Zone. The company now maintains and operates the Panama Canal and facilities related to the Canal, including a railroad; the cargo docks and piers and harbor terminal facilities; an oil handling plant; commissary stores, including cold storage plants; electric power, water, and telephone systems; procurement and storehouse facilities; motor transportation services; a printing plant; restaurants, theaters, bowling alleys, and miscellaneous merchandising activities; marine and general repair shops; and an employees' housing system.

Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1954): Established to consummate arrangements with its Canadian counterpart relative to construction and operation of the Seaway, to finance the U. S. share of the Seaway cost on a self-liquidating basis, to negotiate with Canada for an agreement on tolls, and to encourage the development of traffic and maximum utilization of the Seaway.

*CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST; Washington, D. C.; March 1969

Postal & Clerk

NOVEMBER, 1969

Still Trying to Complete the Menu...!

United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO

FEDERATION BUILDING, 817 14TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

December 5, 1969

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Enclosed are some materials on the subject of postal reform. But a whole file you didn't expect!

The basic item is the UFPC testimony before the House committee (Post Office and Civil Service) on July 29, which was printed in the August issue of our publication. Xerox copies of the relevant pages are enclosed. (At the hearing I sat to the right of Legislative Director Nilan, but was "cropped" from the photo for publication. Such is the life of the non-political animal!)

The enclosed statement made before the Senate committee is nearly identical to the one made before the House, except for the introduction and closing.

Any comments you may have to make I'd be pleased to read.

I enjoyed the visit I had with you at the Local 189 Winter Meeting here in Washington the weekend of November 21, and look forward to the next time we may chance to meet.

Best wishes and personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Walt

Walter Froh
Staff Economist and
Industrial Engineer

WF/fmf
Enclosures

December 9, 1969

Mr. Walter Froh
Staff Economist and
Industrial Engineer
United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO
Federation Building, 817 14th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Walt:

I too enjoyed getting to see you again in Washington.

Thanks for sending the materials on the United Federation of Postal Clerks position on various matters of "postal reform." I have not had a chance to look at them yet.

Under separate cover I will send you a few of our publications in case they prove to be of interest to you personally and organizationally.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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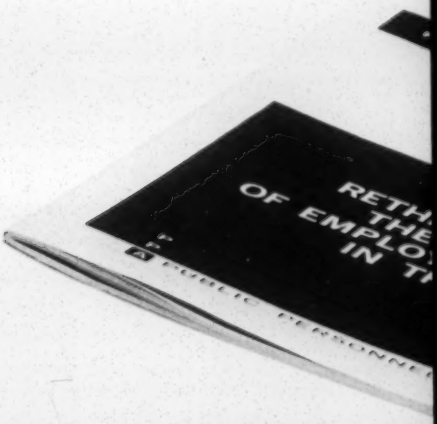

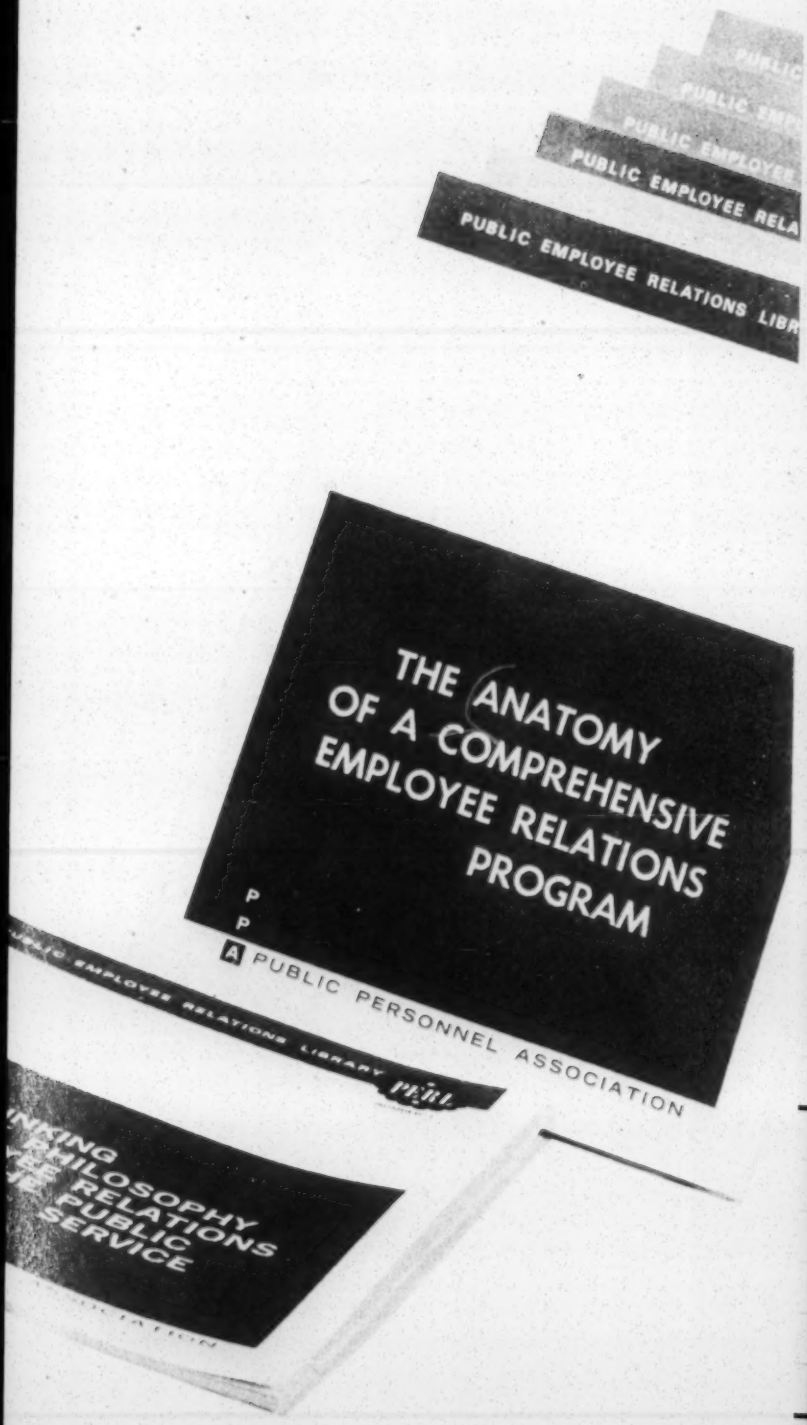
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QUALIFIED EXPERTS CITE THESE FLAWS IN A POSTAL CORPORATION . . .

"If the corporation were established, as proposed, on a rigid break-even basis, with participation by Congress in the rate-making process diluted almost to the vanishing point, and with the proposed bond issue authority, the result would be that rates for all classes of mail would have to go up as much as 100%. We have seen what has happened to the parcel post system as the result of giving rate-making power to the Executive Branch rather than to Congress . . . the whole system is on the verge of being wrecked."

—J. Edward Day, Postmaster General of the United States, 1961-1963

"The philosophy of the Administration is that the postal service is not sufficiently governmental for postal employes to continue to have all the rights and protections of government employes, but that it is sufficiently governmental for postal workers to continue subject to most of the restrictions and disabilities of government employes. They are, to some extent, to have the worst of both worlds."

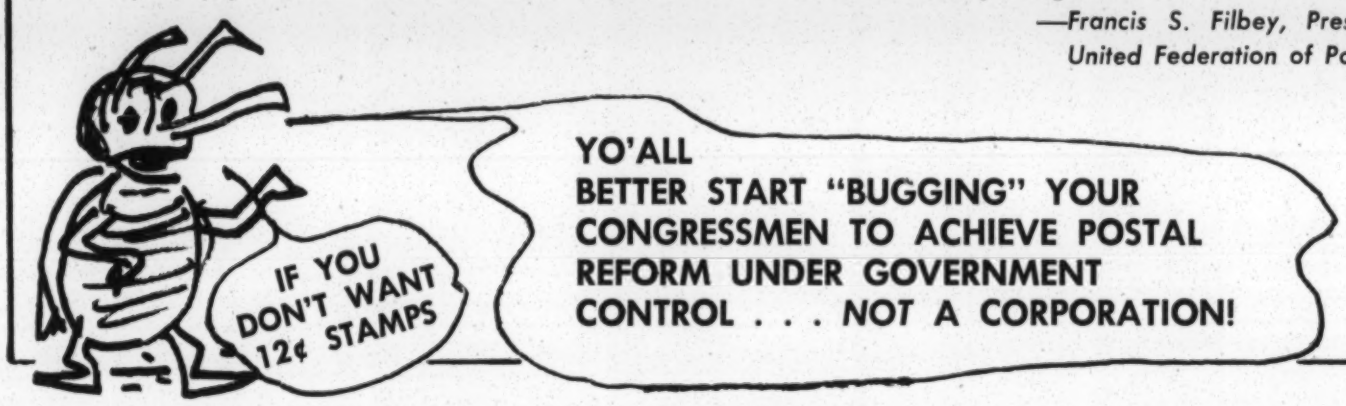
—George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO and a member of the Kappel Commission

"The (bargaining) procedure that would be established through a Disputes Panel clearly denies the postal worker and his union the right to demand binding arbitration as a matter of right. In short, the worker is denied an ultimate weapon in those cases when collective bargaining, mediation and fact-finding fail to provide an answer to dispute.

—John A. Gronouski, Postmaster General of the United States, 1963-1965

"Not one of the existing Government-owned corporations is like the proposed postal corporation in terms of its missions, activities, jurisdiction or type of management structure. There is just nothing like it as a precedent. A postal corporation would be new, untried, experimental. There is no valid analogy for it. And what works for TWA or even General Motors may very well not work for the postal service with its long history of service to the American people as a priority performed within a Federal department structure controlled by Congress."

—Francis S. Filbey, President, the United Federation of Postal Clerks



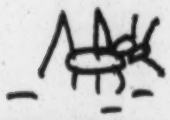
THE
UNITED FEDERATION
OF
POSTAL CLERKS
AFL-CIO

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

TO NATIONAL POSTAL FORUM III

The United Federation of Postal Clerks requested the privilege of participating in the question and answer panel on the Postal Reform Act. Inasmuch as this request was denied by the Post Office Department, we must use this means of advising you of our viewpoint on this most important matter.

Senator Ralph Yarborough from Texas has stated:



"I NEVER SAW *AS MANY BUGS* UNDER ONE PILE OF CHIPS AS IN THE CORPORATION DEAL!!!"

HERE ARE A FEW POSTAL CORPORATION BUGS!

SOME YOU CAN SEE . . . SOME YOU CAN'T SEE . . . SOME ARE BURIED IN THE WOODWORK BUT THEY WILL ALL WORK THEIR WAY OUT IF THE POSTAL CORPORATION BILL IS PASSED!!!

"PROFIT BUG"

Historically, the Post Office has provided SERVICE to the American People and in this it has been a SUCCESS!! Profits should no more be expected than from the Defense Department. Presently the Post Office also does a service by hiring many handicapped and retarded . . . if the goal is to be to make a profit who will fill this void??? Or will a corporation simply go to Congress and request special appropriations.

***** ***** *****

"WAGE BUG"

The Corporation plan states that employees will be able to BARGAIN for wage increases under that plan. Take a look at what has been the attitude of the people with whom employee unions would be bargaining. INVARIABLY POST OFFICE DEPT. OFFICIALS have testified before Congress AGAINST pay increases for rank and file postal employees. THEIR ATTITUDE IS ON RECORD! What justice could employees expect if they were at the mercy of Corporation officials (without the right to strike) and could not petition Congress????

***** ***** *****

"EFFICIENCY BUG"

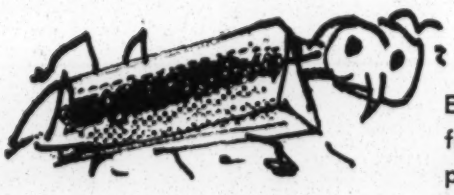
The assumption that a corporation would automatically succeed is not necessarily so. If the public is to be given the kinds of service it has been given in the past at reasonable rates, there is absolutely no guarantee that it could be an economic success . . . once a corporation were established, it would be difficult, if not totally impossible, to retreat back to the postal service as we know it.

***** ***** *****

"ARBITRATION BUG"

The corporation plan does not give unilateral access to compulsory arbitration nor is there the availability of a strike as the last resort mechanism for equalizing the bargaining power of labor with that of management. HR 4, with an amendment to substitute HR 4803 for Title VII, could do far more to establish meaningful labor-management relations under the present organization.

***** ***** *****



"SEMANTICS BUG"

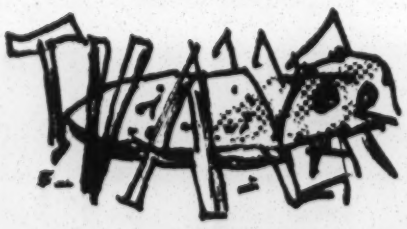
Employees have been told they will keep all of their present benefits and "go upwards from there". HOWEVER, what the bill says if one reads it is that all retirement benefits, pay, leave and other rights will be carried over into the Postal Service *"until changed by the Postal Service"*. What kind of a guarantee would this be?????

***** ***** *****

"RATES BUG"

No doubt this bug will grow bigger and bigger!!!!! If the corporation is to show a profit in five years this money can come from only one place . . . an increase in the rates the patrons pay for services. This bug will GROW!!!!!!

***** ***** *****



"TVA BUG"

A favorite comparison by proponents of the plan is to say the Postal Service will be "like TVA". This is completely invalid. . . . TVA has less than 20,000 employees with an investment of $147,000 per employee while the Post Office has 725,000 employees with $1620 fixed assets per employee.

***** ***** *****

A CORPORATION IS NOT A PANACEA FOR THE POST OFFICE ILLS . . . REFORM CAN AND SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY PASSAGE OF HR 4 WITH AMENDMENTS!!!!!

Christopher

October 28, 1965

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director
AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

It was a real pleasure to see you in Atlanta recently. I am still intrigued by your suggestion of a training program for persons interested in eaching stewards and would like to pursue this matter further.

How many people, realistically, could we anticipate having in such a program? It would be good to have about twenty, but I would think that any number over ten -- of people really likely to carry through -- would justify the time and energy it would take. I would like to see the materials which you have developed and, of course, I have a number of my own.

What level of participant would you expect in the group? Union staff? Local union officers? Education chairmen for locals? How many hours of instruction should we allow for? As many as twenty or more? Could people meet for a period of a week either half days or evenings or would we need to meet over a series of weekends? Could we charge a modest fee to cover out-of-pocket expenses? Who would be the official sponsor of the group? Would it be just an informal group of locals, or staff men, or would the central body be interested?

The basic instructional program of materials and teachers could be worked out here. I would need assistance, however, on local arrangements -- meeting place, projector, notices, etc. We would have to determine who could absorb the cost of these items as well.

I would be happy to see some such program started prior to Christmas if that is possible. If not my own schedule is such that it should wait until sometime in February.

Paul, if you feel we have enough to chew on and that some of the answers are available, I could come into Knoxville between now and the SRC annual meeting to do the spade work with you and others you suggest on getting a program started.

Let me hear from you as soon as you can. Perhaps a phone call would make it possible to pin down a date.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

May 9, 1966

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

I attempted to reach R. E. Shadix, Southeast Regional Director, The Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, to offer my services for his conference on May 11-12 as you requested. Due to both of our travel schedules, I was unable to talk with him personally but I left a long message with his wife which I hope he will be able to understand.

Since I have not heard from him I gather that it is uncomfortable for him to make use of a third party. I do wish I could have had personal contact with him because I would be more than happy to offer my assistance even in the matter of the mechanics of setting up his program.

Please feel free to pass on other such suggestions where you think I might be of assistance.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

EFV

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER. DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
524-7481-2

May 10, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for your letter of May 9, explaining your difficulty in complying with my request that you contact Mr. R. E. Shadix, Southeastern Regional Director of the Building and Construction Trades Department of AFL-CIO, to offer your services in helping make plans for the then scheduled conference on May 11-12, 1966.

You may be at ease. The conference was postponed.

I had talked to Bob Shadix by telephone several weeks ago about this conference and he was anxious to arrange an interesting and really worthwhile program. I discussed the idea of some workshops, with the entire delegation being broken down and assigned to smaller groups, with reporters, on some basic problems related to organizing, NLRB procedures, public relations, relationships with the various U. S. Department of Labor agencies and enforcement of Davis-Bacon, relations with industrial type labor organizations, participation in the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee program, COPE, etc.

Before this conference is re-scheduled, I am sure I will have talked to Bob again, and will have him get in touch with you. I hope you can help him set up a better program than is usually the case with our Building Trades affiliates. There is a vast organizing job to be done in the southern states, even if we talk only of heavy commercial construction. There is practically no organization in the residential construction industry. The Building Trades in too many metropolitan centers are inclined to be isolationists within the labor movement and there needs to be some educational work of the most elemental nature.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio
CC: Wm. L. Kircher, R. E. Shadix,
L. F. Shipman, Carey E. Haigler

Address list work TR Source of info

Please have Emory via telephone & notify of contact

R.E. Shadix (See letter to Christopher 5/6/66)
Southeastern Regional Director
Building & Construction Trades Dept. AFL-CIO
3160 Lake Ave
Hapeville, Ga. Phone 766-9410

and offer to assist in planning needed workshops in a south-wide conference in Atlanta on May 11-12 of Building Trades Unions.

—

Shadix phoned me for this kind of help and I don't have the time to do more than orally advise by long distance.

Emory should tell Shadix that I recommended this gesture. Shadix is an O.K. guy, but knows virtually nothing about setting up a 2-day conference which incorporates work-shops, reporters, general follow-up discussions, etc.

—

We need the support of Building Trades Unions and I can't imagine a better opportunity to reach ~~[illegible]~~ some of our most reactionary union leaders.

Paul

X 363

Assoc. Dean of School Bus Ateri

13 September 1966

Mr. Paul Christopher, Director
Region VIII, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

In the rush of yesterday's meeting I should have checked my calendar. I forgot completely that I will be going to Mobile in the early afternoon on Friday, September 16. The development committee's meeting will be in SRC's office and will begin at 10 informally and 11 o'clock formally.

Were you planning to come into town early? If so would it be convenient for you to meet Al and me at 9:00? Is there any chance that you will be on Thursday evening?

I am sorry for the slip, but please let me know what you would like to do.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
LaborPProgram

EFV:jb

Air Mail

Special Delivery

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
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REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
524-7481-2

14 September 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

What you say in your letter of September 13, which came this morning via air mail special delivery, is appreciated. I have done the same thing - make commitments before consulting my calendar and then find that I can't do what I thought I could do.

I am sorry my schedule is so tight that I cannot come down to Atlanta tomorrow night, but I have an 8:00 P.M. meeting which will last until 10:00 o'clock, and this is too late to get a plane down tomorrow night. Right now I am on the waiting list for a seat on the morning Delta flight to Atlanta, and may have to drive if confirmation does not come through by tomorrow night. The plane would get me to the office about 10:00 A.M. Friday, and if I leave Knoxville by car around 6:00 A.M. it will be about 10:30 before I can get into the office.

So it looks like we had better not count on getting together Friday. When you mention Mobile in your letter I can't help but think that I would have known had you mentioned it Monday, because I knew from Barney Weeks' newsletter that you were among the instructors booked for his weekend institute there, which starts Friday night.

Tell Al Kehrer hello for me and by your word he will know I had hoped to get a chance to talk with him. Maybe we can do it no earlier, but I shall look forward to being with both of you at the annual meeting in November.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO

PRC:me